OP

THE PATRIARCH AND THE TSAR
Volume 2

William Palmer

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
A Xerox Company
Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

AUG 12 1980

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/patriarchtsar0002will

* * *

This is an authorized facsimile of the original book, and was produced in 1968 by microfilm-xerography by University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

* * *

TESTIMONIES CONCERNING

THE PATRIARCH NICON, THE TSAR, AND THE BOYARS,

FROM THE

TRAVELS OF THE PATRIARCH MACARIUS OF ANTIOCH,

WRITTEN IN ARABIC

BY HIS SON AND ARCHDEACON PAUL OF ALEPPO,

FROM A JOURNAL KEPT CHIEFLY IN A.D. 1654, 1655, AND 1656, BUT DIGESTED, RETOUCHED, AND PUBLISHED NOT EARLIER THAN 1670, AFTER THEY HAD BEEN A SECOND TIME AT MOSCOW TO DEPOSE AND DEGRADE THE PATRIARCH NICON.

ABRIDGED FROM THE TRANSLATION PRINTED FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND IN 1836.

With Corrections and Appendices

By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

LIBRARY OF
UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
281.947
N695 P17 72,981

LONDON:

TRÜBNER AND CO., 8 & 60 PATERNOSTER ROW;

OXFORD, PARKER & CO.; CAMBRIDGE, MACMILLAN; ST. PETERSBURG, A. MÜNX; BERLIN, SCHNEIDER & CO. UNTER DEN LINDEN.

1873.

AUG 12 1968

BX597
.N5T3

MENTITA EST INIQUITAS SIBI.

29

THE PATRIARCH AGAINST THE TSAR,

THE CHURCH AGAINST THE WORLD;

SMYRNA AND PHILADELPHIA AGAINST PERGAMUS AND SARDIS,

PATIENCE AND CHARITY AGAINST VIOLENCE AND CUPIDITY;

THE RESURRECTION (VOSKRESENSK)

AND THE NEW JERUSALEM (NOVI IERUSALIM)

AGAINST BABYLON AND ANTICHRIST.

Moscow, when erected into a patriarchate, was said to be a new Rome rising in the North, the sovereign of which, it was anticipated, might become sole emperor of all the world: its bishop therefore might reasonably be raised to the highest rank in the hierarchy. And there was need besides (so it was said) to fill up the vacancy caused among the five patriarchates by the defection of the Popes of the elder Rome. So, if the primacy or supremacy of the Popes had originated only in the fact that Rome was the seat of empire, the same primacy or supremacy over the future world of Orthodoxy might have been claimed for the patriarch of Moscow. But this was not pretended. Constantinople indeed, as 'New Rome,' had obtained 'like privileges' with 'the elder Rome:' still, secondary and derivative privileges, given by enactment of emperors and of synods, could never equal a primacy self-existent and anterior to all enactments. And whatever might be the claims of the Popes of the elder Rome, the patriarch of C.P. was confessed by all, and by himself, to be subject to the judgment of his brethren. Indeed, according to the modern Greek Church, even the Pope of the elder Rome was only *primus inter pares;* still more, then, the patriarch of Constantinople. And as Moscow was honoured after all the rest by ecclesiastical institution, it was natural that its patriarch should not only be subject, like the patriarch of C.P., to the judgment of the rest, but also

that he should rank after the other four. We see, then, in the patriarch of Moscow, as substituted in place of the Pope of Rome, a younger brother of the four Eastern patriarchs, instead of an elder brother, subject without dispute or ambiguity to the judgment of the rest; but in his relation to the empire of the Orthodox world holding the same place which was held by the Popes of the elder Rome in relation to the old Roman emperors, and which the Greeks say they ought to have continued to hold (though this was rendered by the change of circumstances impossible) without seeking or accepting for themselves any temporal lordship.

Between this substitute for the Pope of Rome and the new Cesar of Orthodoxy a difference arises concerning the true interpretation and application of the law of God and of the canons of the Church, and concerning the limits of their respective powers. Who were the judges of this difference, and how was it settled? The answer to these questions will be found in the two volumes now published, viz. the abridgment of the *Travels of Macarius* and the *History of the Condemnation of Nicon by Paisius Ligarides*, with their respective Supplements.

One can imagine two men, whether common persons or kings, or one of them a king and the other a bishop, after having been friends, differing and disputing about their respective rights and duties, and agreeing to refer their difference for arbitration, it need not be to a patriarch or bishop, but to any simple monk or hermit, whose sanctity they both acknowledged and respected. In that case, if he were at a distance, either the referee must come to them or they must both go to the referee, or send to him their representatives, or, at the least, written statements of their respective cases. But if one of two such parties having a difference were

secretly to send to any one, as to a judge or referee, his own *ex-parte* statement, and then, when the other, having knowledge of this, had written a letter on his side also to the same person, were to intercept and suppress that letter, such an act would make it needless to inquire farther which of the two parties was in the wrong.

The Lord has said in the Gospel: 'If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother: but if he hear thee not, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established: and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the Church: but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican' (Matt. xviii. 15-17). The Church, then, being a tribunal to which in case of need Christians are to appeal, even for the settlement of their private differences, and much more for such as are public, an emperor having a matter against a bishop, or a bishop against an emperor, after having taken in vain the first and second step prescribed by Christ, would rightly bring his case before this tribunal. But in the controversy between the tsar Alexis and the patriarch Nicon it was not thus done. Nicon, in the first instance, was the party who considered himself—or rather the Church which he represented—to be wronged; and he took the first step of remonstrating both by word of mouth and by writing: he was answered (as he says) by 'unseemly words' and revilings: he then testified in the congregation, where two or three at least were gathered together in the name of Christ; but these, instead of being consulted or listened to, were terrified and silenced by force; he then, having no freedom of access to any

other equal or superior ecclesiastical authority, withdrew himself from wrath and violence. And at this point the two parties changed sides. The tsar, who hitherto had been complained of, now became himself the complainant; and Nicon, from being in a manner the plaintiff, was made the defendant. But the tsar did not deal with Nicon as Nicon had dealt with him; that is, as with a brother with whom he had a controversy: but he accused him to the Church as a criminal, to be judged and punished.

Here, then, we see the Orthodox Church called upon to exercise its highest judicial functions. The accuser is the absolute monarch of the greatest empire, or rather of the only empire professing Orthodoxy, together with his council; the accused is the primate of that same empire, one of the five patriarchs, inferior to the rest in antiquity and precedence, but of more importance than all of them together for the extent of his jurisdiction and the numbers of his flock, and for his relation to the Orthodox empire.

Accusers and witnesses, it is laid down in the canons and in the civil laws, must be persons worthy of credence, especially if a priest or bishop is to be accused; not heretics, not of bad repute, not themselves under accusation, not poor so as to be bought, not under the power of others, so as to be influenced, not personal enemies, or the like (see vol. iii. p. 180). Much more, then, must the judges themselves who are to judge in the name of the Church be free from all such exceptions. Hence it was necessary that the patriarchs and bishops who were to judge Nicon, or to hold a synod for judging him, should be able to assemble freely on some neutral ground, to pass, if there were need, from one country to another unimpeded by wars or by secular tyranny, to call the accused and his accusers or their

representatives before them, to examine and allow or disallow the witnesses, and to judge impartially without any disturbing influence of fear or interest. But all these requisites were manifestly wanting. Under the Turks the bishops could neither assemble freely, nor could others come to them openly from Christian countries, or they themselves go freely and openly, or in any number, to other countries, as to Russia; and even if they could, the tsar of Muscovy, an absolute monarch, being himself the accuser (together with his council) and his own patriarch the accused, and the chief crimes imputed being against himself and his government, his territory and his capital would have been the least proper of all places to be selected for the meeting of a general council to pass a free and just judgment. But whether we think of Russia or of Turkey, in Russia all the Russian bishops and heads of convents were so closely watched and controled by the civil power, that they could neither spend anything from their own revenues, nor go any whither, even in their own country, nor hold communication with foreigners, without its concurrence in every step and act; and in Turkey the Greek and Syrian bishops, besides being under a similar surveillance of their infidel rulers, who were specially jealous of any dealings with the Russians, were also so much in need of the alms and protection of the tsar that it would be difficult indeed for them to act or to judge fairly in any cause in which he was a party.

Thus the Orthodox Church to which the promises of Christ, according to her divines, were made, had been brought by the changes of the world into such a position that she was incapacitated for dealing suitably with a cause of the first magnitude, affecting not only the rights of an individual patriarch, but also the rights of the Church herself, and their defence or surrender for fu-

ture generations. Among the Latins, on the other hand, whatever may be their other supposed errors or heresies, if the convocation of a general council is at any time hindered by wars, or other difficulties, there is always a central power capable of dealing with any emergency, however great.

A case might, no doubt, have been referred *for arbitration, by mutual consent*, either to the patriarch of C.P. alone, or to that patriarch assisted by his metropolitans and by such other patriarchs or bishops (the patriarch of Jerusalem being often at C.P.) as could meet without too much publicity. But if a patriarch was to be accused of *crimes* with a view to his deposition, it was necessary that he should be summoned, and heard personally; and for that either he and his accusers must go to C.P., or his judges must come to Moscow, and appear before a free synod presided over by the patriarchs or their exarchs, neither of which alternatives was possible. Let us see now what was actually done.

Having failed in 1660 to depose and degrade Nicon (and without his absolute degradation his enemies did not think themselves secure) by a synod of the Russian bishops alone, the court of Moscow was at a loss what to do; and the matter remained suspended, till Paisius Ligarides appeared to help them out of their difficulties. A Sciote Greek by origin, but an ex-pupil of the Propaganda, speaking and writing Latin as well as Greek, and knowing something also of Slavonic, well acquainted with the theology and ritual of both Churches, a Latin in his own belief (if he had any belief) rather than a Greek, but ready to argue on either side, and to conform to either communion, ordained deacon and priest at Rome, and then again tonsured as a monk and ordained deacon and priest and bishop or metropolitan of Gaza by the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, but de-

graded and anathematised (in 1660) by his own Greek patriarch, after being some time in Poland, where he said mass as a priest in the Latin churches, he came in 1662 to Moscow, exhibiting perhaps at Poutivl a letter of invitation written to him in 1657 from the patriarch Nicon, or else entering in the name of the tsar; and resuming his profession of Orthodoxy, took again also the title of Metropolitan of Gaza.

A bishop or patriarch seeming to be guilty of a crime might be accused to a competent tribunal by any two or more orthodox Christians, not open to canonical exception. But here a man who, according to his own statement, came unsent and uncalled, of his own will, for his own purpose—and that purpose to get money—without canonical recommendations, offers himself to serve the boyars, hears from them the details of their case, suggests to one of them to ask him leading questions—questions, some of which no boyar of himself would ever have thought of—and writes answers condemnatory of Nicon, intended to be circulated among his enemies, and to attract the notice of the tsar. But neither was the boyar Simeon Streshneff, as Nicon objects, a competent accuser or witness; and Ligarides, even if otherwise blameless, coming without canonical recommendations to meddle in a diocese not his own, was no competent adviser, still less judge: nor were the boyars individually or collectively, nor the tsar himself, with or without the council, a tribunal before which accusations sought for by themselves, though put into shape by another, could be properly presented. Such is not the way in which canonical proceedings against a bishop could be instituted, or prepared. It was merely the circulation of a libel. But these Questions and Answers, being informal and preparatory, need to be mentioned only as illustrating the character of Nicon's

accusers, and as having given occasion to him to write his *Replies* or *Objections* (published in vol. i.), in which his whole controversy, apart from any judicial process, is developed and reasoned upon with abundant copiousness and energy.

Meanwhile, the end for which the Questions of Streshneff and the Answers of Ligarides were written was attained. Ligarides was introduced through Streshneff to the council of the boyars, and through the council to the tsar, who consulted him, took his blessing, and not only caused him to be received by the Russian bishops as if he had brought canonical recommendations, but even made him to be their president and spokesman, putting the Russian Church and clergy as well as himself and his council under the blessing of an unknown stranger.

Among the latest particulars mentioned in the *Travels of Macarius* concerning Nicon and the tsar Alexis respectively there are these two: concerning Nicon, that on the Sunday of Pentecost in 1656 he recited the solemn prayers at which all kneel *in a low voice of humility and contrition, shedding tears;* concerning the tsar, that already a little earlier in the same year (though this early date and the occasion alleged are fabulous) he had begun to dispute with the patriarch, *using foul language*, and calling him '*Mujik bladin!*' Time passed on. Before July 1658 the tsar certainly did dispute with Nicon about ecclesiastical matters, 'using unseemly words;' and from that date he completely disowned Nicon as his spiritual father, and no longer sought his blessing. And in 1663, having sought the blessing of an unaccredited Greek stranger, he sent this stranger as the chief representative of the clergy, together with the first of the boyars, the compiler of the code of 1649, to hold an inquest upon Nicon, and to question him personally.

And this same stranger in a History written in 1667, and dedicated to the tsar, as if to connect its beginning with the end of that of Macarius, relates that, being thus sent, and Nicon having refused to have anything to do with him unless he could produce canonical letters, he whispered into the ear of Nicon, in Romaic, something worse than '*Mujik bladin!*' viz. an epithet altogether too coarse either to utter aloud or to write. Both these stories—that in the *Travels of Macarius* and that in the *History of Ligarides*—are no doubt alike, in the letter of them, fabrications; but they are fabrications not devoid of a certain element of truth. The tsar's use—more or less habitual—of foul language in his outbursts of anger, hints too clearly his familiarity with certain bad men, and their influence over him; and the story invented by Ligarides is accounted for only too well by the fact that he himself, by his own showing, was under the imputation of unmentionable crimes, and that this was made known to the tsar by Nicon in a letter warning him of the impropriety and the danger of receiving strangers without canonical letters. (See vol. ii. p. 316, and iii. p. 79.)

A Greek himself, and knowing how to deal with Greeks, Ligarides (in Lent 1663) advised the council and the tsar thus: 'Send letters to the four patriarchs, stating briefly Nicon's *demands*, or presumptions; so you will at once obtain your object.' And in a letter written on Whitsunday June 7 in the same year, to quicken the tsar, he added that this reference or appeal ought to be composed at once in Greek (that is, by himself), so as to need no interpreter, and so that the tsar's secrets may be the better kept; in order that the patriarch of C.P. may be able to pronounce right judgment in so grave a matter (vol. iii. p. 36). Letters therefore were written; and Ligarides recommended a Greek monk named

Meletius, a Sciote, and so a countryman of his own, to be their bearer (ib. p. 75, 307). The letters, he says (ib. p. 76), were written *privately* to the four œcumenical patriarchs; and Meletius, *with liberal presents for them*, left Moscow 1st Jan. 1661 [rather on New Year's day A.M. 7172, which would be 1st September 1663], ib. p. 76, 351.

At Constantinople the patriarch Dionysius at first would have refused to receive the tsar's letter (vol. iii. p. 82, 358, 359). However, by the recommendation of the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius, he did receive it, and read it, bidding the envoy to live as privately as possible.[1]

Nectarius is celebrated (vol. iii. p. 351) by his archdeacon and successor Dositheus as 'such a man for justice, understanding, and conscientiousness, that another bishop like him could then scarcely be found:' he had himself in 1660 degraded and excommunicated Ligarides; and he could scarcely be ignorant how Ligarides was now honoured and employed at Moscow. It is noticeable, then, that this is the man who moves the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius, and together with him the other two patriarchs, Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, to take their first joint steps in the affair of Nicon. The patriarch of C.P. would have declined to meddle with it, not from any love of justice or caution for the rights of the spirituality, nor from indifference towards the tsar's alms, but from fear of the Turks. Unfortunately for him, and for them all, Nectarius thought that they might receive the tsar's letters and alms without so much danger as was apprehended by Dionysius. Meletius, after the business had been se-

[1] Afterwards he complained that Meletius had not lived quietly enough, that all the Turks knew of his mission, and it had caused him the loss of 200 purses, vol. iii. p. 360.

cretly arranged with him, might be allowed to leave C.P. as if he had obtained no answers, and answers subscribed later might be taken by Nectarius himself to Moldavia, whither he was in the habit of going, without suspicion.

When thus the tsar's letter had been opened and read — not for the purpose of performing any duty towards God and the Church — it followed that, without thinking much of the person of Nicon, they would be inclined to do something to satisfy the tsar: and it seemed to them to be possible (though it might be sailing rather too near the wind) to go so far as to condemn hypothetically any man who should be guilty of what was *imputed* to Nicon, without thereby passing a definitive judgment against Nicon himself. If the tsar and the boyars were accusing falsely and bent upon injustice, that was their own responsibility.[2]

In the tsar's own letter, according to Nectarius (vol. iii. p. 351), 'the cause of Nicon's withdrawal from Moscow was not mentioned, nor any other charge whatever, except his five years' absence. But Meletius showed us,' he says, 'a short writing [of instructions to himself from the prikaz of secret service] adjuring him by God to *tell* us *all he knows* about Kyr Nicon *and his adversaries*: and from him we heard *very many things*, as if *from the lips of thy majesty*, as he said. As regards Nicon's adversaries, he said that they had offended him in certain small matters unworthy of notice; but as regards Nicon he mentioned certain grave matters, and

[2] Dionysius, however, in the spring of 1666, when he was no longer patriarch but metropolitan of Thessalonica, is represented as going beyond this, and saying to the envoy Sabbas: 'I bless the tsar either to *pardon* Nicon, or to appoint another patriarch *who is humble and meek* in his room: if he *fears* to appoint another, *we will take the sin on our own heads*; the tsar is autocrat: *everything is possible for him*.' But such a permission from a metropolitan of Thessalonica, though ex-patriarch, would not be enough for the tsar's purpose. vol. iii. p. 360.

almost unpardonable, and all of them *innovations*, which *to us did not appear altogether credible.* However, your imperial letter invited us to come to Moscow on account of this matter, for its due examination and settlement. But since it is not possible for us either to go *or to send our representatives* . . we have adopted *another way*, viz. that of *delivering a judgment hypothetically*, in order that this matter *may be set right*,' ib. p. 351.

Meletius (as is shown, vol. iii. p. 357) was understood by some at Moscow to have taken thence other '*writings*' written in Greek by Ligarides besides the tsar's letter or letters addressed to the patriarch of C.P., and through him to all 'the four œcumenical patriarchs;' and of these other 'writings' one has now been named, viz. the short paper of instructions which he showed. But no doubt he had with him also in writing all that he was to say orally, as if from the tsar; that is, a draft both of the statements to be made and of the questions to be based upon them or conjoined with them, and of the judgment or answers most suitable for the end in view.

That the patriarchs — especially the patriarch of Constantinople — would make a difficulty of coming themselves to Moscow was, no doubt, foreseen; and at first the invitation was probably made, not with any expectation of its being accepted, but as a preliminary to the suggestion of that 'other way' of dealing with the case which was rather in view. And though Nectarius writes '*we* have *adopted* another way,' and '*we* have *written* a synodal tome in the form of Questions and Answers,' this by no means precludes the supposition that the 'other way' and the 'Questions and Answers' themselves were suggested, in substance at least, by Meletius. Indeed, they show of themselves by their wording that such was the case.

From the synodal tome or tomes brought by Meletius to Moscow, it appears that 'the demands or presumptions of Nicon' were stated by him at C.P. thus: Nicon, it was said, claimed or had presumed to innovate in ecclesiastical matters [elsewhere the same are called political matters] contrary to former custom (vol. iii. p. 321-323); to set up a dualism of authorities, even exacting a written engagement from the tsar (ib. p. 323); to exercise secular lordship in his province (ib. p. 335); to disallow and disregard the established laws of the empire (p. 321); to take titles of secular supremacy (ib. p. 331); and to interfere in matters of civil government (ib. p. 335). These were the charges alluded to by Nectarius as 'grave matters, and scarcely pardonable, and all of them innovations; which, however,' as stated by Meletius, 'did not appear' to him, Nectarius, and to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius, 'to be altogether credible.' Nectarius also perceived that Nicon in all probability had been claiming only that authority in spiritual things which was his right, and by his withdrawal had only been rebuking disobedience.

Nevertheless, these two patriarchs who were together at Constantinople, in their tome or tomes, wrote down the Questions such as they were asked or suggested by Meletius, with Answers to them such as were desired, and in part, at least, also suggested, condemning as strongly as Nicon's enemies could wish any bishop or primate who should make such demands, or who should have acted upon such presumptions, regardless of the consideration that if Nicon, as they suspected, was innocent, they might be making themselves parties to injustice, and if Nicon had been claiming only, as they suspected, his right, they might be helping through the ambiguous language of their tome to subject the Orthodox Church to a secular tyranny. To those other

'very many things' which Meletius charged against Nicon, and to the Questions derived from his statements, they answered in the same spirit; but these we need not here notice in detail, because they were merely personal; and the Answers adapted to them looked only towards the unjust condemnation of the individual Nicon, and not also towards the enslavement of the Church.

Nectarius wrote afterwards to the tsar thus: 'To utter a definitive judgment [against Nicon] grounded on what Meletius *said*[3] was not reasonable; and it would have been contrary also to the canons *on the testimony of one witness*, and that one too *of the lowest grade* [Meletius being only a deacon] to pronounce a judgment against a patriarch. We have written, however, a synodal[4] tome containing selections from the canons and laws, as compendious *Answers* to what Meletius said [that is, to his questions, based on his statements]. *What* he said [about Nicon] we do not write distinctly: but you can tell what it was *from the Answers* of the synodal tome: for all that is written in it consists of answers to all that we heard from Meletius, and that he said about Kyr Nicon' (vol. iii. p. 351, 352). Ligarides writes of the same thus: 'The issue was, that after deliberation it was determined that two tomes,

[3] So it is implied that Meletius did not exhibit to them any written project either of a definitive judgment, or of the Questions and Answers, and also that at first he had hoped to obtain from them a definitive judgment based upon what he said 'as from the lips of the tsar.'

[4] The tome or tomes were subscribed by the four patriarchs, but in what sense they are called '*synodal*' is not explained. Possibly they were shown, or it may be even read for form's sake at a meeting of the ordinary local synod of the patriarch of C.P. to which the patriarch of Jerusalem may have been invited. The metropolitan Eugenius indeed, in his *Dict. of Russ. Eccl. Writers* (art. Nicon), asserts not only that Ligarides wrote the xxv. Questions to be sent to the patriarchs by the hand of Meletius, together with letters addressed to each of them, but also that the Answers or tomes were *subscribed* by the patriarchs and *many metropolitans*, and other patriarchal dignitaries.

word for word the same (ib. p. 360), should be composed, *but anonymously*, as against *some* bishop *acting disorderly*, in the form of Questions and Answers. This being done, the Questions and Answers, xxv. in number, subscribed by the patriarchs Dionysius of C. P. and Nectarius of Jerusalem, were sent to the other two œcumenical patriarchs [Dionysius sending one of the two identical tomes to the patriarch of Alexandria Paisius, and Nectarius sending the other to the patriarch of Antioch Macarius, ib. p. 360] to be subscribed by them. In due time the two tomes were returned with the subscriptions desired, and arrived *at Jassy;* and they were delivered [not at C.P. but at Jassy] by the patriarch of Jerusalem (then staying there) to Meletius, who came with them to Moscow on Whitsunday the 29th May 1664, bringing also other friendly letters containing divers *encomiastic* expressions, ib. p. 82.

But Ligarides' promise and expectation was not hereby fulfilled: the desired object was not 'at once' obtained: the tomes contained no definitive judgment against Nicon (vol. iii. p. 351): and though in a note appended to them by Nectarius at Jassy, in Feb. 1664, it was stated (against Nicon's view, certainly, and against the legislation of Justinian) that 'according to this tome a patriarch is judged by the local synod of his own bishops,' it was added, contrary to Ligarides' intention,[5] that he *must* be summoned personally and heard in his own defence (ib. p. 319; and comp. p. 167): and in the tome itself, in an answer to the question, 'What if he reject the judgment of such a synod, or appeal?' instead of replying distinctly that 'the judgment of the four

[5] In translating the Greek into Latin and Slavonic, instead of 'it is *necessary*,' he substituted 'placet' or 'conveniens est certè, ut.' And compare vol. iii. p. 166, 167, 'the decision of the patriarchal tomes that it was *by no means necessary* to make any such summons,' &c.

œcumenical patriarchs *already*[6] given in this tome *precludes* any such appeal,' it was replied ambiguously that 'the judgment pronounced by the œcumenical chair and by the other patriarchs ranking after it in writing against him, that chair having from the canons this privilege, *must be* of force against him without room for any farther pretext' (ib. p. 346). But this might mean, as Nectarius in his separate letter to the tsar plainly takes it to mean, that a *farther 'definitive judgment' must* in that case be sought and obtained from the chair of C.P. and from the other œcumenical patriarchs (and comp. Question and Answer viii. ib. p. 328, 329).

The patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius, moreover, after having himself taken the lead in obtaining for the tsar the composition of this tome with an hypothetical prejudgment of the case, soon began, as it seems, to feel misgivings, as if they had gone too far, and desired to impede rather than to promote that application of it for which he knew it to have been sought. For being asked at Jassy by a metropolitan of Iconium, Athanasius, then passing on his way to Moscow, what determination had been come to respecting the affair of Nicon, he replied, with a too diplomatic caution, that they *had given Meletius no answer at all*, nor set their hands [that is, for him to take, and before he left C.P.] to any writing whatever.' This may have been true *literally*, since Athanasius arrived at Moscow before Meletius; and Nectarius, when questioned by Athanasius at Jassy, may have had the patriarchal tomes still in his own keeping. However that was, Athanasius, on his arrival at Moscow, told the tsar that the patriarchs had not received Meletius, nor taken from him the tsar's letters and alms (vol. iii. p. 358). Nectarius most likely had also expressed to Athanasius the opinion that the best and most pro-

[6] In translating, Ligarides inserted the word '*already*.'

per thing for the tsar and the boyars to do was to reconcile themselves with Nicon; since he even pretended at Moscow to have been commissioned by the patriarch of C.P. (of whom he called himself a relative) to recommend such a reconciliation (p. 358, 356, 359, 360). And when, before long, Meletius arrived at Moscow, Athanasius confidently denounced both the tomes themselves brought by him and the patriarchal subscriptions as forgeries (ib. p. 83).

Nectarius too wrote to the tsar a separate and personal letter (dated from Jassy on the 20th March 1664), which he sent by a Greek named Sebastus: and in this letter he said that, though they had all written Answers adapted to the Questions and statements of Meletius, they did not think the main imputations made by him against Nicon to be altogether credible. Meletius had said indeed that Kyr Nicon had *devised* certain *innovations* as to the ecclesiastical order, and desires to *maintain* them, *contrary to the former custom* (see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 21, 583, 13, 21, 104; vol. ii. p. 110, 169, 407; vol. iii. p. 319-325). But the greatest matter of all [as the charges were understood by Nectarius, and reduced by him within the limits of probability] was his withdrawal, and that he renounced the chair on the ground of the people being not obedient. He thought then that the matter might 'be set right by recalling Nicon, and showing him the heads of the patriarchal tome, that he may for the future at least engage to conform to them.[7] . . And if he says: I did not renounce the chair, but *him* that was disobedient, it is plain that he

[7] But the utmost that can be said for the tomes is this, that they might be capable of a tolerable interpretation, the supremacy of the tsar and the unity of authority asserted in them being limited expressly or by inference to '*political* matters;' but their wording and spirit is suggestive of a worse sense: and when they lay it down that to exact any engagement '*whatever*' from the secular governor—and so *even an engagement to obey the law of God and the canons*—

rebukes *the people* [*some* people] for disobedience. Show, then, to him the *proper* obedience, as to the steward of the divine grace; obedience, I say, *not such as is unusual* for the Churches of God [which would be really '*innovation*,' and the demand of which in a Bishop would be a '*grave matter*,' and '*scarcely pardonable*'], but *that which the sacred laws enjoin*' (vol. iii. p. 352, 353). And he urges this strongly; saying that even if Nicon had made ever so formal a resignation in writing, and it had been accepted, such a course would be best, but much more when perhaps he had never in point of fact resigned at all, nor had his resignation, whatever it was, been accepted by the tsar and by all the people (p. 355). The charge of forgery objected by Athanasius not being made out, he was confined in a monastery for his temerity: Sebastus too, the bearer of the patriarch Nectarius' separate letter, was at once *thrown into prison*.

The reserve with which the patriarchal tome itself was worded, the imputation of forgery brought against it, and the separate letter of the patriarch Nectarius, all together weighed enough with the tsar to prevent his proceeding at once to act upon it against Nicon. But the half-conscientiousness of Nectarius which moved him, after taking the tsar's money, to offer advice in a spirit quite contrary to that in which the Questions of the tomes had been asked and the Answers to them returned, far from availing to undo the wrong that he had done, only drew upon himself sarcastic taunts, and caused all the four patriarchs to compromise themselves more and more deeply, till at last they had done all that Ligarides had designed for them to do.

---

is an introduction of two principles of authority, and as such a *rebellion*, a heinous crime worthy of deposition, &c., it is difficult to explain this away: and Nicon was not the man to betray the truth to its enemies by promising to conform to any such dishonest trash.

At Constantinople, besides the tsar's commission, Meletius and Stephen were charged also with a separate commission from Ligarides, by which he sought to make good the partial failure of his first suggestion and promise. Foreseeing that the patriarch of C. P. would neither come himself to Moscow nor send a bishop as his representative (he did, in fact, reply that this could could only be done if the Sultan's permission were first asked and obtained), he thought that being a Greek, already at Moscow, cognisant of the whole affair, and honoured and employed by the tsar, he might obtain perhaps through the envoy Stephen that he himself should be appointed by the patriarch Dionysius to be his representative or exarch for that affair only.[8] And after the return of Stephen to Moscow Ligarides gave out that he was actually so appointed. 'Stephen,' he writes in his History (vol. iii. p. 89), '*had a private interview* with the patriarch Dionysius,' who 'wrote to the tsar a suitable answer' respecting the metropolitan of Iconium Athanasius and his assertions; and 'he appointed moreover the metropolitan of Gaza Paisius interpreter of the patriarchal tomes, yea, and the most confidential mouthpiece of all the *synod*, as is contained in the patriarchal letter of instructions to him *which is preserved in the imperial archives*' (ib. p. 89). Solovieff has not printed this 'letter of instruction,' or of 'faculties,' from the patriarch Dionysius to Ligarides; but he has printed from the archives of the prikaz of secret service a portion of the letter to the tsar above alluded to, to the effect that the tomes sent in 1661 'were promulgated in this sense that the patriarch must govern *according to the tsar's pleasure and command*, like the *other* members of the

[8] This shows that when he was degraded and excommunicated in 1660 by the patriarch Nectarius, there had been no very great and scandalous publicity even in Moldavia, still less at Constantinople: he had no doubt been summoned, and had allowed judgment to go by default.

synclete: for it is not good that there be *two heads* in one monarchy; but let there be *one supremacy*.' Then disavowing 'the accursed Athanasius,' who had no commission whatever from him, and was no relative of his, he recommends the tsar to imprison Athanasius for life, and to 'tear up this letter into the smallest fragments, so that it may neither be seen nor heard of by anybody.' And then the letter continues: 'We have appointed Kyr Paisius, the holy and intelligent metropolitan of Gaza, and have sent him *faculties, appointing him to be our Vicar*, to defend those canonical heads, and to solve every difficulty and doubt, objected from *the other side*, and *to direct the trial*, in *conjunction with the sacred synod of the local bishops, presiding in it* as representing our *persona* in that one affair to its final settlement' (ib. p. 370). But these two letters to the tsar and to Ligarides were forgeries.

It is plain that if these two letters brought by Stephen had been accepted by the tsar as genuine, and he had destroyed, as he was desired to destroy, the letter to himself, saying nothing about it, while he gave publicity and effect to the other letter of instructions or faculties to Ligarides, Ligarides would have made the tsar himself nominate him to act as exarch for the patriarch and synod of C.P.; and he might then have proceeded at once to apply the Answers of the patriarchal tomes to the case of Nicon. But the tsar in the first instance, perhaps, delayed till he should know what had been the result of the mission of Meletius (who did, in fact, persuade the two patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch and some ten or twelve other bishops to come to Moscow); and about the end of 1665 or at the beginning of 1666 he sent very secretly a Russian monk named Sabbas to Dionysius, then ex-patriarch and metropolitan of Thessalonica, and to Par-

thenius IV., then the sitting patriarch of C.P., not only to request them to come to Moscow, but also to inquire more particularly what had been done by Stephen at Constantinople, and whether Ligarides had really been appointed to act as exarch in the affair of Nicon. Dionysius replied: 'The *Greek* Stephen was *never received* by me: only the chartophylax [whom Solovieff calls twice the *arto*phylax] spoke to me that I should write in a letter that the metropolitan of Gaza was to be my exarch: but I gave him no permission for this; and if any such letter has been exhibited to the tsar, those are tares sown by the chartophylax. As for Paisius Ligarides, he is not a scion of the chair of Constantinople, *nor do I call him Orthodox*: for I hear from *many* [*e.g.* from Nectarius] that he is a *papist* and a *bad man*. And as for the Greek Stephen, do not let him go either: for he has done great mischief to the Orthodox Church; no less than Athanasius of Iconium' (vol. iii. p. 360). Nectarius too (ib. p. 363), being questioned on the same subject, replied by desiring the envoy to make it known at Moscow that *nobody* had been appointed patriarchal exarch. The tsar had given to Ligarides the pretended letter of instructions or faculties to read, or perhaps a copy of it, since the original, according to Ligarides, remained in the imperial archives: but it does not seem that he let him know afterwards what inquiries had been made through the monk Sabbas, or with what result (see vol. iii. p. 91, 92, 360); for in writing his History about Easter in 1667, after the appointment of a new patriarch of Moscow, he both relates as a fact his own appointment to be patriarchal exarch, in connection with the return of Stephen from C.P., and represents himself as publicly appealing to this appointment even after the condemnation of Nicon, pretending that it still imposed on him the duty of

coming forward as the interpreter and champion of the patriarchal tomes of 1664 (ib. p. 235).

Nicon having returned to the cathedral at Moscow in the night before the 18th Dec. 1664, under a false impression that the tsar had desired him to do so, and that so he might make peace, Ligarides was employed to write letters in the tsar's own name to the patriarchs of C.P. and Jerusalem communicating to them this fact as a fresh and heinous *offence*, an *attack*, and act of *violence*, 'forbidden both by the canons and more especially *by the righteous judgment of the four patriarchs*' in the tomes brought by Meletius (vol. iii. p. 373; see Answer xv. at p. 337), and begging them, if they cannot themselves come to Moscow, at any rate to send thither their representatives. And to the patriarch of Jerusalem in particular, by whom in 1660 he had been degraded and excommunicated, Ligarides now wrote in the person of the tsar's majesty, but in a style of taunting sarcasm all his own, telling him that his separate letter 'recommending a pacification came *much too late*, since it came *after the writing of that tome* confirmed by the hands of *you* the four œcumenical patriarchs, which rendered Nicon incapable of filling again the patriarchal chair (alienavit), in both the copies of it alike. Moreover, thy *most judicious* beatitude, *without the participation* of the rest of the patriarchs, made the sum of the whole to be this, that Kyr Nicon should be invited back. But on the other hand there is a saying that "*the common judgment of all* has *the greater force*," while the vote of *one* separately is *of little value*. That observation too of *thine* we received as a sacred truth, *and will act upon it*, that in a just judgment "a *single witness*" is never to be admitted, "*especially if that witness be of the lowest rank* [Nectarius as patriarch of Jerusalem ranking after the other three patriarchs]; for in all things

order is to be kept."' He tells him farther that he had used an unlucky argument when he urged that Nicon's resignation, even if made ever so formally, would be of no force as having not been accepted, whereas in truth it was of force precisely for this reason that it *had* been accepted (ib. p. 377). After this and more, the tsar continues: 'Now, therefore, having all this before your mind, O most blessed father, give a *worthy* vote, holding the balance straight, *neither inclining it towards me nor towards him*, but cutting straight the furrow of *justice*.' And, after desiring him to send his representative: 'Do this, and thou wilt multiply *thy claim* for gratitude from us, who *think* of paying the debts of the Holy Places, by way of alms, *after this affair has been terminated*'[9] (ib. p. 378).

But at length two of the four patriarchs, Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch (who had had no hand in preparing the tomes of 1664, but had subscribed them, the former of the two at the instance of the patriarch of C.P., the latter at that of the patriarch of Jerusalem), were announced to be on their way to Moscow, having got away without permission of the sultan or his pashas through Persia and Georgia (vol. iii. p. 111). *How* they had been induced to come is indicated clearly enough by Ligarides. He writes (ib. p. 85) that his countryman Meletius, 'having seen the patriarch of Alexandria Paisius in Egypt, after much conference and *persuasive* argument, attained his end: and having gone thence to Mount Sinai, he there *adroitly* persuaded the archbishop Ananias by his *honeyed* discourses. Kyr Macarius was in the mean time staying in Georgia, whither he had gone *to seek alms*: he also was *gained over* by *most gold-beam-*

[9] He might have added 'and then perhaps we may think of letting the bearer of that separate letter of thine, Sebastus, out of prison.' See p. 355, 361, 457.

ing strings of words. Meletius found too an ex-metropolitan of Trebizond, Philotheus, and used his *most sweet* eloquence so well, that he stirred up the man, and added him to the others' (ib. p. 85). And the tsar himself in 1667, in a letter to Parthenius IV., then patriarch of C.P., writes of the same matter thus: 'Being pressed by temporary difficulties, the patriarchs Paisius and Macarius had found it necessary to journey to different countries *in quest of alms;* for great is the sharpness of want, and it makes even them that are very wise to be beggars.[10] While then these thy brethren were travelling to collect alms, and especially when they were visiting countries near to our dominions, there reached us a report of this: and thereupon we wrote to them . . . that they should *also, for the collection of what they needed,* come to our dominions. And they, *as fulfillers of the sacred commands,* came to Moscow *for the sake of the above-mentioned alms.* . . . But *at* the time of their coming, and *during their stay,* there *occurred* certain grave matters which needed the common counsel and judgment of two such most honourable and blessed pontiffs thy brethren: and this their divinely-inspired lips supplied to us. But our ears have since been pained by certain rumours that two others—God knows by whom—have been appointed patriarchs in their stead,' &c. Thus he wrote, requesting the patriarch Parthenius IV. to interest himself to obtain their restoration to their chairs: and though there were reasons, both as regarded Parthenius himself and as regarded the Turks, for saying little or nothing about the business for which they were brought, still for the fact that their motive in coming was to obtain his alms the tsar is an unexceptionable witness (ib. p. 477, 478).

Here it is to be observed that any synod, to be

[10] And something worse than beggars.

legitimate, must be legitimately convoked; that is, all who have a right to sit in it must be called: and if, under any pressure of difficulties, all cannot meet, or cannot even be invited to meet, and some, who can, meet and act for the rest, still this must be done on the presumption of their consent; and whatever is decreed must be decreed on the presumption of their adherence. But an assembly of bishops, even though some of them be patriarchs, who have been separately '*found*,' and treated with, and *bought*, to serve a particular end, can have no right to represent anybody beyond themselves: if any others consent to be represented by such, or adhere afterwards to their acts, so much the worse for them. But though all the bishops in the world (which is, by Christ's promise, impossible) were to sell themselves for alms, that could never change the nature of things, nor make injustice into justice, subserviency into authority, or a venal or slavish assembly into a canonical synod.

But apart from such general considerations, and without noticing those other Eastern bishops whom the *gold-beaming* eloquence of Meletius drew to Moscow, the two patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, when they had come thither, had no right, according to their own rules and precedents, to preside in a Russian synod and to judge the patriarch of Moscow, except by consent of the other two, and by an understanding with them, especially with the patriarch of Constantinople. This consent and understanding they *had not*: but it was asserted falsely for them at Moscow that they had it: they spoke and acted themselves as if they had it: and they treated Nicon as contumacious because he demurred to their authority, and demanded proof that they came with the knowledge and consent of the other two. They trusted, however, that what they so did to please the

tsar would, through his influence, be tacitly at least accepted afterwards. And it was accepted. Of the sense of the patriarchal tomes of 1664 subscribed by themselves they might claim to be competent interpreters: and since by those tomes the local synod, even without the presence of any patriarch, might call Nicon before it, and judge whether he was liable to condemnation, the local synod assisted and presided over by two of those patriarchs who had subscribed the tomes could equally do the same thing. And though the tomes in the original Greek, and without the interpolation of Ligarides, did not give distinctly to the local synod the right of pronouncing a judgment without appeal, but might be understood to reserve that right to the patriarch of C.P. acting together with his brethren, still, if two of these his brethren were associated with the local synod, the value of any appeal from its decision would be greatly diminished, the unity of the four patriarchs being already compromised, so that any appeal now made would be not so much from a local synod to the œcumenical patriarchs, as from two of the patriarchs acting separately and informally to the other two. And in point of fact, if Nicon before his condemnation could not even send a letter to the patriarch of C.P. with any security of its reaching him, much less, when he had been degraded and sentenced to imprisonment, could he institute or prosecute any appeal. If there were any grounds for apprehension, lest what was done in Dec. 1666 should be disallowed afterwards by the patriarchs of C.P. and Jerusalem, they were these: first, that the sitting patriarch of C.P. was then no longer Dionysius (who had subscribed the tomes in 1664), but Parthenius IV., who was so far from being represented by his two colleagues at Moscow, that he even treated their chairs as vacant, and was a party to the appointment of others

to be patriarchs in their stead; and secondly, that the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius could not be pleased to see his brethren used as puppets and himself outwitted and insulted by Ligarides, whom he, six or seven years before, had degraded and excommunicated. But when the work was done, letters were written by, or rather for, the two patriarchs Paisius and Macarius (and these manifestly were written for them by Ligarides), and sent through the prikaz of secret service, to communicate in an apologetic tone to the other two patriarchs what they had done. To the patriarch Parthenius IV. of C.P., they wrote that the tsar had written to them *twice* (comp. vol. iii. p. 127), and they understood that similar letters had been sent to all the patriarchal chairs, and, besides, had sent to them a confidential envoy, desiring them to come and judge the cause of Nicon, assuring them farther that there would be sent from the patriarch of C.P. some one to represent his person. Moreover, they had been assured that the patriarch of Jerusalem had long before set out, so as to have advanced half-way on his journey to Moscow (comp. vol. iii. p. 361). 'Therefore,' they say, 'we two patriarchs, that we might not seem to be at variance with so great a patriarchal unity, nor disobedient to so reasonable a bidding of the tsar, went forth, looking *only* to one end, viz. that of maintaining our ancestral faith and *true justice*. But at Moscow we did not find either your holiness in person or your representative, as had been promised us. But since what is done cannot be undone, and we had come, we proceeded to examine that ecclesiastical cause *which had also been already*[11] *carefully sifted and judged by a local synod*' (p. 460). 'And the judgment which the local synod of Moscow had pronounced was *perfectly correct, in all*

[11] That is, in 1660, and again in the spring of 1666.

respects just, and *framed according to the sacred canons*, and *confirmed* [in the spring of 1666] *according to our patriarchal tomes*. Therefore, with much investigation on the part of the tsar our protector, and with the *conscientious* judgment of the local synod of bishops, we altogether deposed Nicon, *publicly*, in the church, &c. In consequence the patriarchal chair is now vacant, till God shall find a worthy bridegroom for His Church. Moreover, we requested the tsar that there should be made some synodical notification through messengers bearing letters from him about all that has been done here to your holiness: and having received permission from him, behold, we now write this notification to you without *any* respect of persons, speaking *all the truth, in order that the future patriarch of Moscow may obtain his commemoration from you in the diptychs*. Moreover, we *anticipate* that *the usual alms* given to the great chair and to the other *poor* patriarchal chairs *will be now repeated*, or rather that they *will be something more*, and *more satisfactory*. And about this *we pledge ourselves*, and *exert ourselves with all our might*, until it be done, that so the proverb may be fulfilled, which says: 'When brother helps brother,' &c., and 'Friends are known in time of need.'

And to the patriarch of Jerusalem they wrote praying the Almighty to give him 'peace, and *liberation from all debts*,' &c.: and then: 'Be it known to thee, that we set forth from our sees *after having seen the writing* announcing that thy beatitude had the intention of journeying to Moscov (comp. vol. iii. p. 361): and farther, *the bearer of the letter told* us that the œcumenical patriarch *intended to send his exarch;* so that we were hereby the more moved to journey hither, that *no change*[12] *might by any chance* be made in all the heads

[12] Here Ligarides makes those two patriarchs, who originally merely fol-

which we *all* the four patriarchs had judged. Moreover, we saw also [here at Moscow] the codicil of thy superlative beatitude written after *all our subscriptions*, as if with a view to the *condemnation* of Nicon: and *going in some degree upon this*, we have done as follows [have *condemned and degraded Nicon*], &c. Moreover, our arrival here was in some sense a *liberation of thy messenger Sebastus*, whom *scarcely we were able by many entreaties and prayers to get freed from the tsar's wrath and from confinement.* And *thence* we *learned* that it was in truth *temerity* for any one to judge *without much examination* in a matter *with which he is not perfectly acquainted*.[13] *Therefore*, when *we*, having come hither, had seen with our eyes, and had *carefully searched out all the truth*,[14] we, according to the canons and *according to our patriarchal tome*, have stripped Nicon of all power to do sacerdotal acts, &c. We make this notification for the special information of thy holiness, as also it is fitting, and the constitutions of the holy Church require, that we should thus notify what we do to one another,' &c. (ib. p. 457).

How Dionysius would have acted if he had been still patriarch of C.P. on receiving the notification of what had been done at Moscow, had been shown in the spring of 1666 by those answers of his to the tsar's envoy Sabbas, which have been mentioned above. His successor Parthenius IV. had personally taken part in filling with new patriarchs or anti-patriarchs the chairs of Alexandria and Antioch, as if vacated by the absence

---

lowed Nectarius and Dionysius, jealously maintain against Nectarius himself the worst sense of *his own* tomes, and insinuate that there had been some danger of *his* surreptitiously changing it without *their* consent.

[13] Or for any one, like Philoxenus, not to praise the *tragedies* of a tyrant. See vol. iii. p. 18.

[14] Having asked the tsar to give us Ligarides for our instructor. See vol. iii. p. 156, and p. 157-166.

of Paisius and Macarius; and it was not through him (perhaps there was not time before he was displaced), but through his successor Methodius, that the tsar obtained their restoration. Still, Parthenius does not seem to have made any difficulty of receiving the tsar's alms, and of substituting in the diptychs the name of the new patriarch of Moscow Joasaph II. (consecrated by the patriarchs Paisius and Macarius, with the assistance of Ligarides) for the name of Nicon: and he actually took some step, at the instance of the tsar, towards obtaining the restoration of Ligarides to the see of Gaza, though with no other result than that of offending the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius and his archdeacon Dositheus, who, on the resignation of Nectarius at the end of 1668 or in Jan. 1669, became his successor.

As for Nectarius, he, no doubt, was mortified at the result of his own double-dealing, and he smarted under the sarcastic taunts to which he was treated both in the tsar's reply to his separate letter and in the notification written as from the two patriarchs and the tsar by Ligarides. But he too, so far as Nicon and the tsar were concerned, acquiesced.

The tsar, rejecting the blessing of Nicon, had placed himself, his empire, and the Russian Church, at first unconsciously, but at last not altogether in ignorance, under the blessing of a man degraded and excommunicated, and under the imputation of unmentionable crimes: and Nectarius, the best and most exemplary of all the Greek patriarchs and bishops, had been induced by mixed motives to originate a course of action which in the end brought him and the other patriarchs, and their successors, not only to communicate (directly or indirectly) with that same wretched man, whom Nectarius had himself degraded and anathematised, but also to become his accomplices and his tools for injustice,

and for the entire subjection of the Orthodox Church to the civil power. Ligarides seemed to have triumphed; and in writing, about Easter in 1667, his *History of the Condemnation of Nicon*, for his own glorification and that of the tsar to whom it was dedicated, he boldly stated (vol. iii. p. 101) that his canonical and complete acquittal of all the '*calumnies*' previously vomited forth against him had been pronounced, *on a review of the matter*, by the three patriarchs, that is, by Paisius and Macarius and by Joasaph, whom they, together with Ligarides, had ordained to be patriarch in the room of Nicon. At that time Ligarides even hoped that in case of a fresh vacancy, which, from the advanced age of Joasaph, might be expected before long — when the Eastern patriarchs and bishops should have left — he might himself, in reward for his services, be raised to the patriarchate of Moscow (see vol. iii. p. 548). But this was not to be: the ground underneath him, on which he seemed just then to stand so firmly, was hollow, and ready to cleave asunder: the climax that was still wanting, and that was soon to complete the drama, was very different from that which was in his own thoughts. It was this: that the tsar and Nectarius and Ligarides should establish and witness against one another and against themselves the full extent of their own ignominy.

When Nicon was now degraded and imprisoned, and Ligarides had written and finished his History, towards the end of 1667 or the beginning of 1668, the two patriarchs Paisius and Macarius being still at Moscow, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Nectarius, without saying a word either to defend Nicon or to displease the tsar, thought that he might nevertheless strike an oblique blow at Ligarides. With this view he drew the attention of Methodius, who had now taken the place of Par-

thenius IV. as patriarch of C.P., to a MS. *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem* written quite in a Latin sense many years before by Ligarides; and the two patriarchs jointly anathematised both this History itself *and its author*. Nectarius then wrote a letter to the tsar at Moscow, denouncing to him Ligarides (in whose favour, a little before, the tsar had been seeking the intervention or mediation of Parthenius IV.) as a Latin heretic, and recommending him to keep him close, lest he should go off to his old master the Pope, and publish the secrets of the tsar's empire (vol. iii. p. 552). The tsar, as if Ligarides had been *deposed* by Nectarius only for having Latinised many years before or for having absented himself uncanonically from his see of Gaza, wrote again in his favour to Nectarius in the spring of 1669, and also to the patriarch of C.P. Methodius, to obtain for him absolution and restoration to his see. These letters reached Constantinople in July; and Dositheus, who had then become patriarch of Jerusalem after the resignation of Nectarius, replied to the tsar that the patriarch of C.P. could not intervene in any way with regard to the see of Gaza: that Ligarides had been [*originally*] degraded and anathematised by Nectarius [not for Latinism, but] for crimes which modesty forbade him to name; and that he was far from having given any signs of penitence: that nevertheless, to please the tsar, since he asked it, and since he wrote that Ligarides had been useful to him, and 'had brought his empire to a good end' [that is, out of the difficulty caused by Nicon's withdrawal], he, Dositheus, would account the vices and sins of Ligarides as virtues, and *by way of honour and praise for them* would enclose for him a letter of absolution. . . . 'And,' he adds, 'we are expecting the return of our archimandrite Prochorus with the alms of thy majesty, which are now our only hope. Let thy mercy,

most serene lord, be upon us, as we do put our trust in thee!'

In the letter of absolution accompanying this letter to the tsar, and dated in October 1669, Dositheus wrote that 'out of consideration for the tsar's request (nothing whatever being said of penitence) he holds Ligarides for absolved and blessed of God Almighty and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and restores him to Communion, and allows him to be entitled bishop of the see of Gaza' [Nicon being deposed and degraded, and imprisoned as a felon]. But then he adds: 'Moreover we have *recommended to our father Nectarius, and to all the synod*, to absolve him in like manner as he *by the grace of the Holy Ghost* is absolved by us *out of affection for the most autocratic Christian tsar*, &c. Dated in October 1669, from Philippopolis' (vol. iii. p. 537).

These letters arrived at Moscow in the spring of 1670; and the tsar (keeping, no doubt, the other letter entirely to himself) gave or showed to Ligarides the *Letter of Absolution*, that he might use it to regain that status which he had lost by the former letter of Nectarius. But Dositheus' letter of absolution was objected to by the patriarch Joasaph II. as incomplete and ambiguous: and Ligarides addressed a petition to the tsar, no longer saying anything about 'calumnies,' nor pretending innocence, but merely pleading that the absolution obtained from Dositheus was of itself valid and sufficient, and praying for '*a righteous revision*' of the unfavourable judgment come to by the Russian bishops (p. 558).

From this time he no longer appeared as a public character, but lived on at Moscow under surveillance, and died there in 1678, after the death of the tsar Alexis, who from his death-bed, and in his will, had asked for himself pardon and absolution from Nicon, calling him

'Great Hospodin, most holy hierarch, and blessed pastor.' And lastly, after Nicon's death (1681), all the four Eastern patriarchs then sitting, at the request of the young tsar Theodore, and for his alms, rehabilitated the memory of Nicon, restored him to his rank of patriarch, and reinserted his name in the diptychs, not by any means reversing as unjust the judgment passed upon him, nor deprecating for the Church its consequences, but extenuating his offences, and pretending falsely that he had atoned for them, and had merited absolution, by living the rest of his life in repentance, whereas he had really lived to the end in consistent 'contumacy,' and for this had been persecuted afresh after the death of the tsar Alexis by the titular patriarch Joachim and the Council of the boyars.

Hitherto we have been tracing step by step the judicial process against Nicon, from its institution in 1663, when the tsar and the council of the boyars first accused him to the patriarch of C.P., to his final condemnation in 1666, with the adherence of all the four Eastern patriarchs and of their successors. But we may also in imagination call before us all the actors in this great drama—this 'tragicomedy,' as Ligarides calls it—the boyars as the principal accusers, Ligarides as their paid advocate and the manager of the process, the Eastern patriarchs and the synod itself as the judges, the Russian bishops as assessors to the judges and witnesses against Nicon, and yet themselves also parties, whose own interests are threatened by his condemnation; and lastly, the tsar, who is at once prosecutor, and witness, and judge in his own cause, or in that of the boyars, which he makes his own: we may call these all together before us, and re-hear the case, as it were *in foro conscientiæ*, from their own recorded confessions, admissions, acts, statements, and judgments.

First, let us hear the boyars. They, in their xxv. Questions sent in 1663 to C.P., before they say a word against Nicon, begin by indirectly *accusing the tsar*, and by making him to invite answers casting blame upon himself first, and then afterwards also upon Nicon. For they virtually say: 'The tsar wronged us by his partiality, showing undue favour out of partial affection to an individual, conferring on him new and unusual honours, giving his own glory to another, doing things unprecedented, and so stirring up against himself a nest of bees which make no honey, that is, of hornets (vol. iii. p. 320). Again, by allowing himself to be eclipsed: by giving a promise, and even a written engagement, to the patriarch, contrary to former custom and to our code [to obey himself, and to allow others to obey, the laws of God and the canons of the Church], and so acknowledging a dualism of authorities; granting him on his request to exercise lordship in his diocese, allowing him to disallow and set aside, or to suspend, established laws of the very highest authority; allowing him to take, of arrogance and ambition, titles belonging only to secular rulers (ib. p. 331); and to style himself ruler over sees not belonging to his patriarchate (p. 333); allowing him to found, and assisting him to found and to endow, uncanonically, monasteries with unbecoming titles; letting him become a curator of public offices, so as to interfere in and to direct political affairs (ib. p. 335, 505). Then, as for Nicon, besides those grave and unpardonable offences which are implied under the above-mentioned imputations against the tsar, there are other very numerous transgressions, all of them deserving deposition and degradation, or even excommunication and punishment by the civil power, 'which are scarcely to be counted, and which we consider it to be superfluous to enumerate' (ib. p. 461).

Next, let us hear Ligarides, the paid advocate and conductor of the process for the boyars and the tsar, who calls himself metropolitan of Gaza. He says: 'I came to Moscow for my own purposes, of my own free will, without any mission or invitation (vol. iii. p. 50). I came not to dispute with Nicon, nor to judge him, but to seek for alms (ib. p. 427). Nicon at first wrote to me engaging me to help towards a pacification; and by order of the emperor I answered him. In my answer I wrote thus: "For all thy struggles and sufferings may God repay thee with a worthy reward! But I, finding myself between two parties of combatants, am at a loss to which side to turn." *So I might have* prelude; but now it is too late. I know that thou lookest to a right purpose and end. Thou criest aloud, "Repent!" imitating that other Nicon whose name thou bearest (ib. p. 61). But the emperor feeds me, and day by day bestows his graces upon me (ib. p. 58). Afterwards I was in the habit of conferring with the most splendid synclete respecting certain political affairs (ib. p. 193); and I did not depart from Moscow quite so soon as Nicon wished, but stayed on there only, as was manifest, to work up the case against him, and to make war on him by innumerable writings (ib. p. 173). The emperor is the earthly god (ib. p. 246); emperor at once and bishop, as we say to his praise of Constantine; of a mixed origin, sacerdotal at once and royal, like Aristobulus, who was at once high-priest and king (ib. p. 240); and, to speak briefly, with the single exception of officiating in sacred things, all the other episcopal privileges are clearly represented by the emperor, and in respect of them he acts lawfully and canonically (ib. p. 298). The emperor showers on all his gifts, crying, "Come hither, and draw rivers of beneficence, alms, and bounty." And if we should hold our peace, *all the*

four patriarchates would cry out, like the brazen tripods at Dodona, giving an harmonious sound. And I, above all, will shout like a stentor, to proclaim his boundless liberality towards myself (ib. p. 66). Yes, indeed! yes, indeed! I do both kiss and embrace the hand *which enriches strangers*. Yes, yes; I kiss the hand which supplies our outward and inward wants, which bountifully lavishes what exceeds all necessity or want (ib. p. 237). *In truth*, O Nicon, thou *oughtest not* to have been so free spoken, to have represented the truth so plainly, so categorically, to the emperor and the boyars, without being in the least abashed. For if thou hadst behaved more politicly, flattering and humouring them, thou wouldest not have come at last to such a condemnation,' (ib. p. 216).

Then, as regards the judgment pronounced in the name of the Orthodox Church, those patriarchs who either prepared the way for the condemnation of Nicon, or personally condemned him, or adhered afterwards to the judgment given in their names, were the patriarch of Constantinople Dionysius (1663-1665), and his successors Parthenius IV. (1666-1668) and Methodius, the patriarch of Alexandria Paisius, the patriarch of Antioch Macarius, and the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius (1663-1668), and his archdeacon and successor Dositheus.

Of these we have seen above the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius (in 1663), unwilling at first to receive the tsar's letters from the fear of the Turks; and after he had been induced by the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius to receive them, and had done together with him what was done in subscribing and sending to Moscow the patriarchal Answers or tomes, we have seen him, as ex-patriarch, manifesting complete indifference, bidding the tsar do what he pleased, and only offering to take

any *sin* there might be—if the tsar's conscience was afraid of *sin*—on his own head, and on the heads of his brethren. We have seen too that his successor Parthenius IV. (in 1666) was so far from being as yet a party to what was done at Moscow in his name, that he actually treated the chairs of Alexandria and Antioch as vacated by the absence of their holders. And a little later, as has been mentioned above, we have Methodius the successor of Parthenius IV. joining with the patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem to anathematise Ligarides.

We have seen the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius (in 1664) confessing to the tsar what opinion of the charges against Nicon he had really formed even from the *ex-parte* statements made to him: and later (in 1668) we have seen him, together with the patriarch of C.P. Methodius, anathematising Ligarides, and denouncing him to the tsar as a Latin heretic (vol. iii. p. 349-357). And a little later still (in 1669), his archdeacon and successor Dositheus discloses the fact, that the same Ligarides had been originally deposed, degraded, and excommunicated by Nectarius, not for Latinism, but for unmentionable immorality; yet he offers, in order to please the tsar and to obtain his alms, to take his vices for virtues, and in reward for them to communicate with him (though he was impenitent) and to declare him absolved by the grace of the Holy Ghost.

But what of the other two patriarchs, Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, who had least of all to do with the matter at the beginning, but most of all to do with it at the end; who at the beginning (in 1663) had merely subscribed the patriarchal Answers or tomes as sent to them for subscription by the patriarchs of C.P. and Jerusalem, without having been consulted about their composition, but who at the end interpreted and applied the same tomes and turned them into a de-

finitive judgment (contrary to the sense of the patriarch of Jerusalem), without either the patriarch of C. P. or of Jerusalem having any share in the matter? Have not they also, it may be asked, left some indication of their real sentiments? or have we only such speeches of theirs as Ligarides reports them to have made in the synod at Moscow? as, for instance, from Paisius of Alexandria these words: 'Whoever troubles the emperor and disturbs his empire is altogether without defence,' &c., and from Macarius of Antioch such as these: 'Sometimes even the devil has been found to speak truth; but Nicon has never at any time so much as once spoken truth, and has shown himself worse than Satan,' &c. (ib. p. 186, 187)? It is not so; but they also have both of them left indications of their real sentiments, indirectly indeed, but still so, that is nearly the same thing as if they had each left a written opinion subscribed with his own name.

First, Paisius of Alexandria. Not long before the letter of Nectarius denouncing Ligarides reached Moscow—which was in 1668—the patriarch of Alexandria Paisius (to whom the patriarchal tome had been sent for subscription in 1663 by the patriarch of C. P. Dionysius) received at Moscow from Ligarides, and carried away with him when he left, a copy of Ligarides' *History of the Condemnation of Nicon*, written about Easter, in 1667, in Greek; and it is through that copy alone, discovered in 1850 by a Russian archimandrite in the patriarchal library at Cairo, that the same History has been preserved to be now translated and published.

On this copy—or may it not even be the original itself?—at three places the patriarch of Alexandria or some one of his suite (who would not write anything contrary to his sentiments) has written marginal notes, which are short indeed, but still sufficiently suggestive.

At p. 89 of vol. iii., where Ligarides relates that he was appointed by the patriarch of C. P. Dionysius to be his exarch at Moscow for the affair of Nicon, there is in the original MS., in the margin, a note thus: 'This to my knowledge is a lie; for I know, though I will not name him, the man who forged the pretended letter of the patriarch here spoken of.' And again, at p. 235, where Ligarides repeats the same assertion, there is a similar marginal note, thus: 'Here he plainly lies: he obtained, as was detected afterwards, letters as if from the patriarch Dionysius: but they were forged through the cunning management of *Meletius*, a monk of the Lavra [though the immediate agent at C.P. was Stephen], and written by the hand of a certain clerk [the chartophylax at C.P.?], whose name I purposely refrain from writing.' And at another place (p. 167), where it is argued that to summon Nicon was, *by the decision of the patriarchal tomes*, quite unnecessary, as the charges had been *already* clearly established by trustworthy persons and witnesses,' the same contemporary hand has for the word 'trustworthy' substituted in the margin '*untrustworthy*.'

But the fullest and the most important illustrations and testimonies concerning the nature of the whole affair are supplied by the patriarch of Antioch Macarius (to whom the patriarchal tome was sent in 1663 for subscription by the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius), or rather by his son and companion the archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, who for this matter—to use his own words—must be regarded as 'inseparable from his father.' And the manner in which his testimony both at first came to be written, and afterwards to acquire great additional point and force, is curious, and indeed providential.

The patriarch Macarius with his son had already

been in Russia for the alms of the tsar and the patriarch Nicon, and had spent there two years, from the summer of 1654 to that of 1656, ten or twelve years before they went there again for the alms of the tsar and the boyars to condemn Nicon. As soon as their first journey had been determined upon, a brother deacon, Gabriel the son of Constantine the goldsmith, pressed his friend the archdeacon Paul to write a full account of all they might see and hear in the countries they were to visit; and he would take no refusal: so a journal (or notes at least for a journal) was written from day to day, so far as there occurred anything new (for the travels extended over eight years, from 1652 to 1659), to be 'a treasure of histories and of *entertaining* narratives.' The object of the writer being only to amuse and to interest, he produced a sort of word-photograph of all that he saw and heard, set off with oriental vivacity, humour, and exaggeration, but accurate for contemporary events, even where his accounts are not those of an eye-witness. Presenting himself as one with his countrymen and boon companions, neither very good nor yet very bad, but with the antipathy of a Syrian for the Greeks, he praises generally—this was a matter of course, since they were then as one person—the tsar and the patriarch Nicon alike, and ascribes many acts and qualities to one or the other of them, or to both together, indifferently: but if he relates of either of them anything distinctive, throwing light on the inner personal character, or suggestive of inferences beyond the mere surface of things, this is done unconsciously and incidentally, without any serious purpose of praise or blame, or any religious or philosophical interest in tendencies or principles. Just as Ligarides, being a bad man and writing as an unprincipled rhetorician, unconsciously pillories himself and his employers, and exposes the bad-

ness of their cause even more forcibly than Nicon himself could do in his Replies, so the Syrian archdeacon Paul, being neither good nor bad, when he incidentally praises and blames according to the appreciation of ordinary men, renders a testimony to the truth all the more forcible for this very reason, that it is unconscious and incidental.

In the *Travels of Macarius* the state of Russia is represented as that of a body in vigorous health, in which the secular and spiritual authorities act together as one power, and all those elements of evil which may exist are either latent or are held at least in abeyance. The affection of the tsar for the patriarch is unbounded; therefore also the tsaritsa, and all the grandees, all the clergy, and the entire people, love him almost as much as they love Christ Himself. They also all fear him. The tsar and the tsaritsa are the leaders of the people in religious observances: how then can the courtiers be otherwise than devout? The tsar has put to death all the corrupt and tyrannical governors, &c.: all crimes are punished with the strictest justice: the tsar assists the patriarch in the promotion of enlightenment and instruction, and in the correction of all errors and abuses in religion: the bishops then (all at least but one) are compliant: the tsar's conscience forbids him to encroach upon the rights of the Church: how then can the boyars commit sacrilege? The tsar makes the patriarch even viceroy in his own absence: how then can any one else call him as yet 'Mujik bladin'? One consequence of this good harmony is the union of Little Russia, and the reduction of Smolensk and of all Lithuania. Already the tsar has overrun Volhynia and Podolia; he is looking forward to the union of the two crowns of Lithuania and Poland with that of Muscovy, and to the destruction not only of the Tatar kingdom of the Crimea, but of the

empire of the Turks; and he hopes to see the day when the Eastern patriarchs and the patriarch Nicon may celebrate the liturgy together in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople.

To one ignorant of what actually followed, it might seem difficult to detect here any signs of a great and speedy change: but signs there are: and to such as know the subsequent history they are manifest, and stand out of themselves.

1. It is plain that the ancient and canonical rights of the clergy, both as to the tenure of their property and as to the immunity of their persons from secular jurisdiction, had already been greatly encroached upon, before Nicon became patriarch; and that a crisis was approaching. The stipulations made by Nicon as conditions of his accepting the patriarchate show that he was fully aware of this: his previous suggestion of the translation of the relics of the metropolitan St. Philip to Moscow looked the same way. And after he had become patriarch, though the tsar in his conscience recognised the justice of Nicon's stipulations and claims, and conformed to them '*so far as he could*,' nevertheless certain customs are mentioned as still subsisting, and certain facts and methods of proceeding, which Nicon must have '*borne with*' rather than approved. The whole of the Church property is described as having been surveyed and registered for the tsar, and as being held and administered under state inspection and control: the tsars had been used formerly to nominate and displace ecclesiastical dignitaries: the civil code of 1649 (enacted with a sort of representation and concurrence of all orders) had erected a court called the monastirski prikaz, in which judges named by the tsar were to decide finally all questions and suits, not purely spiritual, relating to the persons and property of the clergy and the Church. These

encroachments had no doubt been *suspended* by the influence of Nicon, and in consequence of his stipulations: but suspension is not abrogation: Nicon spoke to the tsar repeatedly (so he writes himself) to obtain the abrogation or modification of the code; but this was more than the tsar had courage to undertake: and so the temporary suspension obtained depended on the continuance of that same personal will and favour of the tsar by which it was accorded.

2. The boyars under John IV. Basilievich had obtained an edict forbidding the Church to acquire by gift or bequest [of subjects, that is, for the tsar himself was not bound] or by purchase fresh properties; and much property which had been previously given by the crown was then, by the consent of a synod, resumed. And under Alexis, at the time of the enactment of the code of 1649, the boyars again petitioned that an examination should be made, and that all properties acquired by the bishops or monasteries since the edict of John IV., or contrary to it, should be taken away. But Nicon, between 1652 and 1656, had been obtaining fresh grants; and the tsar Alexis had not only himself founded and endowed monasteries, but he had also allowed Nicon to found monasteries, and to purchase for them estates, and to receive for them estates given or bequeathed by others: and the tsar himself had given charters and endowments to Nicon's monasteries: and these acquisitions of Nicon were obnoxious to the same jealousy, and were described, no doubt, as obtained by 'rapacity' and 'plundering' to the patriarch Macarius and his son when they were at Moscow in 1666, but certainly not during their first stay in Russia in 1654, 1655, and 1656.

3. 'The voivodes and grandees, it is said, under the tsar Michael, who was too lenient, were corrupt, tyrannical, and oppressive; and Alexis in his youth was de-

spised by them, so that they even nicknamed him 'the young monk.' But *as soon as he came to the throne*, it is added, 'he slew *all* those iniquitous voivodes, and appointed others in their room, who are in constant dread of him; for he loves to shed blood in the cause of justice;' and elsewhere: '*Now* he has got the upper hand, and has slain *most of them*, and reduced the rest very low;' and he has put good men—some of them of the suite of the patriarch Nicon—in their places; and now justice is most severely administered, and over all alike. Nevertheless, 'the grandees do not much fear the tsar: they fear rather the patriarch; and by many degrees more.' However, it cannot be supposed that if the voivodes and grandees as a class had been bad under Michael, the tsar Alexis had either at once on his accession (when he was only between sixteen and seventeen years of age), or before the year 1655, really slain *all* those bad men, or even *most of them*, and reduced the rest very low. It is plain that some—perhaps many—of the same kind would still remain: and we know enough from other sources of the Miloslafskys, the Streshneffs, the Khitroffs, and others, to enable us to assert that not only did some—and many—very bad men remain among the grandees, but that instead of being reduced very low, they filled the highest offices, were most closely related to the tsar himself, and enjoyed his personal intimacy and favour. Only so long as the affection of the tsar for Nicon was still undiminished, there was no open show, even from these men, of hostility against him. But for such men the exercise of supreme authority in the tsar's absence, and of little less than supreme authority in his presence, by any ecclesiastic, more especially by one of such a character as Nicon—and in the manner described by the Syrian archdeacon—must have been intensely galling. Already, when he was

only metropolitan of Novgorod, some of them had complained that 'never before had such dishonour been done to the nobility: that the tsar had given them up to the metropolitan of Novgorod.'

4. Not only cannot a severe and just governor be popular with those who need to be rebuked and punished, but neither can *any favourite* of a sovereign, even though he may personally deserve to be popular, and may belong by birth to the class of the nobility, fail to draw upon himself the hostility of a party more or less formidable.

5. If the bishops had all, or most of them, been like-minded with Nicon, ready to support him in case of need in withstanding tyranny, and following him in using for good the favour of the crown, they might perhaps have withheld the tsar from giving himself up to the party of the boyars. But we find Nicon described with oriental vivacity as 'a great *butcher over the bishops*, and even over the grandees in the high offices of state, as coercing by the tsar's authority not only the boyars but *the bishops and other ecclesiastics*.' '*Some* indeed,' the archdeacon Paul writes, 'conformed obediently,' *i.e.*, voluntarily: but if in the first synod holden by Nicon one bishop absolutely refused his reforms, and was banished in consequence by the tsar, it may be understood that others also of the bishops and higher clergy submitted only through fear, 'for the anger of the patriarch is not to be withstood.' And even after the custom of rebaptising the Latins had been condemned by a synod in 1655, it was necessary in 1656 to convoke a fuller synod and to treat over again the same question: and then it was only after a 'long and angry discussion,' that Nicon, armed with the tsar's authority, and assisted by the presence of the patriarch of Antioch and by the testimony of the acts of the Greek synod held at C.P.

in 1484, 'compelled the Muscovite bishops reluctantly to submit to the truth, and to their own Church laws.' And among the inferior clergy, too, heads of convents, protopopes, priests, and monks are spoken of as being either openly contumacious, or as secretly murmuring against Nicon. What, then, was to be expected from the same bishops and clergy, if ever the boyars came to wield that same favour of the tsar against Nicon which, during the first stay of the patriarch Macarius in Russia, was wielded by Nicon both against the boyars and against themselves?

6. And of the people, some had been ready to make a tumult, and even to seek to kill Nicon for disrespect shown, not to Orthodox icons, but to icons painted in foreign style; though the ignorant people, who in 1654 made this tumult, must have been stirred up and deceived by some others of higher rank. And manifestly, if there was need to banish or to anathematise the leader of a new heresy, and if any innovation or reform, however slight, excited at first a general murmur even from those who afterwards followed and imitated the patriarch, there must have been no small number among the people who were secretly or openly his enemies; so that it cannot have been true that *all* the whole body either of the grandees, or of the clergy, or of the people, really loved him almost as much as Christ Himself: only in 1655 and 1656 they dared not openly league together against him.

As to the relative strength of the bad and corrupt party among the nobles, the clergy, and the people, the archdeacon Paul certainly gives his reader no sufficient data on which to base an estimate. But what he mentions of the bishops in the synods held by Nicon, and on one or two other occasions, suggests the inference that Nicon had not in the hierarchy a body of suffragans

either attached to his person or heartily supporting him on public grounds. Rather he is represented as overbearing them, and forcing them, in part by the tsar's authority, to follow and obey him, compelling them, as he compelled also the boyars and the civil functionaries, to do their duty.

What, then, if the tsar, who had a turn for meddling personally in Church matters, so as to make himself sometimes even into a sacristan or a candle-lighter, who was irascible, weak in some respects, vain, capable of using foul words, and of doing 'very unattractive' acts of duplicity and cruelty, though from 1652 to 1656 his conscience and his will upon the whole was with Nicon (and he had, as Nicon testifies of him, much that was good in his character), still after a year or two, having become a little older, and more used to govern, having commanded armies and having gained victories, were to feel himself stronger and less in need of support from the patriarch, and on the other hand were to feel more and more the strength of Nicon's enemies, and the difficulty of establishing fully and permanently those rights of the clergy on which he insisted? what if he should begin to find Nicon's uncompromising pertinacity, and the fear inspired by the superiority of his character and genius, irksome even to himself? or if his self-love should be affronted by perceiving and by hearing frequently from others that his subjects feared Nicon more, and by many degrees more, than they feared himself? It is pretty clear from the indications given in the *Travels of Macarius* that if the favour of the tsar was withdrawn, the support which Nicon might expect from the bishops and clergy would be but small.

Such are the general reflections suggested by that account of Muscovy which is contained in the *Travels of Macarius*. But what gives the greatest force and

value to these Travels is the circumstance that though they are digested from notes written day by day from 1652 to 1686, they were not finally written out and published (so far as a MS. work may be published) till after the second journey of the patriarch Macarius and his son to Moscow, in 1666, for the condemnation of Nicon; that is, not before 1670. Nor then were they simply written out fair without *any* alterations or additions; for in a few places allusions to their second journey to Moscow and stay there were inserted: and even a few sentences to the disadvantage of Nicon. But the purpose of the writer being only to amuse and interest his countrymen, and this purpose being sufficiently well provided for by what he had originally written, he reaffirmed it all and indorsed it after the condemnation of Nicon, unconscious or heedless of any bearing it might have on the history of that condemnation. The thought might perhaps have suggested itself to add an appendix giving an account of their second journey from Georgia, by the Caspian Sea and the Volga, to Moscow, and of their second stay there: but this could scarcely be done without entering into details concerning the business for which they went; and of this business the archdeacon Paul was perhaps not inclined to write an account in the spirit of Ligarides; and if he had been inclined, such an account would have been in irreconcilable opposition with his earlier Travels: but to write in a spirit favourable to Nicon would have been to write against themselves, which was not natural, and against the tsar, which, so long as as he lived and they might expect alms, was not politic or convenient. So the less that was said about the second journey the better; and the wonder is perhaps that there should be any allusions to it at all. But some there are.

First, there are three or four allusions which are merely incidental, but valuable, as proving the fact that all the impressions written down in 1654, 1655, and 1656 were deliberately approved as sufficiently accurate, written out fair, and published in 1670. Then, in one place, in the midst of other notices about Nicon digested from the original journal, there are inserted imputations of *rapacity* and *violence* in connection with statements[14] plainly heard in 1666 rather than in 1655. This passage is valuable as showing that if the writer left unaltered all that he had written in 1654, in 1655, and 1656, it was not because he was seriously ashamed of what had been done in 1666, or anxious to be just, but only because he did not see how he could do otherwise, without too great inconsistency or inconvenience: and in giving us unaltered his original observations and impressions, he is not only a witness to the truth, but also, more or less, an unwilling witness.

Lastly, there is one other place where there is inserted in a similar spirit a story meant to be unfavourable to Nicon, which deserves to be mentioned separately. The story is in itself a childish fable, intended partly to extol the patriarch of Antioch, partly to impute haughtiness, rude behaviour, and pride to Nicon; but it is so clumsily and thoughtlessly inserted, that a page or two farther on it is followed by its own refutation transcribed from the original journal. And not only so, but a hint is given through it of real occurrences discreditable to the tsar and illustrative of the true source of his alienation from the patriarch. The tsar,

[14] Possibly in one or two other places a word of exaggeration may have been added in a like spirit, as where Nicon is said to have '*forced*' the tsar to expel all the foreigners from within the walls of Moscow and other cities; and where he is called a '*great butcher*' over the clergy, instead of a severe maintainer of discipline: but in these other places there is no difficulty in supposing that the words noticed stood as they stand now in the original journal.

they were told, had had a dispute in the church on Good Friday in 1656 with the patriarch Nicon. No one knew the cause; nor did we, he adds, till afterwards. Only, in general, it was known that it must have been occasioned by the haughtiness and rude behaviour of Nicon; for he had become excessively proud. The fact was (so in 1670 the writer pretended) that the dispute was about an innovation introduced by Nicon [by order of the tsar himself, at p. 279] at the festival of the baptism of Christ, *i.e.* of the Epiphany preceding; and the tsar having only just now discovered that Nicon on that occasion had not, as he before supposed, been following the instructions of the patriarch of Antioch, disputed the matter with him, and called him '*Mujik bladin.*' And when Nicon expostulated, saying: 'I am your spiritual father, why then do you revile me?' the tsar replied: 'It is not *you* who are my father, but it is the holy patriarch of Antioch who is indeed my father; and I will send to bring him back.' And thereupon immediately he sent and brought him back from Bolchov. But a little farther on he copies out from his original journal this more truthful notice: 'Now at length we discovered the motive for which we had been brought back: it was threefold. First, that we might assist at a synod to discuss the baptism of the Poles; secondly, *that we might give information respecting the metropolitan of Moldavia* [this was the true reason]; and thirdly, that we might assist in condemning a new heresy,' p. 322. However, the writer here hints at facts not at all discreditable to Nicon, but very discreditable to those who accused and who condemned him; viz. 1. that some time after 1656 the tsar disputed with Nicon about ecclesiastical matters; and 2. used 'unseemly words,' words implying the familiarity and influence of bad and profligate courtiers and favourites;

3. that he was reproved for this by Nicon; and 4. that he disowned Nicon as his spiritual father, and no longer sought his blessing; but 5. determined to have for his spiritual fathers instead, and to call in, the Eastern patriarchs, and especially the patriarch of Antioch, men humble and meek and well-mannered, and not haughty, rude, and proud like Nicon. And so he did, calling back the patriarch Macarius, not in 1656 from Bolehov, but in 1666 (together with the patriarch Paisius of Alexandria) from Georgia.

Certainly if he had had any serious design of making such insertions as might justify or palliate the subsequent condemnation of Nicon in 1666, he might have found a better pretext for imputing pride and lawlessness in Nicon's title of 'Great Hossoudar' (but this he has not even mentioned), or in the title of 'Patriarch of all Great, *Little*, and White Russia;' but this he honestly states to have been given him in the πολυχρόνιον by order of the tsar. So too he might have omitted that hearty commendation which was bestowed in his journal on the joint act of the tsar and Nicon, by which they banished for life the refractory bishop Paul of Kolomna, and ordained another bishop in his stead, while he was still living; he might at least have inserted an observation that this was done contrary to the canons. But he neglected this most inviting opportunity. Nay more; if he does in one place insert imputations of 'rapine' and 'violence' and 'interference in matters of state,' in the midst of other praiseworthy traits and qualities, and quaintly adds to these imputations the remark that 'every one fears and *respects* him' (p. 169), or if he does in another place impute haughtiness, rudeness, and pride in a puerile and fabulous story contradicted by himself almost immediately afterwards, such slight and very harmless demonstrations are more than atoned for

by one sly and unexpected sally made in an entirely opposite direction, when, after enlarging on the degeneracy of the Greeks, he goes off thus: 'Yet even they'—though by his account they are the very scum of the earth—'have *some merits*, for instance *this*, that though they see the vices and flagitiousness of their bishops and clergy, they shut their eyes on their infamy, and have faith enough to honour them on account of their sacred character, and they do not [like some others, the Muscovites that is] subject the priests and monks to their temporal authority.'

After the condemnation of Nicon some of the Russian bishops, witnesses at once against him and assessors in judging him, and especially two, Paul the metropolitan of Kroutitz and Hilarion archbishop of Riazan, who had seemed in the council to be pillars, of more understanding and of more ability and energy than the rest, and who had been foremost to act against Nicon, though they had joined in condemning him, still objected to subscribe the synodal act, and more particularly to subscribe the patriarchal tomes of 1664, alleging that Ligarides had falsified them in his Latin and Slavonic translation; for instance, by omitting the word '*political*,' so as to make the tsar supreme in all matters whatsoever (vol. iii. p. 208). And in a petition—'a most foolish and wicked document,' according to Ligarides—which they presented secretly by night to the two Eastern patriarchs, they said, among other things: 'We thrice-wretched, who are thought so happy for living in the bosom of Christendom, suffer all manner of constraint in our dioceses. And though, in spite of ourselves, we put up with and dissemble the greater part of the wrongs which we suffer from the governors (from the boyars), yet we shrink with trembling at the thought that the evil must go on, and become worse

when it shall be determined and made a fixed principle that the State is supreme over the Church. And though we have no suspicion that we shall be at all wronged or hurt [more, that is, than we are wronged and hurt at present, and as has been said above] in this most happy time of our hossoudar Alexis Michaelovich; God forbid we should ever conceive such a thought! [nor do we object to his acting personally, if it so please him either as patriarch or as candle-lighter:] we nevertheless fear for the future: we are anxious about possibilities [if the *letter* of the patriarchal tomes is not fenced against misinterpretation and mistranslation], p. 235. We fear for the future; lest, that is, some future sovereign, having a strong will of his own, being at once his own judge and legislator, enslave the Russian Church (ib. p. 240). But these two bishops soon began to fear for what they had done, and repented, though too late; and subscribed separately the act of the deposition of Nicon, with every jot and tittle of the patriarchal tomes. For all that they were summoned, and put to shame publicly (ib. p. 251).

Therefore, on the 24th of January, the synod seeing that those two refractory bishops had dishonoured by contumacy a patriarchal and *plenary* synod, and a definitive judgment and decision in which *all the four* patriarchs were consentient, and had shown disrespect to the two patriarchs to their face, and had been disobedient *in refusing to trust* a most Christian emperor, sent for them, and through the mouths of the two patriarchs, Paisius and Macarius, rebuked and sentenced them thus: 'Opposition is diabolical; self-will and presumption is satanical. Clerks and monks making a faction are by the canons to be entirely degraded. Ye are resisting not us but God, resisting the Holy Ghost (for it has seemed good to us, the œcumenical patri-

archs, and so also to the Holy Ghost, to depose Nicon), as following after words and *little nicetie*s of expression' (ib. p. 255). 'Cease, then, from vain gainsayings, that ye may not hear that voice of reprobation: Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity! and that word of loathing: Get thee behind me, Satan! which ye certainly will hear if ye persist in setting at naught the patriarchal decision, and calumniating it as inconsistent and interpolated. For they truly *Niconise*, or rather *papisticise*, who try to lessen the *empire*, and are zealous to extol on high the *episcopate*. Go, then, and remain for the present suspended' (ib. p. 257). So they were suspended from the 24th of Jan. to the 3rd of Feb., when they were absolved. And the sight of the contentiousness of these two bishops, the most eminent of their brethren, coming to nothing and ending in sardonic laughter [of the boyars] confirmed in their submission all the rest. And the next day (that so their forgiveness might be complete, for they had greatly wounded the all-perfect monarch by their injurious suspiciousness and disobedience) they were allowed to kiss the hand of the emperor, and to give him their blessing with the rest; and having been rebuked by him, for their schism, with words which went deep, they departed in peace, having repeated over and over again 'Peccavimus' (ib. p. 273).

Lastly let us hear the tsar. How came he to let the boyars send to C.P. inviting even against himself in the first instance answers of censure, and then canonical penalties of deposition and degradation, and even anathema and punishment by the civil power, against any bishop who should have sought or accepted his indiscreet and culpable favour, given to the prejudice of the nobility? He may be imagined to depose or confess as follows:

In time past, when I was young and my word was not as yet powerful, I loved and reverenced Nicon and listened to his instructions gladly. I encouraged him to intercede with me in behalf of widows and orphans and poor persons against their oppressors: I gave him power to enter the prisons and to release prisoners: I thanked and praised him with enthusiasm when he had risked his life (in 1650) in helping to quell an insurrection at Novgorod. At his suggestion I sent him to bring to Moscow the relics of the metropolitan St. Philip, honouring him because, like another Chrysostom, he had suffered for rebuking civil rulers. I desired him to force certain nobles sent with him to conform to the rules of the Church, yet not to let them know that I had desired this, but rather to make as if I had interceded to obtain for them some abatement of his own severity. I wrote to him how I had heard that some of them had written to their friends that 'never before has such dishonour been done to the nobles as now, when the tsar has given us up to the metropolitan of Novgorod.' Also I wrote to him, as to a friend who would rejoice at this with me, that 'now my word is sufficiently feared in the palace, and is obeyed promptly.' And when the patriarch Joseph had died, I wrote to Nicon an account of all, and how I had myself taken an inventory of all the deceased patriarch's personal property; and how I had *coveted some articles*, but had denied myself. And when in a certain case of misconduct in a monk I had taken upon myself to exercise discipline in the Sabbin convent, which I had then recently founded, I apologised for this to Nicon, vowing 'yea, yea,' that I had done it 'without thinking, and without any bad intention.' And when I wished him to accept the patriarchate, and he refused to accept it except upon certain conditions, I promised and vowed in the church, and made all the synclete promise, to al-

low him to govern the Church according to the sacred canons, without any secular interference. And for a time I did thus; not indeed in all things, but so far as I could: and he also had patience. And when there was the great plague in Moscow, and Nicon had taken care of my family, and brought them safe to me to Viazma (in 1654), I out of gratitude gave him, in spite of himself, the title of '*Great Hossoudar*.' Also out of gratitude to God and to our Lady and to the Saints, I gave charters and lands and privileges to certain monasteries of Nicon's foundation. And when some showed malice against him, and were ready even to do him violence, and he wrote that he could not maintain himself, I vowed to him that I would never fail him nor desert him, and imprecated imprecations on myself if I broke this vow. And if I wished to give any small direction in the church, I asked first his permission. And in like manner when I imposed contributions on the bishops and monasteries of men, or money, or provisions in kind, or service, I imposed them with his consent and concurrent order. And when I went out to war, I left him at Moscow as my chief deputy and inspector over all, so that nothing should be done without his advice: and I ascribed my victories to his blessing and prayers. But if I were petitioned to interfere in any ecclesiastical matter, I refused, saying: 'I fear the patriarch Nicon, lest he should give me his crosier and say, Take it, and tend the priests and monks yourself: I do not contradict or oppose you in the command of your generals and troops; why, then, do you set yourself against me in the concerns of priests and monks?' p. 290.

But afterwards, when I had warred successfully with Lithuania, and hoped to inherit the crown of Poland, and was looking forward even to Constantinople, and Nicon would not always do what I wished (as for in-

stance in 1657, when I, having given him the title of 'Patriarch of Great, Little, and White Russia,' wished him to act as such, and to consecrate a metropolitan for Kieff), I disputed with him, and used unseemly words, calling him '*Mujik bladin!*' Also when I was constantly told that the patriarch Nicon was more thought of, and much more feared, than the tsar, I sent to forbid him for the future to take the title of 'Great Hossoudar,' and I no longer sought his blessing. And I began to give orders in ecclesiastical matters. And when Bogdan Khitroff (called the whispering favourite) had publicly struck the patriarch's officer, I allowed that to pass unnoticed; and after promising to see the patriarch I absented myself from the church festivals on purpose that I might *not* see him. And when Nicon had testified of this in the cathedral, and had declared that he would no longer be patriarch of Moscow, I took him at his word: and when he had sent to me from the cathedral a letter concerning his withdrawal, I sent the letter back to him: and when the people would not let him go, and shut the gates, I forced them to let him go away out of the Kremlin: and when he had withdrawn to Voskresensk, I ordered the guards at the city gates not to let him reënter the city. And after that I ordered Pitirim the metropolitan of Kroutitz to administer the patriarchal church and diocese, as during a vacancy, and to omit Nicon's name from the diptychs, and neither to seek nor to take any orders from him, but only from myself. And the council, with my permission, broke open his desk, and seized his papers, and books, and private property. And after a year and some months I convoked a synod of the Russian bishops in order to declare the chair to be vacant by Nicon's abdication, and to appoint to it another patriarch. And the synodal act to that effect was prepared and signed.

Still some difficulties were raised, and nothing was done.

At length in 1562 there came to Moscow from Poland the Greek Paisius Ligarides, calling himself metropolitan of Gaza: whom Nicon (having heard him spoken of as learned, and as wishing to come to Moscow) had invited to come to him in 1657; but at that time he came not: now, however, he came, bringing no canonical recommendations: but I received him all the same, and asked his blessing, and made him to preside among the bishops. Then, by his advice, I sent secretly leading questions to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius, with a view to the condemnation of Nicon, and I obtained answers condemning many offences imputed to him, and all but condemning definitively his person. But the patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem having written to me in a contrary sense in favour of a reconciliation, and having enclosed also a letter for Nicon, I suppressed the letter to Nicon, and threw the bearer of these letters into prison. Again I sent secretly to engage the Eastern patriarchs either to come in person to Moscow, to apply the answers previously obtained for the definitive condemnation of Nicon, or to send their representatives. Meanwhile, Nicon having come back to Moscow, as if I had desired this, and in order to make peace, I ordered him to return to Voskresensk, and he returned, shaking off the dust from his feet against us. Having offered more than once to facilitate the creation of another patriarch, provided only that he were treated with respect, and not as a criminal, and being now asked to do this, he sent written proposals for this end; but no answer was returned to these, it being decided to treat him as a criminal. Again, Nicon having written a letter stating his own case to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius, I intercepted this letter, and imputed it as a fresh

crime to Nicon that he had written it, and I imprisoned the bearer. At length two of the Eastern patriarchs, Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, and some other Eastern bishops, were induced to come for my alms to Moscow; and they having been first instructed by the Greek Ligarides in the whole case, in conjunction with the local synod convoked by me, summoned Nicon before them (treating him by my direction as one already condemned and out of the chair), applied the condemnations of the patriarchal tomes previously obtained to his person, and condemned him on many other charges besides, and degraded him to be a common monk; and they communicated as in my name what they had done to the patriarch of C.P. *Parthenius*, and to the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius. And what they had done was, for the sake of my alms, accepted and adhered to, though in the mean time Parthenius had treated the chairs of Alexandria and Antioch as vacant; and though soon afterwards his successor Methodius, and the patriarch of Jerusalem Nectarius, anathematised Ligarides (under whose blessing and counsel all had been done) as a Latin heretic; and Nectarius communicated this their act to me, recommending me to keep Ligarides close lest he should run away to the Pope and betray the secrets of my empire. I wrote, however, to the patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem to obtain his absolution and his restoration to the see of Gaza, and I was answered by Dositheus (who had a little before become patriarch of Jerusalem on the resignation of Nectarius) that Ligarides had been originally degraded and anathematised by Nectarius, not for Latinism, but for unmentionable immorality; and that Nectarius wrote to him, Dositheus, about my request, that I should do better to rid myself and Moscow of such a man, rather than to seek that others should re-

ceive him: that nevertheless, to please me, he, Dositheus, would take the vices of Ligarides for virtues, and by way of honour and reward for them, would enclose for him (though he was impenitent, and even scurrilously abusive) a letter of absolution, their whole hope and trust for the preservation of the Holy Places being now only in my alms. And such a letter of absolution was in fact enclosed; and I gave it to Ligarides, that he might show it to the Russian bishops and to the patriarch of Moscow, Joasaph, who had been consecrated in the room of Nicon by the patriarchs Paisius and Macarius, Ligarides also taking part in that consecration. After all I asked of Nicon his forgiveness and his blessing. At first he replied: 'He loved not blessing; therefore blessing is going away far from him' (alluding to his own exile to Bielo-ozero): but before long, as I continued to ask it, he gave me his personal forgiveness, observing at the same time that there was also a public sin against God and the Church which could not be so forgiven by him privately, but could be forgiven only by imposition of hands at Moscow, upon public penitence and satisfaction. . . . Now, that I am dying, I once more 'ask of my spiritual father the great hospodin and most holy hierarch and blessed pastor Nicon, though by the permission of God he is not now in this chair, pardon and absolution.'

It remains only to add a few notices respecting the two volumes now published, and respecting the relation in which the first of them stands to the second.

The extracts from the *Travels of Macarius* are by no means an epitome of the whole contents of the original work, but only of such part of it as bears upon the history of Nicon's condemnation: all that bears directly upon this history they give at full, and whatever bears upon it indirectly they give also, but with

more or less of abridgment. Manifest errors of the translator, caused by ignorance of the Greek ritual and of ecclesiastical customs, have been in many places corrected: and in Appendix i., in the extracts from the work of Olearius, also, there are one or two slight corrections, as for instance, where it was stated that the highest dignitary about the Court of Moscow was the *Konüshi* or Master of the Horse, and where the *Posolski* was put before the *Rozriadni prikaz*. The *Travels of Macarius* are printed as vol. ii. rather than as vol. iii., only because they belong in their contents *chronologically* to the earlier years of Nicon's patriarchate. But the plan and purpose of the present division of our work being to exhibit a cause like that of St. John Chrysostom or St. Thomas of Canterbury—a controversy between an emperor and a primate,—and the Orthodox Eastern Church (which claims also to be Catholic or œcumenical) as a high court of judicature judging this cause, and condemning one of her own patriarchs, the relation in which the *Travels of Macarius* stood to this plan and purpose is that of testimony given by one of the judges after the condemnation of Nicon: and so the contents of vol. ii. must be either left unread at first, or returned to and reconsidered by the reader after he has made himself acquainted with the contents of vol. iii.

As regards the chief document contained in vol. iii., viz. the *History of the Condemnation of Nicon by Paisius Ligarides*, the reader is told in Supplement xx. p. 463, how the translator first heard in 1851, at Constantinople, of its discovery, and how in 1853 he went to Cairo in quest of it, but found there only an ill-written transcript of its first part. It was not till the summer of 1862 that he obtained from the late metropolitan Philaret at Moscow facilities for translating the original MS., which had then become the property of the Synodal

Library. The Supplements appended have references most of them to the sources from which they are taken; the rest also which have no references are, all but one or two, from the same sources, viz. either from Roumantseff's *Collection of State Papers*, &c., the *Acts of the Archæological Commission*, and the *Drevnaia Russkaia Bibliotcca*, or from the *Ms. Archives of the Patriarchal* (now *Synodal*) *Library* at Moscow. The documents preserved in the Synodal Library were translated at St. Petersburg in the summer of 1861, from a MS. collection made for Mr. A. N. Mouravieff, and lent by him to the translator, who afterwards obtained copies of the same documents to be made from the original MSS. for himself. Supplements iv. xi. xix. xxi. xxii. xxx. and xxxi. were all translated thus, in the first instance, from Mr. Mouravieff's collection. Supplements iv. x. xix. and xxii. are also in the printed collection of Roumantseff. A copy of Nicon's *Letter to the Patriarch of C.P. Dionysius* (Suppl. xi.) was first sent to the translator, to Oxford, in 1848, by the late Abr. Serg. Noroff. The correspondence between the metropolitan Athanasius of Iconium and Nicon (as well as the two documents of the Starobratsi, making Appendix iv. of vol. ii. p. 437) he obtained at St. Petersburg in 1868, by the kindness of Professor Savoitoff. To all who have in any way assisted him, whether named above or unnamed, he now returns his thanks.

Our work would have been less imperfect than it is if it had contained full translations of those documents from the prikáz of secret service which are preserved only in the Foreign Office at Moscow; especially those minutes of the proceedings against Nicon in December 1666, and of Nicon's own behaviour and words before the synod, which were made for the tsar himself, and which are no doubt both full and substantially accurate,

though written, of course, without any favour towards Nicon. As it is, the only thing that could be done in order to supply in some degree this deficiency was to borrow from Solovieff, who had free access to all these documents, such extracts from them as he thought proper to insert in his history. And though thus we have only some portions instead of the whole, and those portions too put together and presented according to the professor's own view—a view much like that of Ligarides—this will suit well enough the general character of these two volumes, in which it is left to Nicon's enemies and judges to exhibit the whole cause for themselves, and as they themselves please; and (with one or two incidental exceptions) no notices are given of Nicon's case except through them. If we have inserted Nicon's *Letter to Ligarides*, this was in a manner called for by Ligarides himself, when he gave us first his own *answer* to it. But Nicon's longer and more important *Letter to the patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople* was not only brought forward and read out in the synod by order of the tsar, but it was even made a new and special ground of accusation against him, so that, as Nicon told him at the time, he was publishing to all the world his own shame. If, then, the general impression produced on the mind of the reader of these two volumes is after all against Nicon's enemies and judges, that will justify the motto we have prefixed to them: '*Mentita est iniquitas sibi.*'

Having shown now how this great cause was dealt with by the Orthodox Catholic or Œcumenical Church, we may hereafter invite the reader to study it also from a narrower point of view, as a national crisis in the Russian Church and empire.

CONTENTS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE *Travels of Macarius*, &c.

PART I. Preface. *Book* i. Journey from Aleppo to Constantinople, July 8, in 1652 (in A.M. 7160), to Oct. 20 (in A.M. 7161), p. 1-3. Stay at C.P. to Jan. 7, in 1653. During this time, Jan. 2, they assist at a synod held by the patriarch Paisius to anathematise the ex-patriarch Cyril Koza, p. 3-13.

Book ii. *Stay in Moldavia, at Jassy, &c.* Jan. 16, in A.D. 1653, to Nov. 21 (in A.M. 7162). During this time (March 27-July 6) the Greek bey Vasili is dethroned by the native Moldavian Stephen, previously Logothete; and Timothy, the son of the Kozak hetman Khmielnitsky, and son-in-law of Vasili bey, is slain at Souchava, p. 14-29.

PART II. *Book* iii. *Wallachia, at Tergovist, &c.* Nov. 21, A.D. 1653, to May 28, in 1654. In March 1654, Matthi bey refuses to receive an envoy from the tsar of Muscovy: he dies April 9; and Constantine bey is elected to succeed him, p. 29-39.

Book iv. *The Kozak Country.* June 10, A.D. 1654, to July 1. They cross the Dniester to Rashkov, p. 40. In this year, 7162, the Kozaks have submitted themselves to the tsar Alexis: account of the hetman Khmielnitsky and his wars, p. 41-46; they pass towns recently burned or damaged by the Poles, p. 47; visited June 21 at Bogouslav by the hetman, p. 49; Pechersky convent at Kieff, p. 51; June 28, visited by the metropolitan Silvester Kossoff, p. 54; description of Kieff; Greek envoy from queen Christina of Sweden to Khmielnitsky and to the tsar, p. 56; cathedral of S. Sophia partially repaired by the late metropolitan Peter Mogila, p. 58.

PART III. *Book* v. *The Kozak Country.* Mosaics, &c. in churches of S. Sophia and S. Michael, and Relics of S. Barbara; new fortress of the tsar, with two voivodes and 60,000 troops; visit from one of the voivodes, p. 59. The Podole or lower city; July 10-20, travel from Kieff to Poutivl, the frontier town of Muscovy, where the voivode Niketa Al. Ziuzin receives them, p. 61. Manners of the Muscovites; forms at the admittance of strangers, p. 63; cruelty and punishment of the former voivode, p. 68; Kyr Gabriel of Servia, p. 69.

Book vi. *Muscovy.* Praises of the patriarch Nicon, p. 71; from Poutivl to Kalouga, and thence by the Oka and the Moskva to Kolomna, to stay there during the plague, Sept. 1, A.D. 1654 (beginning A.M. 7163), to Aug. 29. After Bolchov they see wagons filled with Polish captives, p. 72. Question

about the chronological reckoning from the era of the Creation of 5500 years to Christ, which, with 1654, should make 7154, but we now reckon 7162? p. 74. The bishop of Kolomna has been recently banished, p. 75; all the property of the bishops and convents is in the hands of the emperor, p. 76. Singing of the Kozaks sweet, of the Muscovites harsh, p. 80.

PART IV. *Book* vii. *Muscovy.* Sept. 1 in 1654 (the first day of A.M. 7163) to Jan. 23 in A.D. 1655, and entrance into Moscow Jan. 27. Ravages of the plague at Kolomna, p. 81; capture of Smolensk, Mohileff, &c. by the emperor: account of the manner in which the war was undertaken, p. 82: of the Polish hetman of Lithuania Radzivil, son-in-law to Vasili bey of Moldavia; constraint caused by the manners of the Muscovites p. 86; they are lodged in the city lodge of the Kyrilloff monastery in the Kremlin, p. 91.

Book viii. *Moscow.* Return of the patriarch Nicon Feb. 3, of the empress Feb. 9, and public entrance of the emperor Feb. 10, p. 92; audience Feb. 12, p. 93 (news of the Poles having invaded the Kozak country, p. 93); visit to the patriarch Nicon, and banquet of the emperor, p. 96-103; of foreign ecclesiastics coming into Russia for alms, p. 104; church services on the Sunday of the Second Advent (the Carnival), Feb. 18, and Thursday in the Cheese-week, Feb. 22, with some account (digested afterwards, and here out of place) of the patriarch Nicon, p. 105-116; banquet of the patriarch; account of the Dog-faced tribe, p. 108-120.

PART V. *Book* ix. *Moscow.* Origin of the imperial family, p. 120; Siberian furs [with an allusion, inserted not earlier than 1670, to their second journey to Moscow from Georgia in 1666]; account of Siberia, p. 121; Nicon receives a voivode with native officers recently come from Siberia, p. 123; embassy from the queen of Khotaya, p. 126; Tatar kings at Moscow in the time of Basil the Macedonian; tribute still paid to the Tatars of the Crimea, p. 127; treatment of foreign ambassadors; expulsion of the Armenians and the English, p. 129: of Circassia and Georgia; and of the Georgian king Timouraz and his daughter-in law the queen Helena, p. 131: manner of ringing the bells, p. 135; pay of the clergy; character and anecdotes of the emperor, p. 136; continuation of the history of Radzivil, who has attempted to retake Mohileff, p. 139; Sunday in Cheese-week; observance of Lent; ceremonies of the first Sunday in Lent, March 4; degeneracy of the Greeks; Nicon's preaching, p. 139-153.

Book x. *Moscow.* March 11, the emperor returns to his army; account of his departure, p. 153-158: account of the Muscovite troops; coöperation with the Swedes; contributions imposed on the clergy, p. 158-161: the Poles seek help from the Turks and the Tatars; how it is that the emperor still pays tribute to the Tatars, p. 161-163: Russian coinage of copper tokens; punishment of felons, p. 164: regency, character, power, and income of the patriarch Nicon, p. 165: the archdeacon Souchanoff has been made by him kellar of Troitsa, p. 170: March 17 is the emperor's twenty-seventh birthday, p. 171: in the fifth week of Lent (Mar. 26-31) Nicon holds a synod, which, among other reforms, condemns the custom of rebaptising the Poles, p. 174: ceremony on Palm Sunday, p. 177; on

Holy Thursday, p. 113; on Good Friday, p. 186; and Holy Saturday, p. 191.

PART VI. *Book* xi. *Moscow.* Easter ceremonies, p. 192; on Easter day, 15 Apr. the ice breaks up, p. 189; description of the Kremlin, of the second and third city walls, and of the outer mound, p. 199; judicial and provincial administration; imperial revenue, p. 202; ordinations, p. 205; on Whitsunday, June 3, consecration of a new bishop for Kolomna; order of consecrating bishops; their fees and expenses, p. 207; visit to Troitsa, p. 209; attentions of the Kellar Arsenius Sotchanoff, p. 217; July 8, festival of our Lady of Kazan; July 10, festival of the Holy Tunic; July 12, commemoration of the late emperor Michael, p. 223. This year no Polish army to meet the emperor in the field, p. 225; chiefs of the Dog-faced tribe, p. 226; festival of our Lady of Smolensk at the Novodivichy Convent, p. 227; Convent of S. Sabba; festival of the first of August, p. 229; buildings of the patriarch Nicon; Icon of our Lady called the Iverskaia; Nicon's new Iversky Convent, p. 231-234.

Book xii. *Visit to the Iversky convent, and to Novgorod*, Aug. 4 to 31, p. 234; Aug. 20, letters announcing the capture of Vilna on the 31st July, p. 240-251.

PART VII. *Book* xiii. *Novgorod and Moscow.* Sept. 1, celebration of the New Year A.M. 7164, p. 251; Sept. 20, reënter Moscow, p. 255; Oct. 14, public entry of the Imperial and the Swedish Ambassadors, p. 256 [from Oct. 14 to Dec. 6, the journal is intermitted]. Founding of the bell from Feb. to 6 Dec. p. 257; Dec. 10, public entry of the emperor, p. 260; Dec. 15, audiences of the two embassies; war with Sweden resolved upon, p. 264 (a Venetian envoy asking coöperation against the Turks had previously been received at Smolensk, p. 265); Dec. 21, festival of the metropolitan S. Peter kept on the 22d, when Nicon opens his new patriarchal palace, and gives a banquet to the tsar, &c. p. 268; operations of Basil Boutourlin and Khmielnitsky at Kamenetz, Lemberg, and Lublin, &c.; anger of the emperor, and death of Boutourlin, p. 278; the Polish hetman Paul Pototski is rebaptised, p. 279; at the Theophany, 6 Jan. 1656, Nicon blesses the water only once, p. 279; the emperor taking the titles of Great, *Little*, and *White* Russia, orders the like to be given in the πολυχρόνιον to the patriarch of Moscow, p. 281; Jan. 19, visit to the emperor's Sabbin convent: received there by the emperor; incidents which occurred there, p. 282; contributions imposed on the clergy for the Swedish war, p. 295; Feb. 4, reception of wood of the true cross obtained from Lublin, p. 296; the Don Kozaks having taken the fort Tamen, it is razed by the emperor's order, p. 297.

Book xiv. Moscow, and the Kozak country, p. 298; visits to the Novospass, to the Choudoff (for the festival of S. Alexis, 12 Feb.) to the Simonoff, again to the Choudoff, and to the Novodivichy convents, p. 301-306; Feb. 24, news of the death of Radzivil, p. 306; March 5, audience of leave, p. 308; March 23, leave Moscow, a thaw coming on, and scarcely reach Bolchov on Holy Thursday, 5 Apr. p. 312; but on Easter Tuesday, 8 Apr. they are recalled from Bolchov to Moscow, p. 314 [here there is a

fable about the cause of their being recalled which cannot have been inserted earlier than 1670, and which is contradicted by the writer himself a little farther on, p. 315]: Apr. 17, they reënter Moscow; they learn that the Poles have submitted themselves and have obtained a truce; that the metropolitan of Moldavia has come to offer secretly the allegiance of the bey; and that on Easter Sunday the emperor desired the Greeks present to engage the bishops and monks in the Levant to pray that he may be enabled to liberate them, p. 318; consecration of an archbishop for Astrachan; campaign against the Swedes, p. 319; May 11, Nicon holds a synod, which again condemns the custom of rebaptising the Poles, p. 321; now at length they learn why they have been brought back: viz. 1. To assist at this synod: 2. To give information about the *trustworthiness* of the envoy from Moldavia; and 3. To assist in condemning a new heresy, p. 322; May 15, the Ascension, departure of the emperor, p. 322; May 18, they join in anathematising a priest, formerly protopope to the emperor, as author of a new heresy, p. 324; on Whitsunday, 25 May, Nicon recites the prayers shedding tears: May 27, the patriarch of Antioch consecrates for Nicon a new church, p. 325; May 29, they leave Moscow; stay at Pontivl June 12 to 16; and June 28, cross the Dnieper to Kieff p. 328; portraits in the apartments of the metropolitan of four Eastern patriarchs, p. 330; July 14, leave Kieff; July 22, at Chigirin; see there the secretary of the Kozaks Vigovsky, and the hetman Khmielnitsky, and an Orthodox bishop come as envoy from the Poles, p. 331; Aug. 2, leave Chigirin, and at Sobota see the widow of Khmielnitsky's son Timothy, p. 332: Aug. 15, they reach Rashkov, and on the 18th cross the Dniester into Moldavia; and, Aug. 21, enter Jassy, p. 333.

PART VIII. *Book* XV. *Moldavia and Wallachia.* Sept. 8 (in A.M. 7165), kindness of the bey Stephen of Moldavia; he invites them to Galatz; whence, Oct. 16-24, they go to Wallachia, to Tergovist; Oct. 26, received by the bey Constantine; Jan. 12, 1657, visit the Argis monastery; Jan. 21, return to Tergovist: it snows incessantly till Feb. 9: this year the Danube is thrice frozen over, the last time to a thickness of nine spans, p. 333; Feb. 3, visit to the convent of Dalo: in this week (the Cheese-week, Feb. 2-7), the bey had a long conversation with the patriarch of Antioch in private [about the allegiance secretly tendered and accepted at Moscow], p. 337; March 12, Belesa Domina, wife of the bey, died, p. 337; after mentioning Whitsunday, 17 May 1657, the writer goes back to relate that the Kozaks were no parties to the tsar's negotiations with Poland; that the Swedish campaign of 1656 ended with the raising of the siege of Riga; that by *the suggestion of Khmielnitsky* the king of Sweden made a treaty with Ragozá, crâl of Transylvania, and that he, assisted by the two beys of the principalities, marched into Poland, and made a junction with the Swedes. But Khmielnitsky, soon taking offence, called in against Ragoza the Tatars, who entirely defeated him at the end of July 1657. In consequence of the murder of the patriarch Parthenius III. on the 25th March 1657, at C.P., the bey will not let them go; but he allows them to make a tour and to see the convents, p. 338. They set

out then, June 18, p. 341 ; and in the Kozia convent, met that eminently learned man *Kyr* Paisius Ligarides, metropolitan of Gaza, who told them that he had resided long at Rome, p. 343 ; Aug. 23, they arrived at Bucharest, p. 350.

Book xvi. *Wallachia.* Continuation of visits to convents, p. 350 ; Sept. 10 (in A.M. 7166), reënter Tergovist after an absence of 82 days, p. 352 ; Nov. 8, marriage of Constantine bey, p. 352 ; Jan. 5, A.D. 1658, news comes from C.P. that the bey is deposed (the bey of Moldavia was deposed also), ib. Causes of this deposition : visit of the Turkish Aga : dispatch of the tribute to the Porte ; war of the Turks and Tatars in the Principalities and in Transylvania, p. 352 ; at the beginning of February, the patriarch Macarius retires to Kimpolung, and thence to Corbi Pietra, and to Gharâdâs, p. 356 ; Bucharest and Tergovist are burned ; Feb. 23, the pacha of Silistria brings the new bey Michael to Tergovist (the deposed beys fled into Transylvania), p. 357 ; Michael the new bey writes to them to remain at Kimpolung till he is rid of the Turks ; Apr. 29, they reach Bucharest, and, May 5, are received by the bey, who lodges them with himself, in the church of his convent, p. 360 ; May 28, the Ascension, they see an Orthodox Polish envoy on his way to Adrianople ; on Whitsunday, May 30, the patriarch of Antioch crowns the bey, ib. June 25, the bey communicates, being under orders to march to coöperate with the Turks in Transylvania (all this had been caused by an attempt of the deposed beys to collect a force as if to reënter the Principalities) p. 363 ; July 9, the bey left for the camp ; July 13-31, the writer goes to Galatz, ships there some of their companions and goods for Trebizond, and returns to Bucharest and Piteshti, p. 365 ; he goes to Tergovist and sees the bey at the camp near Ployeshti : he then sees the coming up of the Tatar khan with Chapka bey of Moldavia and the Kozaks, who joined out of spite against the Hungarians ; Sept. 1 (A.M. 7167), after making a tour to get in money, he returns to his father at Piteshti, removes him to Bucharest, again goes to Tergovist, and again returns to Bucharest, p. 366 ; Sept. 9-17, they go to Galatz ; stay there till Oct. 9. Just as the grand vizir has set up a new crâl in Transylvania, and thinks to winter in Hungary, he is recalled to Adrianople by the rebellion of Abbas Hassan Pasha ; thereupon the Tatars also and the rest evaculate Transylvania, p. 367 ; Oct. 13, they embark at Galatz for Sinope, p. 368.

PART IX. *Book* xvi. *Black Sea, Anatolia.* Nov. 15, they reach Sinope, p. 370 ; Jan. 29, A.D. 1659 to Feb. 7, from Sinope in a caicque to Œnoos, p. 373 ; Feb. 24-26, Œnoos (by land) to Argosti, ib. March 2, reach Tocat ; hence, March 8, visit the tomb of S. J. Chrysostom ; March 15-20, from Tocat (Cucusus) to Sivas (Cabira), p. 375 ; March 27 (Palm Sunday), at Derinda ; Apr. 2, descend into the valley of the Zeitoun, p. 376.

Book xviii. *Syria.* Apr. 3 (Easter-day), move on ; and Apr. 7, the writer before the rest enters Keliz, and writes to Aleppo, Damascus, &c. ; Apr. 21, they enter Aleppo, where the metropolitan (that ravening wolf) is sick, p. 377 ; their messenger returns from Damascus with letters of welcome and with complaints against the metropolitan of Emessa (another

Judas), who has been occupying the patriarchal throne, &c., p. 378; June 21, leave Aleppo; at Emessa smile on the metropolitan, and take him on with them; July 1, enter Damascus, p. 379; Nov. 15, the writer goes to Aleppo, and stays there till March 10, A.D. 1660, and then returns to Damascus, where on Holy Thursday, Apr. 19, the patriarch blesses the new Chrism, p. 381; before this date, Aug. 28, 1659, the patriarch had held a synod to try and condemn the metropolitan of Emessa, who fled to Aleppo, and after a year and two months died there excommunicate, Nov. 21, in 1660, p. 383; July 5, A.D. 1660, the patriarch goes on a visitation of his province; May 7, in 1661 (after spending Easter at Hemah, and consecrating, Apr. 15, Neophytus of Scio, who had been deacon to the late patriarch Euthymius, to be metropolitan there), he comes to Aleppo, p. 385; the grand vizir Kuprüli being near to die sends for his son Ahmed pasha of Damascus to be made vizir in his own stead; during this year the writer was vicar for his father in conjunction with the metropolitan of Acre; July 4, in 1661, four days after the pasha Ahmed, he leaves Damascus, and on the 15th, joins his father the patriarch at Aleppo, p. 387.

Appendix i. 1. Account of the Coronation of the tsar Alexis Michaelovich in his 17th year, Sept. 28, A.D. 1645, p. 390-395. 2. Extracts from the work of Olearius giving an account of the disturbances which occurred at Moscow in 1648, and at Novgorod and Pskoff in 1650, and a list of the members of the Council of State, and of the chief officers of the Court and of the different prikazes in 1654, p. 395-407.

Appendix ii. 1. Account of a synod held by Nicon in the spring of 1654; 2. of Answers from the patriarch Paisius of C.P. and his synod, received at Moscow in the spring of 1655; 3. of a synod held by Nicon in the fifth week of Lent, 1655; 4. of a synod held by him, Dec. 29, in 1655; and 5. of a synod held by him on Sunday, May 11, in 1656; also an account of the contents of the *Skrijal* approved by this last synod, and published at Moscow in October 1656, p. 407-417.

Appendix iii. Extracts from Macarius' *History of the Russian Schismatics* (called *Starovierisi* or *Staro-obratsi*), p. 417-436.

Appendix iv. Three documents of the *Starobratsi*, viz. 1. *The Apostasy of Nicon*, &c., and 2. Simeon Denisoff's *History of the Fathers and Martyrs of the Solovetsky Monastery*, with 3. a copy of the *Petition of the Solovetsky monastery* sent to the tsar in Oct. 1667, p. 437-459.

Appendix v. Extracts from Roumantseff's *Collection of State Papers*, &c., and from Solovieff's *History of Russia*, illustrating the development, culmination, and disappointment of the tsar's ambition, p. 459.

Appendix vi. Solovieff's account of the disturbances of July 1662, p. 481-485.

Appendix vii. Solovieff's account of the rupture between Nicon and the tsar, p. 485-491.

INDEXES.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 6, line 2, *after* Tsouk-bazaar *omit* (bird market) *and insert* [Tsember Tassl It should have been, There had been once in the Tsouk-bazaar, or bird market, on the site of the Forum of *Theodosius*, a column of that emperor with an inscription of his eighth year; but this was thrown down in 1517: the burnt porphyry column of *Constantine* is in the Tsember Tassl.]

„ line 29, *for* [by Theodosius] *substitute* [of the ninth year of Arcadius, with victories of Theodosius and Arcadius over the Scythians. This was taken down in 1695, all but the base:]

10, line 38, *after* Sergius *insert* [Syrigus?]

11, „ 8, „ Parthenius *insert* (Parthenius II, in 1650)

14, „ 17, „ Easter „ (28th March 1654).

„ „ 31, „ Vastatakogo „ (Tekouch).

16, „ 15, *for* Satjao *read* Souchava; and the same at p. 21, line 17; p. 26, line 40; p. 27, line 15.

29, line 18, *after* Chrysostom *insert* [Sunday 13th Nov.]

„ „ 21, *for* Ozhani *read* Oknani

30, „ 10, „ do „ did

31, „ 19, „ Boza „ Bouzeo

„ „ 21, *before* 1st Jan. *insert* Sunday

39, „ 18, *for* Baslui *read* Vaslui

„ „ 33, „ Hoshni „ Goush

41, „ 40, *after* year *insert* (A.M. 7162)

42, „ 3, „ present year *insert* (A.M. 7162)

„ „ 5, *for* last *substitute* in A.D. 1653

42, „ 13, „ eight „ eighteen [eight?]

44, „ 29, *after* only eight *insert* [or rather 'when he was eighteen'?]

47, „ 2, „ river „ (the Bong)

„ „ 8, *for* Sovolozka *read* Sobolevka

„ „ 10, „ Mojok „ Magoulka

„ „ 22, *after* Talalayoka *insert* (Tielik)

„ „ 25, „ Talalayoka „ (Palanka)

58, „ 14, „ Russia „ (1634 to 1647)

59, „ 9, *for* These are &c. *to* A.D. 1637; *in line* 14, *substitute* [These are &c, A.D. 1637.]

60, „ 13, *after* vigil *insert* [this Sunday] *and after* also *insert* the vigil of

„ „ 19, „ night „ [of Saturday, 8th July?]

„ „ 31, „ Barfoda „ (the river Perevod)

61, „ 9, *for* Checherin *read* Chigirin *and below, after* Olshan *insert* (Olshanka) *after* Kerobivna *insert* (Krapivnoe) *after* Krasna *insert* (Krasni Kolodetz?) *and after* Karabota *insert* (Karaboutovo)

63, line 7, *after* Ivan Vasilievich *insert* [Boris Ivanovich Morozoff? Ivan Basilievich Morozoff became a monk in 1655]

78, line 6, where there is mention of 'Parthenius patriarch of C.P., who was put to death a few years ago,' note that Parthenius II. was put to death in 1650, before Nicon was patriarch, and Parthenius III. in 1657: but the Questions here mentioned were sent by the tsar Alexis and Nicon in 1654 to *Paisius*.

„ line 13, *for* 1654 *put* 1655: but note that the bishop Paul of Kolomna was banished not really for refusing to subscribe the acts of this synod, but for refusing to subscribe the acts of an earlier synod held in the spring of A.D. 1654.

78, line 38, *after* afterwards *insert* (in 1655)

80, „ 30, *for* A.M. 7126 *read* A.M. 7163

p. 95, line 29, *for* Eudoxia *read* Eudocia, and so also at p. 137, lines 39 and 40; and at p. 133, line 27.

99, line 12, omit the note in brackets. The same style occurs in the letters sent by the tsar and the patriarch jointly to the patriarch Paisius of C.P. in 1651, and in the synodal answer of Paisius himself: see Appendix ii. p. 407-417.

101, line 8, *for* emperor *read* patriarch

107, „ 19, „ phenolia *and* gowns *read* sakkoses *and* mandyas

110, „ 4, „ 1648 *read* 1649, *and for* he went for *read* he brought

117, „ 6, cancel the question in brackets.

118, „ 17, *for* deer *read* reindeer

135, „ 20, „ *πολυλαίου read πολυλαίου*, and the same at p. 201, line 10; p. 288, lines 4 and 14; p. 302, line 35; and p. 337, line 33.

137, line 6, *for* 1648 *read* 1649

152, „ 11, „ Ivan Bor. *read* Boris Ivanovich [Morozoff]

174, „ 27, „ inflection „ ad litem „ viz. the word 'true' in the article about the Holy Ghost]

199, „ 14, „ Spasskia of *read* Spasski or Smolensk Gate

221, „ 22, *after* after reigning 36 years *insert* [really 33 current, from 13th Feb. in 1613 to 12th July in 1645]

239, line 24, *after* St. James the later *insert* [of Borofsk, a disciple of S. Sergius who died A.D. 1404]

266, „ 29, „ last year „ [*i.e.* A.M. 7162, but in this same A.D. 1655]

267, „ 12, *for* the uncle *read* her uncle

„ 31, „ the empress *read* the emperor and the empress

287, „ 23, „ whoreson „ whoring

310, „ 37, *after* the minister *insert* [*i.e.* the president of the Posolski prikaz, who was then the secretary of the Council Almaz Ivanoff]

311, line 23, *after* another city *insert* [Strasanijlo in the text]

318, „ 7, *for* stupid *read* whoring

322, „ 31, „ the protopope *read* a protopope

350, „ 24, *after* Radzivil *insert* [Radoulas]

351, „ 36, *for* postelrik *read* postelnik

374, „ 11, „ 6th Feb. „ 6th March

430, „ 37, „ the Lord's Prayer *read* the Prayer to Jesus

432, „ 31, „ Stoglarnik „ Stoglavnik: *and note* that instead of condemning '*some enactments*' of this council as erroneous the boyars took this opportunity of rejecting it altogether, as if it had never been held, because it had strongly asserted the rights of the clergy. See the *Replies* of Nicon, p. 631.

439, line 25, *for* A.M. 6728 (A.D. 1220) *read* A.M. 6928 (A.D. 1420)

461, „ 48, *after* atlas *insert* (satin)

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 7, line 30 and 37, the 'Hungarians' and 'Hungary' here, and the 'magyars' or 'Hungarians' in vol. II. mean the Transylvanians and Transylvania.

8, line 17, *for* 54 or 55 *read* 59 or 60

11, „ 9, „ Parthenius *substitute* Metholius

31, „ 9, „ of patriarchate *read* of the patriarchate

40, „ 13, „ complexion „ first complexion (*πρωτόπλαστις*)

60, cancel the footnote: this letter written in 1662 cannot allude to Nicon's return to Moscow in December 1664; the mention of winter (retained from Christ's words in the Gospel) is here only metaphorical.

74, line 13, *after* which I made *insert* (15th Aug. 1662)

82, „ 22, *omit* a second copy of, *and in line* 23 *for* was *read* were

102, „ 11, *after* Siberia *insert* (11th June 1664)

„ „ 15, *for* Polotsk or Volotsk *read* 'Vologda'; *though* Simeon of Vologda was already bishop there: Simeon of Polotsk is mentioned below at p. 108 as being still only a hieromonach.

108, line 21, *after* a book, *insert* (the *Staff of Rule*, which was approved later by the synod, 7th May 1666,)

119, line 8, *for* Joachim *read* Jonaph

153, „ 15, „ like an Apostle *read* Apostle-like

154, in the footnote *for* Skirjal „ Skrijal

155, line 4, *after* all met *insert* (7th Nov.: see p. 416 and 417)

156, „ 11, *for* essay *read* bouquet

160, „ 13, „ rubbishing *read* rubbishy

162, „ 34, *after* at p. 21 *add* and *Travels of Macarius*, &c. p. 268

164, „ 33, „ clear sighted *insert* (*διορατικὸν*)

166, „ 33, „ assembled together *insert* (28th Nov. see p. 416)

167, „ 32, „ sent „ (29th Nov. see p. 416)

168, „ 4, *before* Souzdal „ 'the Euthymieff monastery at'

„ „ 31, *after* really „ Ligarides here consolidates two meetings, the first on Sat. 1st Dec., the second on Mon. 3d Dec., into one, see p. 416, 417.

„ line 35, 36, *for* the Krestovala hall of the patriarchate *read* the Zolotaia palata of the tsar's palace

169, line 14, *for* Chitroff *read* Khitroff

180, „ 19, „ Attaliota *read* the Attaliote

183, „ 9, *at* 'canon xiii. of the First and Second Council held in the Church of S. Sophia,' *note* that the Council called the *First and Second* was held in A.D. 859 and 861 in the Church of the Holy Apostles, but the canon here *meant* is canon ii. (not xiii., nor xii. as it is called at p. 336) of the Council held in A.D. 879 in the Church of S. Sophia.

„ line 15, *after* this First and Second Council *insert* [not so, but 'this Council held in the Church of S. Sophia']

191, line 14, *after* the word 'thus': *note* that the same document and more at full is given also from the synodal Archives at p. 443-448

201, line 22, *for* Eudoxia *read* Eudocia

230, „ 31, „ Chap. ix. „ Chap. xi.

237, „ 18, „ magnificent *read* munificent

244, „ 18, „ on law iii. „ in law iii.

245, in the footnote, *for* 'Hungarians' *read* 'Transylvanians'

253, line 11, *for* my tongue *read* My tongue

266, „ 29, „ contiguous „ under the same roof with

300, „ 6, „ of mind „ of mine

317, „ 24, *after* at p. 75 *add* and p. 82, 89, 155, 167, 182, 192, 207, 235, 252, 255, 273

p. 322, line 28, *for* emperor *insert* alone *and omit* alone *after* matter
330, „ 1 of the footnote, *after* pro Carthaginiensi *insert* [Nicæna]
336, „ 20, *for* canon xii. *read* canon ii.
357, „ 9, *after* sat *add* throughout *and after* 1666 *add* and 1667
359, „ 4, *for* [at C.P. or in Moldavia?] *read* [at Jassy in Moldavia]
362, „ 1 of the footnote, *for* together with *read* a little after
391, „ 33, *for* canon xli. *read* canons xl. xli.
431, „ 20, *after* they read *insert* [from the patriarchal tomes ch. xiv.; and then this canon]
432, *after* footnote 1 *add* see also in Appendix vi. of vol. ii. p. 431, an account of a somewhat similar disturbance in 1662
457, line 4, *for* Sebastian *read* Sebastus
470, „ 3, „ decree „ permission
490, „ 8, „ the Lord's Prayer *read* the Prayer to Jesus
739, „ 2, *after* escorted forth *add* (31st May 1668)

TRAVELS OF MACARIUS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TRAVELS OF MACARIUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH, WRITTEN IN ARABIC BY HIS SON AND ARCHDEACON PAUL OF ALEPPO, AND PRINTED IN ENGLISH, IN LONDON, FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND, 1836.

PART I. *Preface.*

AFTER being twelve years metropolitan of Aleppo, my father succeeded Kyr Euthymius the Sciote in the patriarchate of Antioch, the see of Peter the prince of the Apostles, now established at Damascus. After some time, no other resource remaining, he determined to go to the powerful sovereigns [of Russia], and to the pious princes and beys [of Moldavia and Wallachia], to seek for alms.

Forthwith my excellent brother deacon, Gabriel, son of the late Constantine the goldsmith, urged me to keep a full journal of our travels.

And now I hope the reader will be pleased with this treasure of descriptions and entertaining narratives.

May the Christians of our country be benefited by hearing of the noble customs of the Orthodox in foreign parts!

BOOK I. *Journey from Aleppo: Constantinople.*

§ i. Th. 8th July (Tamouz) the patriarch left Aleppo: we also left on T. the festival of St. Elias, 20th July, and entered Antioch on Th. 22d. The next Sunday was the seventh after Pentecost. The patriarch joined us on Th. the 29th; and on

the evening of W. 4th Aug. (Ab) we left, and came the next day, the eve of the Transfiguration, to Iskanderouneh. Sunday the 9th after Pt., 8th Aug., we were at Bayas. On Sat. the 14th at Adana; whence the patriarch went to Tarsus, &c. to collect his dues, and returned; and we left Adana on the night of Sunday the 29th (the twelfth after Pt.), in company with an aga of Turkomans from Damascus. On the evening of W. 1st Sept. (Houl), the first day of A.M. 7161 [*i.e.* Sept. 1st, A.D. 1652], we reached Bor. Here the patriarch celebrated in the church of St. Eugenius and his companion MM., on the thirteenth Sunday after Pt., 5th Sept., and left on the eve of the Nat. of our Lady.

§ ii. Before noon on Sund. fourteenth after Pt., and 12th Sept., we reached Ikonieh, where we stayed the festival of the Cross. Th. 16th we left in company with a cadi of Aleppo and the caravan from that place; and on the first Sunday after H. Cross, 19th Sept., reached Ak Shehr, and on Th. 23d Eski Shehr, and on the 26th (the second Sund. after H. Cross) Bazajik. On T. 28th, parting from the C.P. caravan, we came to Broussa, and alighted at the Yengi Khan, among the natives of Aleppo.

§ iii. Here in the church they named first the Sultan, then the patriarch of Antioch; afterwards their own metropolitan. On the third Sunday after H. Cross, 3d Oct. (Teshrin), the patriarch celebrated the liturgy, and again on the fourth Sunday, 10th Oct. On W. the 13th we left, the chief inhabitants accompanying us to Modanir, where all the [Christian] population came out to meet us. They took us at once to their chief church, and the deacon named first the patriarch of C.P., then the patriarch of Antioch; but they omitted any mention of their metropolitan Clement (God erase his name from the book of life!) for his haughtiness, he being hated by all the people; particularly now, when he declined coming out to meet the patriarch to welcome him. For this reason we stayed but a very short time here, and celebrated no liturgy. On F. the 15th we hired a boat, and they rowed us about twelve miles, and then anchored till midnight. Then there sprang up a violent gale, and the boat was near foundering; we lost our senses, and cried and sobbed like children; we bade one another adieu, and openly confessed our sins; and the patriarch read over us the prayer of absolution. But by the mercy of God, and by the intercession of St. Demetrius, whose festival (26th Oct.) was approaching (for both

before and after it this storm is dreaded by mariners), we reached the shore. In the morning they rowed us to Khan Bouzbouroun, and anchored. Here we found many ships at anchor for fear of the weather. At midnight between M. and T. (18 and 19) we sailed to Katerli, and visited its church of St. Cyriaca. In the evening we came to a populous town on the beach of the island called Proti [rather Prinkipo]. It contains the monuments of the patriarchs of C.P. up to this day, and has three churches, of the B.V., St. Demetrius, and St. George. At midnight we started again, and in the morning came to Scutari. We had passed by Chalcedon, and the widow's vineyard which St. John Chrysostom carried away [from the Empress Eudoxia]. It exists to the present time in the form of an island.

§ iv. [When we were on the point of entering C.P. (Oct. 20th), a number of merchants from Moscow presented themselves to our lord the patriarch, and informed him that the Tsar and the newly-created patriarch of their country [Nicon] were impatient for the arrival of his holiness, having been informed of his intended visit from the moment of his departure from his see of Antioch. p. 257.] We entered C.P. in the forenoon of W. 20th Oct., just three months after leaving Aleppo. We alighted in the monastery of the Resurrection, within the gate of the Kabr, and near to the patriarchate. Our patriarch had sent from Broussa a letter to Kyr Paisius, the patriarch of C.P., and to his metropolitans, to ask their permission to visit C.P., as was the ancient custom. With this they were much pleased, as, unlike others who had preceded him, he had done the civility required; and they immediately sent him a *συνατικὸν* (a patriarchal letter) with permission, in the amplest terms. And now in the evening our lord the patriarch begged leave to visit them the next day. On Th. morning therefore the patriarch sent to him the aforesaid metropolitans, to conduct him to the patriarchate. . . . While he was performing his devotions to the Icons on the holy doors in the church of St. George, behold, the patriarch of C.P. came down, and entering the church in his mandya, stood before his throne. They placed our lord the patriarch of Antioch at a throne opposite to him; and the deacon said, 'Have mercy on us, O God, according to thy great mercy,' &c. And he named Alexis the Emperor of Muscovy, and his Empress Maria; Vasili bey of Moldavia, and his consort Catherina; Matthi bey

of Wallachia, and his wife Helena; then Kyr Paisius patriarch of C.P., and Kyr Macarius patriarch of Antioch; and the singers chanted to each name *Kyrie eleison* thrice.

When the priest on duty had ended, the two patriarchs came down from their thrones; and having granted pardon to each other, they walked together, two persons preceding them with large silver candlesticks, holding a camphor waxlight, and the metropolitans following behind, till they had mounted up to the patriarch's divan. Here they sat down to table, while the clerks continued to sing. They presented so many different dishes and such varieties of wine, that to describe them is impossible. Towards evening the patriarchs went down to the vespers, and then took leave of each other. Our lord the patriarch of Antioch returned to the monastery, with the metropolitans and clergy preceding and following him; with the agents of Moldavia and of Wallachia and others following, till he dismissed them with a blessing.

On the eve before the Sunday [*i.e.* on Sat. 23 Oct.] the patriarch of Antioch assisted by invitation at the patriarchal church. After the service, the two patriarchs went outside the church, with two torch-bearers before them, and the whole congregation standing in rows. Then one of the torch-bearers shouted, "To Paisius, &c. many years!" thrice, while the patriarch blessed. In like manner did the other by the patriarch Macarius. Then they put off their mandyas, and they went up and dined [or supped] together. Afterwards the patriarch of C.P. accompanied his guest to the gate below; and the patriarch of Antioch returned home in a very happy state of mind. On Sunday morning too, and again on T. the festival of St. Demetrius (preceded among the Greeks by a fast from Oct. 1), he assisted at the patriarchal church of St. George [which the writer describes, p. 17], and dined with the patriarch of C.P. In this church we saluted the relics of the Empress St. Theophano, of St. Asmonia mother of the seven Maccabees, and of St. Euphemia (whose head is wanting). They replaced the seals on the relics, and we went out. It is to be observed that the whole of the treasure belonging to the patriarchal church is in the hands of its vakeels or attorneys [its economes], and is not intrusted to the patriarch. It is they also who pay all the pensions and other expenses attending the patriarchal court.

The palace and divan of the patriarch are built on an eminence outside the precinct of the church, and command a view of Galata, of Scutari, of the Sea of Marmora, &c. At the upper part is a secret door, giving admission to the monastery of the Resurrection. For between the patriarchate and this monastery there is the city gate of the inner wall. And whereas it is the custom, upon shutting up the gates in the evening, to take the keys to the aga of the janizaries, and, on account of the distance, not to open them again till morning, we occasionally came and knocked at this private door, and through it went down into the church. The station of the bishops within the church is from the left hand of the patriarch to the church-door. On his other hand are stationed the clerks and the singers, almost as far as to the door of the sanctuary; so that the northern side is left entirely to the common priests and the deacons.

§ iv. Sat. 30th Oct., the eve of the Sunday of Dives and Lazarus, the patriarch of C.P. invited our patriarch to vespers. During the day he had sent him a *συστατικὸν*, signed by himself and the chief clergy, to celebrate on the morrow in the church of the Baptist at Kum-Kapi; and he had issued orders to the clergy in that quarter to forego the performance of their own masses, and to assemble all together to assist at the mass of the patriarch of Antioch. We embarked, and, going round the Seraglio, passed behind it. Here they showed us the gate of Romanus, now closed up. This side of the city walls was built by the Emperor Theophilus, and still bears his name in large Greek letters. Near Kum-Kapi they showed us, among the towers on the beach, the tower of the Emperor Leo Sapiens, wherein was the wonderful mirror broken by Michael son of Theophilus. Close to it is an ancient church, now a mosque, where abode St. John Chrysostom. At the scala or landing-place of Kum-Kapi (*Κουτσκάλη*) we disembarked, and found all the Christians with their clergy waiting for us, &c. p. 21.

On T. 2d of Nov. (Teshrin Essani), the festival of Korban Bairam, we went all to the space before the gate of the Seraglio, and saw the Sultan Mahomet at his going into St. Sophia and coming out. Afterwards we went in to see St. Sophia; we went up to the second story, and then to the third, &c.

§ vi. On the atmeidan (the hippodrome) in front of the mosque, we saw the fine granite obelisk with its hieroglyphs,

and a stone's-throw from it a pillar of thick brass, twisted together in three rolls, as if it were three serpents entwined upon each other. On the top are three serpents' heads, stretched with open mouths towards the three sides of the city. The lower jaw of one of them is broken. [The remains of the tripod from Delphi.] Distant another stone's-throw is a second pillar of stone. We went next to the tombs of the Sultans, with that of Sultan Amurath and his nineteen children, who were strangled. The tombs of Sultan Mustapha and Ibrahim are separate, near to the precinct of St. Sophia, on the way to the divan. Hence returned to see the Aslan Khanah, that is, the House of the Lions, which are kept in an old low church of the Baptist, with a lofty cupola, wherein are still portions of the mosaics. It is believed to have been the church of St. John Chrysostom.

§ vii. Then we entered the Seraglio, with a church in its court, now called the Silah Khanah, or Armoury, perfectly preserved, without the least damage; but the doors are closed. We went up to the famous arch or cupola which is the 'Sublime Porte,' where sit the judges of the army and the seven vizirs, and the Sultan looks over them from a window. Here they hold the divan, or court of audience for the whole world.

Then we went to see the third pillar in the Taouk-bazaar (bird-market), which is very high; and, having been cracked by fire, is swathed with hoops of iron. The Greeks told us that this pillar was built by Constantine the Great, and that he placed under it the twelve skulls [of the Apostles?], and some relics of our Lord. Afterwards we went on to see the pillar in the Avret-bazaar (female-slave market), which is the largest of all these pillars, built of white marble [by Theodosius], sculptured with crosses and angels and priests from top to bottom. It is hollow inside. We asked for the site of the church of the Holy Apostles, and were told by the Greeks that it was within the Eski Serai (or Old Seraglio), which belongs to the women. We had seen it from the water near Galata, and from off Scutari, as it is high, and distinguished by its twelve cupolas; and it seemed then to us to be near the Sulimanieh; and yet when we came and sought for it near to that mosque, I could not find it. The reason was that the precinct walls of the said Seraglio are extremely high, and the church is in the middle of it, on the top of one of the seven hills which are within the walls of C.P. A

tailor of the Eski Serai told me that it remains in its pristine condition, and that figures and paintings still exist on its walls. We asked too about the site of the church named Χαλκοπρατία; and were answered that it is now covered by the mosque of the Sultan Bajazet.

§ viii. We visited the mosque of Sulimanieh, and that of Mahomet (the conqueror), which last is above the patriarchate in the Fanar, on the top of a hill. Also we crossed from the Fanar in a boat to Khass Keui (of the Mosafir Jews, who fled from Ferdinand and Isabella) to the church of St. Prascovia, to pray over the tomb of Paulaki, late agent to Vasili bey of Moldavia, who for some treachery caused him to be put to death. We also visited his fine house built on huge piles of wood over the water; and were taken in its boat to Galata; and thence went by land to the Ok Maidan (the archery-ground), where the Christians go to celebrate their Easter festival. Last year the Sultan Mahomet came to look on, and was so much amused that he left for them a present of two purses containing one thousand piastres each.

§ ix. Thence we went down to Kassim Pasha, and to Galata and Top Khanah, and to Ters Khanah, where they build ships. Then we returned to look at the wonderful ships of England and of France, and went home.

On the eve before Sunday we performed vespers, and on Sunday 7th Nov. liturgy, in the monastery at Galata; and, after dinner, I wandered about alone to see the other churches of Galata, viz. (2) of our Lady Χρυσοπηγὴ; (3) of our Lady of Mercy, and St. John the Divine, with three large paintings of the Apocalypse. Hence we passed on to a very large church, one of the finest under the Greek empire, but now in the hands of the Frank Jesuits. It is painted all over in mosaic with the festivals of our Lord, with explanations in Greek: the belfry is lofty and old; (4) of the Saviour, near to the last; (5) of St. Demetrius; (6) of the B. V., near the walls; (7) of the Baptist; (8) of St. Nicholas; (9) of St. John Chrysostom. All are built of wood. Then we viewed the church of the Franks, which has been burnt; which equalled St. Sophia in height, and size, and form, and structure; and was adorned inside and out with mosaics of the Lord's festivals, &c. Over the door, on the wall, is a mosaic of the Assumption. All the inscriptions are in the

Frankish language. It is ruined and deserted, and altogether in the hands of the Franks.

§ x. On the evening before W. 10th Nov. there was a great fire till the evening of Thursday, which burned the very heart of the city. But in a month's time, behold, all was restored. How should it be otherwise in this seat of empire? This day (W. 10th) I visited the church of St. Nicholas, within the Agia Kapi, or gate of St. Euphemia, now a mosque; and the church of the B.V. above it, with its *ἁγίασμα*. On the fest. of St. J. Chrysostom, Sat. 13th Nov., I went from Top Khanah to Kiz Kullesi (the girls' tower), on a small rock in the middle of the sea; thence to Cadi Keui (Chalcedon), and its old stone church of the Saviour, with lofty cupolas; and returned by Scutari and Top Khanah. On the Sunday before the fast of the Nativity, we went again to celebrate the liturgy at Kum-Kapi. Every time we passed the place behind the Seraglio called Bournou Serai we endured many terrors by reason of the black flood of waters from the Boghaz or Bosphorus into the White Sea. We stayed with them till W. 17th Nov., when we returned to the Fanar. We asked about the church of *Παμμακαριστὴ*, of which it is written in the Greek History which I have translated into Arabic that they made of it the patriarchate after the church of the H. Apostles had been given up. It is upon a hill, above the Fanar and the present patriarchate, about midway between this district and the mosque of Sultan Mahomet. It is now a handsome mosque. We had been told that there was behind the Odoun Kharshi (wood-market) a small mosque, formerly a church, with a high square cupola, surmounted by a cross: so I did not cease till I had found it out and went to it. The church is still in its original state, and I saw the cross. A number of persons accompanied me; and we returned much gratified.

§ xi. Sat. 20th Nov., the eve of the first Sunday of the fast of the Nativity, we went, by invitation, in a boat sixteen miles to the peninsular neck of land called Mahal Asamatah, in order to celebrate in the stone church of Constantine the Great, which has large paintings supposed to be of his time. It was here that there was the procession of angels, saying (in allusion to the heresies which had appeared): Blessed is he who is on our side! And the youth was rapt up into the air, and came down repeating: Blessed be He who dieth not! as he had heard the angels

praising God. We visited too the other churches of Asamatah, viz. (1) that of the B.V.; (2) of St. Nicholas; (3) of the B.V.; (4) of St. George, which is old, has stone cupolas, and an antique pavement. Within is St. George in mosaic on the wall, very ancient, and finely executed. We took a blessing here from the relics of St. Anastasia. Of all the churches of C.P. no one is so ancient as the times of the Christian emperors save this.

§ xii. On M. 22d Nov. we left them, and they accompanied us to the Yedi Kulleh (the Seven Towers). Then we went by the Top Kapi to the cemetery of the Christians, where is an *ἁγίασμα* called the *Ζωοτοκοπηγὴ*, the festival of which is on the Friday of Easter week. It is now called the Fountain of Balukli (of the Fishes). Then we passed by the Adrianople gate into the city, and so to the Fanar. I went to see the Fountain of Blachernæ, now neglected and almost forgotten, in the Palace district opposite to Khass Keui, and higher up than the Fanar. I entered into an enclosed building inhabited by gipsies, which was the church, but few signs of it are apparent; and found the well within, issuing from a cave, which was anciently in the treasury or sacristy attached to the sanctuary. Then I visited the handsome church of St. Demetrius in the same district, and the church of the B.V., whose icon was pierced with a spear, and has blood flowing from it. Sat. 27th Nov., the eve before the second Sunday of the fast, we attended the vigil, and the liturgy the next morning, in the patriarchal church, wishing to take leave. After mass, the patriarch of C.P. took our patriarch up to his palace; and they bade adieu to one another with tears, and each prayed over the head of the other. And the patriarch of C.P. gave to our patriarch ample and handsome letters to the princes [of Moldavia and Wallachia], and to his own subordinate [metropolitans].

§ xiii. On M. 29th Nov. we went in a caique to Yeni Keui (*Νεοχῶρι*) to hire a vessel for the Black Sea; and on the third Sunday of the fast, 5th Dec. (Kanon), being the festival of St. Saba, and on M. the 6th, the festival of St. Nicholas, the patriarch of Antioch celebrated there in the churches of those two saints. On the evening of M., after the fourth Sunday in the fast, and on the morning of T. the 14th, the patriarch made a mortuary commemoration after the vigil, and celebrated the liturgy for a

deceased lady named Mira. They made a distribution for her of boiled grains with wine and bread, after their custom.

Afterwards we embarked our luggage, on the rising of a favourable wind, which the vessels bound for Galatz in the Black Sea had been waiting for; and in the afternoon they took us in two boats to the ship, which was anchored at Kara Dash (or Μαυρομῶλο, the Black Rock), near to the entrance of the Black Sea. On the top of the hill there is a convent of forty monks. We were now on board, when a dreadful storm came on, with much snow, which lasted to the next night. Four ships which had gone out from the Bosphorus were wrecked; and we were thankful when our ship had succeeded in getting back to Therapia, where we anchored, and found many other ships at anchor. On F. 17th and Sund. 19th Dec. the patriarch celebrated there in the church. It was a severe frost. On the evening before Friday, the vigil of the Nativity, the patriarch Paisius and the bishops invited by a συστατικὸν the patriarch of Antioch—for they loved him much, and had little observance for their own patriarchs, or for each other—that they, the two patriarchs, might celebrate together on Christmas-day.

§ xiv. We departed then, in company with the priests sent, and arrived on F. morning at the patriarchate; where we were lodged in the apartments of Cyril the Alexandrian (Lucar), afterwards patriarch of C.P., which are very handsome, and were built by him for his own use. They are at the highest part of the buildings of the patriarchate. After a succession for three days of splendid ceremonies and solemn banquets [all minutely described], on T. after Christmas the patriarch of Antioch again took leave, and stayed at Yeni Keui till F. the last day of Dec., and then went to Therapia, to be near the ship. On Sat., the festival of the Circumcision, 1st of Jan. (Kanon Essani), after dark there came the protosyncellus of the patriarch of C.P. with a συστατικὸν from him and from the bishops, desiring of him to be present at a synod.

§ xv. We went therefore on the morning of the Sunday before the Theophany to the patriarchate, and found them all waiting for us, and delaying the mass on our account. . . As soon as the prayers were over, the διδάσκαλος Sergius, priest of the church of Χρυσοπηγὴ in Galata, ascended the pulpit, and preached a great deal, and wept a little. 'What is this agita-

tion? What this commotion? What is this disorder in the church of God?' As St. John Chrysostom preached on his return from dispelling the adversaries of the Christian Church, comparing it to a ship in the midst of the sea, with enemies attacking it on all sides. 'And we, its children, within it, are going about to sink it also!' After he had come down, the patriarch of C.P., standing before his throne, spoke to this effect: 'After the murder of the patriarch Parthenius, Kyr Joannicius was patriarch for some time. Then Cyril, surnamed Σπανὸς or Koza, metropolitan of Tirnovo, supplanted him; and when he came to the patriarchate to take possession, there was not a single person to meet him; for all hated him. He remained three days; and having nothing to give to the vizir and to the others, as he had promised them, he was deposed by them with great contempt; and they set up in his stead Athanasius called Patalaron.' This man had before been metropolitan of Thessalonica, and afterwards patriarch, after the deposition of Cyril Lucar the Alexandrian, in the time of the Sultan Amurath. After a time he was deposed, and went to Vasili bey of Moldavia, who gave him a church and a monastery in Jassy, with their dependencies; also the property and people of the towns Brailoff and Ismail, with their revenues, as many as 6000 houses. There he remained till lately, when he came to C.P. without the permission of the bey; and again became patriarch, as has been said above, in the place of Cyril Koza. But, not having with him wherewith to buy the good-will of the governors, he stood his ground only fifteen days, and they deposed him. So he fled back to Moldavia. Then the bishops and all the clergy, by their own will and choice, raised to the patriarchate Kyr Paisius metropolitan of Larissa, after having made him sell his see of Larissa and its revenues for 12,000 piastres to the person who took it from him. This was our friend, in whose time we came to C.P., a reverend, attentive, and polite man, beloved by great and small, of placid disposition and ingenuous mind. As for Cyril the Σπανὸς, he was staying at the house of a great man who protected him. So also was the deposed Joannicius staying in the house of another in Galata. I, the poor historian, went to see him; where he was living in concealment, with a white turban on his head. Now therefore the bishops and the clergy held a synod, and promoted against him anathema and malediction for the many foul acts of

which he had been guilty, whereof libels were lodged in the chancery of the patriarchate; and which now the protó-actuarius, or chief of the scribes (the protonotary), ascended the pulpit and read at the end of the patriarch's discourse. The libels were to this effect: That the aforesaid Cyril had in time past made a schism against the metropolitan of Corinth, and had compassed his death, so as to usurp his see; secondly, that he again usurped or took violent possession of the see of Philippopoli, the bishop of that see being still alive, without permission from the patriarch of the time being, but *by the power of the civil governors;* thirdly, that he took the see of Chalcedon, in like manner, by the power of the civil authorities; fourthly, that he became metropolitan of Tirnovo by the same means; and, fifthly, that he came and made himself patriarch, being the person who caused the murder of Cyril Lucar the Alexandrian, in the time of Sultan Amurath. For these causes they promoted his anathema and excommunication. For it is the custom with the bishops of C.P. that any of them may become metropolitan of a see the first time, and then the second time of another see, but no more; though latterly it has happened that he takes a third see. When he is deposed he retains the portion of decadency (as if of superannuation) with the title of bishop, without the power to take another see, by their new regulations; *it being similar in their opinion to matrimony.* From this condition it may happen that he is raised to the patriarchate; but should he take a *fourth* see, he is like one who has taken a fourth wife, and is anathematised and excommunicated.

After the reader had come down from the pulpit, the patriarch of C.P. pronounced an anathema against him (Cyril) from a paper, saying: 'I became not your patriarch by the influence of money or of governors, but by the will of all of you. This wretched man is intriguing against us, and wronging us: let every one therefore who supports him be anathema.' Then they asked the patriarch of Antioch to anathematise him in like manner; and he made a discourse in Arabic, which an interpreter interpreted, for the space of an hour, and pronounced anathema against him, and all who assisted him, being vested with his *ἐπιτραχήλιον* and his *ὠμοφόριον*. Then I gave the paper to the metropolitans present, who read it, and pronounced the anathema, one by one, all round, in their *ἐπιτραχήλια* and *ὠμοφόρια*.

They were *twelve* in number. When they had finished, they wrote the minutes of this second synod in the syngrapha of the patriarch, which he signed and sealed, as did all the bishops; and they rose to go to the banquet. We stayed in the patriarchate till the morning of W., the vigil (*παραμονὴ*) of the Baptism, when the two patriarchs went down to the church at the beginning of twilight, and the clerks began the prayers, &c. Afterwards they went to the divan, and performed a ceremony like that of Christmas-eve, with draughts of wine and healths, &c. After it had struck ten at night, they again went down to the church, and went through the office of the Baptism [of Christ], &c. Then [after the mass] they went to dinner till noon, and took leave of one another for the third time. And we, passing by Yeni Keui, came to Therapia in great haste, for the south wind was blowing very favourably; and we assisted at mass there on F. the day after the Baptism, or Theophany.

§ xvi. At noon the ship sailed with us, and anchored near the lighthouse (*φανάρι*), where we said the none and vespers in the church of St. George. In the evening our ship set sail; but the wind increased to a very heavy gale, so that we were in danger; but on the Sunday after the Theophany, 9th Jan., about noon, we put into a port called Costanja, and landing our luggage, gave up all thoughts of continuing by sea for the 300 miles still remaining to the Danube. We had come from C.P. 300 already. We stayed two days to rest, and to recover from our terror. They showed us near the port about 120 vessels which were sunk with all their crews and cargoes in that night when the storm came upon us off Yeuzbouroun, before the festival of St. Demetrius. We hired five wagons, and ten camels, all with hunches; also a carossa with a horse for the patriarch. The hire of each vehicle to the Danube was 400 piastres.

§ xvii. We left on the morning of W. 12th Jan., and passing through Bulgaria, came on Sat. morning to Iglitsa, in the middle of the Danube, and stayed the Sunday of the [Ten Lepers], the 16th, at Matchin, on the bank of the Danube, in the pashalic of Silistria. On Monday we hired a boat, and rowed down the stream. During the last week the ice had thawed. Before, they had been passing over in carts, and making horse-races upon the river.

Book II. *Moldavia.*

§ i. In the afternoon of M. 17th Jan. we arrived at Galatz, the first town in Moldavia [at the beginning of the broadest and deepest part of the Danube, sixty miles from the Black Sea, sixty-five from Jassy, and seventy-two from Bucharest. Ships of 300 tons can come up there; its navigation closes in November; and the river even here is frozen over for five or six weeks]. The magistrates and clergy and people met us, and took us to the fine church of St. Demetrius, recently built by Vasili bey, and given to Athanasius Patalaron, patriarch of C.P., as above mentioned. On his going to C.P. and becoming patriarch a second time, the bey was offended, and gave the church to the monks of the Holy Mountain. This Patalaron, at the time of our first arrival in Moldavia, went to Moscow (for the bey was very angry with him), and stayed there a year and a half. Then he returned to the country of the Kozaks, and died there on the third day of Easter.

At the entrance of the patriarch into the church, and afterwards on his coming out, they rang the brazen bells, after their custom. This was the first time of our hearing them. May God not be startled at the noisy pleasantness of their sounds! We were lodged in the apartments belonging to the same church, to which we went again in the evening, after they had rung all the bells for the festival of SS. Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, and assisted at the vespers and matins. Then we went out for some time, and returned for the liturgy. In Galatz there are eight churches, mostly of stone [and about 7000 fixed inhabitants]. On W. 19th Jan. we left in light carriages, which they gave us; our luggage and attendants they sent on before on wagons drawn by oxen; and we were accompanied by an official conductor. On Th. 20th, in the evening, we reached Bazaar Vastatakojo, a market-town on a large river, having three churches, with the bells hung over the doors [or over the gates leading to them?]. The perkalamb (governor) gave us carriages and horses belonging to the bey, and a fresh conductor (kalarach). Late on F. 21st we reached another like town, Birlad, also with three churches, one of them recently built by the bey.

§ ii. The dominions of the bey of Moldavia are divided into twenty-four jurisdictions; every place like those which we have called market-towns is a jurisdiction, or seat of a judge.

§ iii. Sat. 22. With fresh carriages we came to Vaslui, so called because here was the throne of Moldavia in the time of the voivode Stephen, 160 years ago. This prince was a hero in the wars: he was engaged in forty-four expeditions against the Turks and Tatars, and sometimes against the Poles and Hungarians; and he defeated them all. And he founded forty-four stone convents and churches. Here, in Vaslui, the palaces and baths and pleasure-grounds are his; as is also the church, with its elegant and lofty cupola. All round it are vaults and arches, painted with all the saints. On the gate, above the lowest wall, is a picture of the last judgment, in gold and azure, with Moses leading Annas and Caiaphas and the other Jews towards our Lord. They have woeful countenances. Behind them is another troop: these are Turkish figures, with their white shawls and turbans, their large flowing kaftans, with long sleeves, hanging behind, and their harims, or inner festive dresses, of yellow woollen. They are accompanied by their dervishes. Behind them, and in the midst of them, are devils, driving them on, and mocking them. The kashidbari is at the front of them, in his cap; and one of the wicked devils is climbing on his shoulder, and upsetting his cap from his head. The church inside is entirely covered with paintings. Outside the gate is a large bell. The churches in this country are divided into three parts. The first, near the door, is open, and belongs to the women; the second is enclosed with a door, for the common people; and the third, divided from the other by a wall and a door, is for the bey and his nobles. The choir is under arches, extending in a semicircle from north to south, with seats. The Armenians here have a church of their own. We stayed here over Sund. 23d Jan., the third after the Theophany.

§ iv. Mon. 24th, to Skentai, a small town, travelling more rapidly than a bird flies. On our road we crossed with our vehicles a river frozen over. In the town there is a magnificent new church built by the bey, who would wish to build churches all over the world. T. morning the 25th, there fell much snow; and in the afternoon, after we had been sinking in the snow, there came suddenly a warm thaw, and we sank into the mud

up to the horses' bellies. But when near the lake, some archons came out to meet us with horses for the patriarch. We mounted, and they conducted us to a mill belonging, like the lake, to the convent of our Lady, surnamed Bonoska. Here they seated the patriarch in a coach with six white horses, and I sat by the door and held up the silver crosier. Now came forward the vakeel, or minister of the bey, Ivan, the Selidar. This minister had accompanied us from Jerusalem, where we met him, the bey having sent him to ascertain the amount of the debts of the church of the H. Resurrection, and the debts also of St. Michael. Afterwards again he paid us a visit on his passage through Aleppo with the said sums of money. The metropolitan also, with the rest of the archons, and the troops, came to meet the patriarch; for the bey was absent, having gone to the province called Satjao, to make peace between Khmielnitsky and his Kozaks, and the Poles. When we approached the monastery of Galatz, at some distance from the city, they began ringing the small and great bells all together, and continued ringing till we had left them far behind. And in like manner as we passed the convent of St. George, which is held by the monks of Mount Sinai.

§ v. On T. evening, the 25th Jan., we entered Jassy, the capital, amidst the ringing of the bells of all the churches and convents. They took us to the church of the convent of St. Saba and St. Michael, &c. We left the church, after the patriarch had given his blessing to the people, robed in his mandya and holding his crosier; and having taken up his abode in the apartments of the abbot, he received there the visits of all the grandees. On the evening of W. they rang the bells for the Translation of the Relics of St. John Chrysostom, and we assisted at the vespers of the vigil. After the clock had struck the tenth hour of the night, they again rang; and we entered the church, and did not leave till early in the morning after the matins. When the clock has struck the third hour of the day, they return to the liturgy, from which they come out in about three hours' time, if it is any great festival.

§ vii. On the afternoon of Sunday, the 30th Jan., we went to see the bey make his entry, amid the ringing of the bells. In the evening he sent some bread to the patriarch to bless. The next day there came the boyar Ivan, the Selidar, and all the

archons who had met us, with about fifty soldiers, all in red, and a royal coach with six grey horses, in which they set the patriarch, robed in his mandya, &c. So we entered the corta (the palace), and approached the steps of the divan, between rows of troops. Here the patriarch alighted, and went up the steps, while they held his train, and I, as usual, went before him. All the grandees came out to receive him in the outer hall, and in the second intermediate hall. The bey came to meet him from his own inner hall, and kissed his hand. The patriarch kissed the bey's forehead, and gave him his blessing; and they sat down. We all of us made our obeisances to the ground before the bey, and kissed first his right hand, then the left; as we did afterwards at going out. . . . . On T. 1st Feb. (Ishbat) we, the patriarch's attendants, went to the bey with the presents brought for him by the patriarch, all in trays, covered with fringed napkins. When we entered the palace, the selidar came with a secretary, who wrote them all down.

§ viii. List of the presents. . . . This list the minister went in and presented to the great logothète. Then they led us before the bey, who rose from his seat, and we bowed to him. They now presented to him the trays, the secretary saying: 'The patriarch of Antioch presents so and so;' and the bey uttered his thanks for each. Then we returned, and brought like presents for Stephani Voivode, who received us in a room by himself. Thirdly, we brought like presents for the domina, the bey's consort, to whom we made small obeisances on entering and retiring, and kissed her hand. [Then he specifies the daily allowance which the bey settled upon them in provisions and in money.]

On Th. 3d Feb. we went to see the convent of our Lady, founded by the domina. Behind the bey's chair in its church there is a picture of Vasili Voivode at full length, clad in a robe of fur and sables, holding in his hand the church, and presenting it to our Lord, who blesses him. Behind him stands his lady the domina, a Circassian princess, in a like dress, with her daughters, one of whom is now with the Poles; another she has lately given in marriage to the son of Khmielnitsky the Kozak; next to them is her son Stephani Voivode, with his third sister, who afterwards were taken into Russia.

§ ix. On T. 8th Feb., after a notice from the bey, the selidar came a little before noon with a sledge; for it was a frost, and

much snow had fallen. . . . With the troops preceding us, as before, we entered the corta, and found the bey alone in the apartment. The patriarch presented to him the letters which he brought from Paisius patr. of C.P., also from the deposed Joannicius, and those with which he had been charged by the patr. of Jerusalem. Every time the logothète had finished reading a letter, the bey rose and took off his calpack. Then the patriarch made him a present of immense value. It was the lower jaw of St. Basil the Great. It came into our hands at C.P., where it had belonged to the relatives of Kyr Gregory metr. of the ancient Cesarea, and was bought for its price in gold. He gave him other relics (some of them of our Lord the Messiah, and of his holy apostles), all obtained in C.P., the queen of cities, where everything is to be found. Among those which we purchased there were: a piece of the horse of St. Demetrius, some of the blood of St. George, some hair of the martyr Anastasia which frees from enchantment, a finger of the mother of St. Eustathius, some pieces of a stone on which is the blood of the Messiah from the h. sepulchre, some pieces of the wood of the cross, of a dark colour like ebony and very heavy. We tried them in the fire, and they became red-hot: on being taken out they cooled, and returned to their former state: we tried them also in water, and they sank to the bottom. When the bey saw this last treasure he was filled with admiration, and could not contain his joy when the patriarch said, 'This is for you, to preserve you from all evil.' Then he gave him a cruet of holy oil: and the bey conceived a great affection for the patriarch, and told him of those who had come before him, and how much his heart had been afflicted at their conduct. He then went out with him to the divan or outer hall, where the royal table was spread with dishes and spoons and forks, all of silver and gold, and there sat down at the upper end, on a chair covered with velvet. For the patriarch they set another chair on his right hand; and he blessed the table, and the bey; . . . so he did also after the banquet. And having taken leave he departed, and we returned to the convent. To describe the [dignity, acquirements, good sense, learning, and abilities for peace and for war of the bey] is beyond the power of man. The truth is, he has equalled the former emperors of Greece, or rather surpassed them: his perfections are celebrated over all the world: even agas and merchants and other Turks, even the

dervishes and tradesmen, swear by his head. Yet he has been for the most part, and still is, an object of their hatred; and it is impossible that he can defend and maintain himself in his sovereignty here. . . . He has printed a great deal in his time, church books, practices of devotion, and commentaries; and for his own people in Moldavia books in the Wallachian [Romanian] language. Formerly the people had their prayers only in the Servian tongue, which is akin to the Russian; for from Bulgaria and Servia to Wallachia and Moldavia, and thence to the Kozak country, and to Moscow, they all read in the Servian, in which all their books are written. But the language of the Wallachians and Moldavians is the Wallachian; and they do not understand what they read in Servian. For this reason he has built for them near his monastery a large stone college, and has printed for them books in their own language. The Servians, Bulgarians, Kozaks, and Muscovites, speak all in one tongue, only differing as to age and local peculiarities; but their books and writings are precisely the same.

§ x. W. 9th, the bey sent to the patriarch a phrygium (high cap) of black woollen cloth, lined with sables, and a kaftan of satin, with money to make them up, and a promise to pay all his debts. On Sat. 12th the abbot of the bey's monastery, named after the Three Hierarchs, having invited the patriarch, we went in the coach thither. At a short distance from this convent, near the baths, on the border of the great lake, is the magnificent college founded by the bey. On Sunday the 13th the abbot of the monastery of the Ascension, called Galata, invited us; and we went in a sledge with four black horses, having our fingers nearly bitten off by the cold. This monastery is about an hour and a half from the town. On Th. τῇς ἀποκρέω (the 17th), the abbot of the convent of the Assumption, called the Bonoska, invited the patriarch, and sent for him a sledge drawn by four black horses. I never recollect without a sigh for past delights those continual rides with the patriarch in the coach or in the sledge, with the crosier held before him, and the heads of the monasteries on his right and left, while both his hands were employed in blessing the people in the streets and roads, and the Turks were looking on. . . . This convent of the Bonoska, and the other two of St. Saba and of the Assumption or Galata, are dependencies on the patriarch of Jerusalem. . . . In this country it

is not the custom for a patriarch to go out at all into the town without his mandya and a coach.

The bey Vasili Voivode held a divan every day; but the divan on Saturdays was for the judgment of felonies. . . God has not created on the earth a more vicious people than the Moldavian; for the men are all murderers and robbers. It is said that since Vasili became bey—*i. e.* in about twenty-three years—he has put to death above 14,000 robbers, by the judicial registers. And yet he condemned not to death the first time: it was only for the fourth offence that he put to death. We ourselves witnessed here a circumstance which strikes one with horror; viz. that their priests are taken to execution. Yet the bey, with all this severity, is unable to reform them. As to their wives and daughters, they are utterly destitute of modesty; and though the bey cuts off their noses, and puts them in the pillory, and drowns many of them, so as to have put an end to some thousands of them, he is too weak to correct their manners. On the Sat. before Lent (this year the 19th Feb.), when the cheese-week ends, it is usual here to release all who are in prison; and on the first Friday before the fast they close all the tribunals and law proceedings, and the bey shows himself only in the church. The fast of Lent is strictly observed by the court and the higher classes; but the lower orders keep no fast, nor perform any prayer, nor appear to have any religion. They are Christians only in name; and their priests set them the example of passing whole nights in debauchery and intoxication. But in Wallachia (which God preserve!) it is very different, and the religiousness of its inhabitants and their good conduct are exemplary. After the Office (on Mond. 21st Feb.), the first day of the fast, we sat down to table, with nothing but macerated beans, lentils cooked with oil, and some greens boiled with a little salt. Such is their [fast] fare throughout the year. As to wine, they never taste it; nor do they use oil except on Saturdays and Sundays. Their drink is cider [quass?]. For us the bey ordered, on Wednesdays and Fridays during the fast, both beer and mead.

After vespers on Sat., the bey sent word that he meant to go to the convent of Galata for the liturgy the next day. And he sent a quantity of Lent provisions—oil, lemon-juice, rice, barley, lentils, vetches, beans, millet, &c. After the matins on the Sunday, the bey's selidar, with the coach, came for us. At

the convent we found all the heads of the monasteries. As soon as the bells ceased, the bey entered with the domina and his son Stephani, and mass was celebrated. The singing was very beautiful. I remarked that the right choir sang in Greek, and the left in Wallachian. After mass the bey retired with the patriarch to a private room, till the table was ready. After the vespers, the bey departed in his coach. This was truly a memorable day for us; and I recur with pleasure to the splendour of the ceremonies, and the delightful singing of the boys of the bey's household, who vied with each other to charm our ears. As we returned, we saw by the road-side the great lake behind the bey's palace, which this day was frozen over. Near the convent of St. Saba is another convent of St. Prascovia, held by the monks of Mount Sinai. In Jassy there are said to be thirty churches. [It became the seat of government only in 1574, when Moldavia fell under the Turks. The ancient capital and episcopal city was Suczava, near the sources of the Pruth, now ruined, and included in the Austrian Bukovine.] . . . On the eve of the fourth Sunday in Lent (March 20), the bey sent notice in the same way; and the next morning he sent the coach to take us to meet him at the Bonoska monastery. He came riding on a tall grey Turkish horse. It was I that read the gospel this day. In all these countries their surprise was great at the manner in which we read Greek. There were present at this mass four metropolitans—viz. the one always residing here at court, the metropolitan of St. Sophia, Gelasius metropolitan of Naupactus in the Morea, and another from Georgia, newly come from Moscow with an abundant collection of alms. They took the patriarch with them in the coach to the court to a princely banquet.

§ xiii. On the fifth Sunday in Lent the bey had desired the patriarch to celebrate mass in the convent of Aaron the Voivode, outside the city. But on this morning he appeared very angry, we knew not why. Note, that the iron clock of the Hospodar's convent, from the 1st to the 10th March (Adar), struck twelve hours in the day and twelve in the night; but after the 10th it altered, and struck fourteen hours during the day and ten during the night.

Now came on the untoward incidents which prevented the bey from showing himself much in public this day. A paper was brought to him by a priest, a confessor, showing that the

grandees of the country had conspired with the great logothète to put him to death. About ten days before, the logothète had gone to the Krâl of the Majars (the king of Hungary), and to Matthi bey of Wallachia, as if flying to them, and had accused Vasili of a design to conquer, by help of the Kozaks, both Hungary and Wallachia. The two princes, enraged at this, gave the logothète about 30,000 of their troops; and he had made an agreement with the commanders of the Moldavian army, that they should suddenly overpower Vasili on Palm Sunday, during the liturgy, in his convent, and put him to death. . . . But having been forewarned by the above-mentioned paper, he immediately closed his court, and removed his family, with all his treasure, to the castle of Khotin, on the Polish frontier; and there he collected his troops; but they were all faithless to him. He retreated therefore to the castle; and thence, on the Saturday of the Light, he crossed the river, and, entering the country of the Poles, repaired to the fort of Kamenetz. Thence he sent letters to C.P.; and he sent to ask for help from Khmielnitsky, the hetman of the Kozaks, and from his son (Vasili's son-in-law) Timothy. He sent also to the khan of the Tatars. . . . The logothète had for some time past been intriguing, till he had gained the chief men of Moldavia, who hated Vasili and his nobles, and *all his Greek nation*. One cause of their hatred was the misconduct and profligacy of a nephew of Vasili. For three years the logothète intrigued, till he had also obtained the approval and consent of the Turks to his designs. . . The departure of Vasili from Jassy was on Th. Mar. 31, in the week before Palm Sunday. You should have seen the panic which followed; for at once all the population of the towns became robbers and outlaws. The merchants and chief citizens carried their effects into the convents, where they fortified themselves. Now ceased prayers and masses; for the churches and sanctuaries were filled to the ceiling with furniture and provisions. On the eve of Palm Sunday we performed the vespers in the refectory of the convent, and in the morning the matins, without any mass. This day in the afternoon the logothète entered Jassy with a large army, and alighted at his own house. On the morning of Holy Monday they rang all the bells for him; and he took his seat as bey by the style and title of Ivanoff Georgitsa Stephanos Voivode. For the beys of Moldavia and Wallachia used to set before their

names Ivanoff. Their seal is always the head of a calf. The new bey's name was properly George, and his fathers and ancestors had held the princely dignity. Their common name was Stephanos. The grandees, the troops, and the peasants all submitted to him, because he was of their own nation.

On Easter-eve they rang all the bells from nightfall to sunrise, when we arose and performed the Easter matins and Χριστὸς ἀνέστη in the refectory, as before. It was a feast of melancholy, with fear and trembling. As to the Greeks, they were all, both priests and laity, in hourly expectation of death by the sword. For ourselves, as soon as the new bey had seated himself on the throne, he sent to the patriarch his daily expenses, and begged his prayers, promising him every good, to the great comfort of his heart. For the bey knew us from the first, and we had taken to him a present among the first we gave; and now we made him a second offering. I went near to the church of St. Nicholas adjoining the court, and was a spectator of the ἀνάστασις which the bishops of the country and the abbots performed according to custom before the new bey; for which they had set him a chair outside the church (10th Apr.).

§ xiv. After the ceremony the bey left the church and walked with an immense retinue to the corta. When three hours of the day were past, they rang the bells; and we went, with the patriarch, to assist at the mass for Easter in the church of the domina's convent.... On this day they brought to the church many trays full of eggs dyed and painted with various figures and colours, hog's flesh, bread, hog's lard, and sweet herbs, according to their custom; and the patriarch said over them the prayer for eggs and cheese, &c.

§ xv. On M. and on T. there was no mass, owing to the fear which prevailed. Nor on Low Sunday; the news being come that Timothy, son of Khmielnitsky and son-in-law of Vasili, had crossed the river and had defeated those troops of the new bey which were guarding its bank. The new bey, who had dismissed his Hungarian and Wallachian auxiliaries, now sent in haste to call for them again. The advanced guard of the Kozaks—only 300 men—routed the troops of the bey sent against them. The bey, having now about him 40,000 men of different nations, marched out on W. after Low Sunday (Διακαινήσιμος). They soon met the Kozaks, who routed them with great slaughter.

We were spectators of the battle from the bell-towers. The bey fled towards Hungary, abandoning the corta and everything in it.

§ xvi. Timotheus entered Jassy; and as he passed by the convent of St. Saba, on his way to the corta, the patriarch went out to meet him robed in his mandya, with his omophorion, and epitrachelion, and with his cross. He was accompanied by many thousands of men, who pressed forward to receive the blessing of the patriarch, doing reverence to him to the ground and kissing his cross. Then they separated towards the glens of the mountains, and plundered the inhabitants of the towns and villages with whom their enemies had taken refuge. The general now sent a sotnik with his company to protect our convent. In the mean time there fell on the Turks and Jews great terror; and so great was the cruelty practised towards them by the Kozaks, that, if our lord the patriarch had not been present, they would have been utterly destroyed. At night they rang the bells of all the convents, and in each of them performed matins, praying for the hetman Khmielnitsky, and for his son the hetman Timothy, which we also assisted at. The deacon said: 'Let us pray for our sovereign Vasili Voivode, and for the hetman Zenobius, and the Prince Timothy and his consort.' This is the lady who was a nun in C.P. Her husband spent upon her treasures of wealth, till he brought her away and married her. She was the daughter of Vasili and his domina Roxana. Peace be to them for ever! . . . May the Lord humble under their feet all their enemies! . . . Then they chanted the whole Kanon for Easter and the Παράκλησις, and we went out from the church before midnight.

On Sat. the festival of St. George and on the following Sunday there was no mass. On M. evening the hetman Timothy sent us word that he would assist the next day at the mass in the bey's convent. So at daybreak on T. we went thither, and attended the matins. At sunrise the hetman came and stood at the chair of the bey, girt with his sword. The patriarch gave him his blessing, and we celebrated the mass. When the patriarch went out from the church, the hetman held up his sleeves behind, till he had mounted him on his horse; and then held his stirrup till he was outside of the convent.

Now they made proclamation for public rejoicings: for im-

mediately on the defeat of the new bey they had sent word to Vasili, to Kamenetz; and he entered Jassy on Th. 28th April (Nisan). The patriarch went to the bey's convent, to await his arrival. The bey alighted from his horse, and he and the patriarch, having made their compliments to each other, entered the church, &c. After again receiving his blessing, at going out, the bey said, with tears, 'What has befallen me was for my sins.' As soon as he had entered the corta, and sat upon his throne, all the Kozaks fired their muskets; and they fired the eleven great guns they had brought with them, and the other six taken from the new bey.

§ xvii. On the Sunday of the Paralytic (1st May) we went to the corta to see the hetman Timothy take leave of the bey: for they had agreed to act together against the bey of Wallachia. On M. the patriarch went himself to take leave: but the bey would not let him go, and bade him to have patience, for all the Kozak country was in disorder from the march of their own troops and of the army of the Tatars; the khan having this year agreed with Khmielnitsky to war together against the Poles. On Th. Timothy met the Moldavian troops, which, since ancient times, have always been rebellious to their sovereigns. On W. the eve of the Ascension, the abbot of the convent of Galata having invited us, we went thither and assisted at the vespers, and at daybreak at the matins. At sunrise they rang the bells, and the patriarch celebrated the mass, and ordained a priest; and afterwards blessed the κόλλυβα. It was noon before we left the altar; and they took us to the refectory.

§ xix. This day (Friday, 20th May, the day after the Ascension) news came that Vasili and his son-in-law had been defeated and had fled. The Kozak troops returned fugitives and beaten; and the bey and his son-in-law were reported to be missing; till on T. before Pentecost they came suddenly to the corta in the most wretched plight. They sent to inform Khmielnitsky. They had approached within a day's march of Tergovist, the capital of Wallachia, when Matthi Bey came out against them, and would have been defeated, but for a thunderstorm and the treachery of the Moldavian troops. The disaster of Vasili and Timothy was on the afternoon of T. before the Ascension. The news of it reached Jassy in three days: but the distance between Tergovist and Jassy is ten days' march. The Kozaks who had escaped

remained in Jassy three days, and then retired: Timothy stayed some time, and then went away to his father, who sent him no succours, because he was angry with him. As for Vasili, he remained alone: there was nobody with him. Both he and we were in constant alarm. He had sent for his domina and son and all his treasure and goods from Kamenetz, and lodged them in a stone castle in his own dominions named Souchava.

§ xx. We assisted at the mass of Pentecost in our own convent. After it they spread a mat within the sanctuary, before the holy table, and we vested the patriarch in his ὠμοφόριον and ἐπιτραχήλιον, and he said the prayers kneeling with his face turned towards the people. On the Sunday of All Saints [Trinity Sunday in the West], we received an invitation from the abbot of the monastery of St. John the Younger, a dependency of that of St. Saba. Its saint was martyred at Trebizond rather more than 100 years ago.

On the eve of the apostles (28th June) they rang the great bell, and decorated the churches with flowers, sweet herbs, and images. I observed that the iron clock struck from 1st Nisan (April) onwards fifteen hours by day and nine by night. But in the months of Haziran and Tamouz (June and July) it used to strike sixteen hours in the day and eight at night.

§ xxi. Vasili now was without troops, all the Moldavians proving faithless to him. He sent to the Tatars, but they would not help him. Shortly there came news that Khmielnitsky had sent him some few thousand Kozak soldiers. In the mean time there came to Vasili three robes of honour and a letter of confirmation, brought by agas from C.P. At length the bey marched forth on T. 5th July, with about 4,000 men of Greeks and Kozaks, and 11,000 Moldavians. Again Vasili's Moldavians proved treacherous, and so the rest were completely defeated on the 6th July. Thus the presents which we had taken to Vasili and his grandees were now completely thrown away. As for Vasili himself, he fled, and sent orders to the fortress of Souchava to hold out till he should come to its relief, remaining himself in the first town of the Kozak government, named Rashkov, whence he sent word of his disaster to Khmielnitsky and Timothy.

§ xxii. The Hungarians came on to Jassy, and pillaged everything outside the convents. As soon as the new bey arrived, he turned off immediately to besiege Satjao. He also sent to the

patriarch, to tranquillise his mind, and appointed us an allowance. The Moslems and Jews now appeared in public without fear; but the Greeks dared not stir from their houses: they now suffered daily all manner of insult and violence, having before oppressed the native Moldavians. On the eve of St. Elias they rang the great bell; and we assisted at the mass (July 20). They adorned the church with flowers and sweet herbs, and brought in trays of fresh fruits. Now came the carnival preceding the fast of our Lady on the 8th Sunday after Pt. (July 31); and after the vespers they sounded the great bell as before for the Παράκλησις. This they did every night during the whole fast.

§ xxiii. On the morning of the first M. of the fast, the Kozaks under Timothy, crossing the Dniester, slew many of the Hungarian and Moldavian troops guarding the frontier, and marched to Satjao with twenty pieces of cannon, the new bey retiring. But soon he returned with 40,000 men, the Kozaks being only 14,000, and shut them up. On the afternoon of the 10th Sunday after Pt., being the eve of the Assumption, we assisted at the vespers, &c.; and the next morning they again presented in the church trays of fruit, decorated with flowers and sweet herbs; the images too were so decked. On the 12th Sunday after Pt. (28th Aug.), the patriarch celebrated in the church of the convent of the domina by invitation of the postelnik of the new bey, who loved us much. And in these days of his power how many Greeks did not our lord the patriarch save from death, after they had communicated to them the holy mysteries, and taken them under the gallows, and placed the rope round their necks, to haul them up, after they had reviled them! For in all the Christian countries, when they are about to put *any criminal* to death, the criminal judge (soubashi) with his attendants *bring him first to one of the churches, whence a priest comes out, and having confessed him, gives him the mysteries:* then they take him and put him to death at the place appointed, as we ourselves saw.

Th. 1st Sept. (Houl), the festival of St. Simeon Stylites of Aleppo, the first day of A.M. 7162 (in A.D. 1653). Th. 8th, the nativity of our Lady. W. 14th, Holy Cross. All this time we were confined as prisoners in Moldavia. These terrors and horrors which rushed upon us caused us grievous sicknesses and agues, with hot and cold fits, which I laboured under from the end of July till the following Whitsuntide. In Vasili's time,

the women carried gold about them, and walked where they pleased, without fear. But now even in the very midst of the towns and cities there was terror.

§ xxiv. xxv. Meanwhile the hetman Timothy, sallying forth from the fortress of Souchava almost daily, slew many of the new bey's soldiers; till at last, as he was sitting in his tent within the ramparts drinking wine, a cannon-ball from the Poles who had come to help the new bey struck him, and after lying in great pain some days he died. They embalmed his body. Afterwards the fortress was starved into surrender; and, Stephani having sworn to them, they took the coffin of their chief, their treasure, and their cannon, and departed, while the new bey seized all the treasure of Vasili. He removed the domina and her children, with all the boyars and archons; and, treacherously breaking his oath, put most of them to death. The domina and her children he kept in a small town under guard. Everything that was in the castle he transported into Hungary, where he had bought a castle strongly fortified. Then he paid the troops, and dismissed them.

§ xxvi. When Vasili and Khmielnitsky heard of the death of Timothy, &c., Khmielnitsky equipped 40,000 Kozaks, and obtained also a force of 28,000 Tatars; for the Tatar khan, Sherif Bey, was an ally of Vasili, the domina of the latter being a Circassian, and Sherif Bey having married her sister: and the Tatars this year had made a league with Khmielnitsky. After they had marched over part of Moldavia to the Pruth, fourteen hours from Jassy, they met the Kozaks returning, after the surrender of Souchava; and forthwith they turned back, saying that Vasili now would be unable to pay them. In Jassy all fled towards Galatz: even the convents were abandoned. The patriarch solicited the bey to expedite his journey to the north; but the bey would not, fearing for his safety. Then he begged to be allowed to go to Wallachia; but the bey desired him to wait yet awhile. Meantime all the provisions stored in the convents were consumed, except in ours of St. Saba; and therefore all the merchants left the other convents and came to us, until now that the entire population began to leave the city. To depart with them became necessary; and with much difficulty the patriarch obtained at last the bey's written permission, which he sent with a letter for Matthi Bey, whom he styled his 'father.' He furnished

us also our expenses for the road; but on a scale suitable to his avaricious character. We set out from Jassy on Th. 13th of October (Teshrin Al-avval, *i.e.* the First Teshrin).

§ xxvii. After passing through Skentai, Vaslui, and Birlat, we went off from the road leading to Galatz, and came to Tekouch; and thence crossed the Seret, on which we saw ships. Th. 20th we came to Fokshan, on the frontier. All these towns and villages were deserted, and the roads exceeding dangerous. We stayed here thirty-one days. The cause was this: the bey, having heard that Jassy was deserted even by the monks and abbots, was very angry, and sent orders to the frontier, to Galatz and to Fokshan, to let the patriarch of Antioch pass with his attendants, but not the strangers who accompanied him. Hence for their sake it became necessary to go to him, to the town Roman, which is also a residence of the bey's. . . . We went therefore, and took with us our fourth present. On the festival of St. Michael (T. Nov. 8) the bey entertained the patriarch. Here too we were at the festival of St. John Chrysostom, when the bishop wore a sakkos once belonging to that saint. In Moldavia there is one metropolitan, who has under him only three bishops in that country, of Roman, Goush, and Ozhani, and two other bishops in Hungary. Subject to these there are 800 priests. Ultimately we left Fokshan on Mond. 21st Nov. (Teshrin Essani, *i.e.* the Second Teshrin), to enter Wallachia.

Part II. Book III. *Wallachia.*

§ i. We came first to Rimnik, then to Bouzeo, an episcopal city, where we were on the festival of St. Catherine, Th. Nov. 24 . . . Their forms of service and their singing are admirable; for the Christians of Wallachia are truly good and religious. It is very different from Moldavia, where, when the patriarch entered any house, not one of them came to stand before him, nor offered him a cake of bread. Even the Tatars are more religious than they are. . . . As soon as we approached Tergovist, the winter residence of the bey, there came out Kyr Ignatius, the venerable metropolitan, &c. Into his fine coach the patriarch mounted; and they entered the city through its wooden walls, built by

Matthi Bey. They conducted us to a stone convent of the Theophany, built by Vasili Bey when he had made peace with Matthi Bey. The ikonostase in the church is of Russian workmanship, very splendid. Our entry was on T. 29th Nov.; and in the evening they sounded the bells for the festival of St. Andrew. On such great festivals Matthi Bey makes a banquet for the clergy and monks, and for the poor and strangers. On the festival of St. Nicholas (T. 6th Dec.) the patriarch celebrated mass at the church of the corta, with Kyr Gabriel the primate of Servia, and with the metropolitan of Wallachia. In the same manner they do on the eve of the festival of St. Ignatius (T. Dec. 20), preceding the Nativity. And on this festival they slaughter their hogs, which they hang up for the holidays; and their cries reached to the firmament. And now the patriarch had his interview with Matthi Bey, who welcomed him much. After we had offered our gifts, the patriarch presented to him a rib of St. Philip the Apostle, and a vase of new chrism. But the bey had taken to heart our having gone first to visit his enemy Vasili. On the eve of the Nativity the bey went out to hunt: such is their custom. And the meats served up on the sovereign's table [on Christmas-day] should be from his own chase. The order of prayer on the eve of the Nativity was the same as at C.P. It is the custom here on the eve of Christmas for all the priests of the different towns, with the strangers among them, and the boy-readers and choristers, to assemble in bands, carrying the icons; and to go about the town during the whole night, to visit the houses of the government officers, to wish them joy on the festival. Their first *πολυχρόνιον* is to the bey; their second was to the patriarch, with a prayer of congratulation. First they go to the house of the bishop, then to the bey; all for the sake of a gift; and in like manner they came to our patriarch. Thus they went about, singing a Christmas carol. Every person kissed the icon which they presented, and made them a gift: and as soon as one party was gone, another came, till daybreak. On the morning of Saturday [*Sunday*] 25th Dec., the festival of the Nativity, we assisted at the *ὄρθρον* in the church of the monastery. Before mass-time the bey sent his coach, and we went to the cathedral.

§ ii. The corta is large, and surrounded by a stone wall. In it is a great church, consisting of three divisions. The exterior part is an arcade forming the outer *νάρθηξ*: then you enter a

second gate to the second part, where are the tombs of the beys; lastly, a third gate, to the main area of the church. In Moldavia and Wallachia the beys alone can seal a letter with red wax; all the rest seal with green. And now our lord the patriarch celebrated the mass before a large congregation; but the bey, being an old man, could not stand all through the mass. After the mass, the patriarch gave the *ἀντίδωρα* to him and to all his grandees. Then we went to pray at the tomb of his wife the domina, lately deceased. Returning, we prayed over the dish of boiled grains, and all present partook of it, as also of a beautiful cake, which they distributed in like manner. Then the patriarch blessed the bey, who immediately ascended the stair, while the patriarch went out in his mandya, with the metropolitan and all the clergy and grandees, to wait for the appearance of the bey on the high balcony: and when he appeared and threw money to the soldiers and the poor, the patriarch blessed him as before. Then they took us, by the stair leading up out of the church to the bey's apartments, to the banquet. Under the metropolitan of Wallachia there are two bishops, of Boza and of Rimnik. Wallachia contains about 400 convents of stone. On the festival of the Circumcision (1st Jan. A.D. 1654) the patriarch celebrated for the bey the liturgy of St. Basil.

§ iii. On the eve of the Baptism of Christ they did as on the eve of the Nativity, and blessed the water in all the churches. In all the Christian countries, the priests, at the beginning of each month, make an *ἁγιασμὸς* [*i.e.* bless holy water] in every church, and go round to sprinkle the houses, for the sake of the gratuity: and in this country of Wallachia in particular, the number of the industrious clericals is great. On the festival the patriarch celebrated in the church of the corta, together with the metropolitan and Kyr Gabriel of Servia. The whole number of the bey's troops, we heard, was 150,000, nearly all of whom assemble at this festival of the Baptism, and at Easter. After the mass, the patriarch went out in procession to the river, where they had to break the ice before he could dip the cross, while they chanted the hymns. After this, all the people filled their pitchers; and the priests dipped a great number of children. Some few were frozen to death; and we were grieved to hear the crying of the infants. Then they returned; and we reëntered the church; and the patriarch sprinkled its four sides

and the sanctuary. Then he approached the bey, and sprinkled him. At the moment the bey kissed the cross, a signal was made, and the troops all discharged their muskets, so that our ears were defeaned. Then he sprinkled the rest of the grandees. Afterwards we went outside of the church, and two chairs were set before the door for the bey and the patriarch. On each side, right and left, stood the priests. Then they brought the bey's most valuable horses, about twenty; and the patriarch sprinkled them, one by one. And then came a groom on a small mule, and another on an ass; and after they had been sprinkled likewise, we went in to the mass; whence we ascended to the banquet, celebrated with the drinking of bumpers, with the clang of the musical instruments, the beat of drums, the tuning of fifes and pipes, and the discharge of muskets and fieldpieces.

Every morning all the great men of the Wallachian government go to the church of the corta, and assist at the ὄρθρον: afterwards they go up to the bey, and form a divan for judgments: then they descend to mass; and do not leave the church till near noon, to attend the bey, and go to their dinners.

§ iv. In Tergovist there are above eighty churches and convents, mostly of stone. In the Wallachian government there are twenty-six towns of the same kind. Of the convents, that built by Vasili bey is the handsomest. The palace of the metropolitan is very magnificent; and the church has no equal in this country, unless it be the metropolitan church of the Kozaks at Kieff. It has in all twelve cupolas. . . When the metropolitan goes out to meet a patriarch or a traveller, he is attended by guards and his grooms, each a young man of rank handsomely clothed; and they ride before and behind him. So, too, it is with the metropolitan of the Kozak country. At the palace of the metropolitan all matters regarding the bishopries and the convents are transacted; and the metropolitan goes daily in his coach to the bey, and attends the divan, where they lay the cross and the gospel before him; and, when the council breaks up, he goes down to the church to the mass: after that he goes up again to the bey, and blesses the banquet. Everything is in his hand, especially if he be generous and liberal. The metropolitans of these provinces have no tax to collect from the peasantry, but there is a fixed sum to be paid to them yearly by

the clergy, besides the offerings made at Easter and other festivals, and the farms, vineyards, &c. held in right of their sees. And this state of things we observed all the way we went, as far as Moscow.

§ v. There fell this year from 1st Jan. (1st of Kanon II.) to the end of March (Adar) a vast quantity of snow, which lay on the ground till Easter. In the days of the carnival we saw their weddings, &c.

§ vi. Of their funeral rites.

§ vii. On the first Sunday in Lent (12th Feb.) the patriarch celebrated in the church of the convent; also on the fourth Sunday. Again on Palm Sunday, early, he distributed twigs or branches of trees, which had shot their leaves, with wild white flowers brought from the fields, and celebrated mass. On Holy Wednesday they made a torch for the bey, *i. e.* the metropolitan and the heads of the bey's convents. On Holy Thursday the bey sent his coach at daybreak, and we went to the church of the corta, for the lavanda and the mass. The singers of the right choir chanted in Greek, those of the left in Wallachian. When I had done reading the gospel, the patriarch stood up, and laid aside his vestments, &c., and he took a towel, and they girded him with a cotton apron. After the lavanda they began the mass. . . . And after that, the patriarch distributed the *ἀντίδωρα*, and we partook of the boiled grains, and the service was concluded. Then he entered into the sanctuary, and put off his robes; and, coming out again in his mandya, walked out before the bey to his palace, when he blessed him and his attendants, and we returned to our convent. On the eve of the Great Friday they performed great vigils from the beginning of evening to the sixth hour of the night. So also on Holy Saturday (the Sat. of the Light), which this year concurred with the Annunciation, they rose from their beds during the night; and at dawn they went out in procession through the streets. After the mass on this day, the children ceased not to make a noise with rattles and metal bells, which they continued through the night; for the people slept not at all on this eve of the Pasch. At the sixth hour of the night the bells were rung, and they began the office, except only in the church of the corta. After they had performed the *ἀνάστασις* as usual, they left the church while it was yet early, but soon returned for the mass. After we had

already attended this early ἀνάστασις, the bey sent his coach to bring us to the corta, where the patriarch performed the ἀνάστασις for the bey and his officers and troops, in the open air, on the esplanade of the palace, in front of the church. It was late in the morning before we finished; and then the bey went up to his palace; while we entered the church for the mass, during which we read three gospels. One was read by the patriarch within the sanctuary, in Greek; another by the metropolitan, in Wallachian; and I read the third, in Arabic. As soon as I had done, I was seized with a fit of the ague, which continued till the evening. While all the rest were in festivity, I was in the most wretched condition. During this week they say mass at break of dawn; and strike the large bells morning and evening; and no shops are open except those for the sale of provisions.

§ viii. For the last two years Matthi bey, being old, had had no strength to go forth at all from the city. On Easter Thursday (30th March) he sent for the patriarch, who made an ἁγιασμὸς in the church of the corta, and went up to the bey and sprinkled him. Then we unrobed and went up to the banquet; after which the bey dismissed us, with leave to make a journey into the interior. The bey sent to our patriarch only the usual present, having become at the end of his life extremely avaricious, and loving only the Turks and Tatars, so as to bestow all his wealth on them. This week the news came that the Emperor of Muscovy had sent an ambassador to him, with large presents; but he immediately sent to turn him back, saying, 'Let me not see his face;' for he hated the whole race of the Kozaks and the Muscovites; and at the time of the defeat of Vasili bey and Timothy the son of Khmielnitsky, besides the Kozaks whom he slew, he took a still greater number prisoners. And when the aga of the Khazana was coming to him, and he went out to meet him, he beheaded in his sight many Kozaks, telling him that it was out of hatred to them and love to their enemies. He sent also by him to C.P. a number of his prisoners, to be employed in the galleys. When the vizir asked them what they were, and they replied, 'We are Kozaks of Khmielnitsky's army, who were defeated in Wallachia,' he immediately gave them clothes and money, and set them free to return to Khmielnitsky, because between him and the Turks there was friendship. Hence there

arose great emnity between Khmielnitsky and his Kozaks and Matthi bey of Wallachia; and when the envoy from Moscow was turned back, it increased more and more. Every day there were spread reports: 'The Kozaks are come; they have set fire to the country.' So that the Emperor's [the Sultan's] subjects who had been oppressed by him and had fled from his territory, assembled together, with Matthi's troops and all his grandees, to kill him, saying, 'How is this? Since the most ancient times until now no ambassador had ever come hither to our country, and you must needs take this first opportunity to reject the person sent!' But the Almighty interposed, and took the bey; for this week he fell sick to death, being quite decrepit and worn-out.

On the Sunday of the *μυροφόροι* (the women who brought spices) Matthi bey died, having governed twenty-three years. During the first part of his reign he was much devoted to charity and good works; and he built fifty convents and churches, one of which is the cathedral of Bouzeo. Before he was dead, Kyr Ignatius the metropolitan came, and all the grandees met and held a council; and they elected [to succeed as bey] without delay an archon named Constantine Effendikopulo (*i. e.* of the race of the effendis or beys). Then they went forth from the church; and the metropolitan went up to a high place, and said to the people: 'Your effendi is dead: whom therefore do you wish us to set up in his place?' They all cried with one voice, 'Constantine the son of Shrâbân.' This man had been the second commander of the army, Matthi bey's nephew being the first (or *μέγας σπαθάρης*), and had been set aside out of jealousy; for his father had been voivode of Wallachia.

§ ix. Constantine, on hearing the news, was afraid, and hid himself; but they found him out, and brought him. Then they took him into the church; and they put on all their sacerdotal dress; and they led him into the sanctuary of God, saying thrice, *Κέλευσον, κελεύσατε, κέλευσον, δέσποτα.* Then he kneeled, and the metr. said over him the prayer: 'The grace of God, which heals what is weak, and fills up what is deficient, has raised our brother Constantine from the rank of military commander to the eminence of civil governor of the state. Let us now therefore pray for him, that the grace of the all-holy Spirit may come upon him.' We exclaimed thrice, *Ἄξιος*: and they chanted it without the sanctuary and within. Then they took off his

clothes, and put on him the royal robes, and took him up to the chair of the beys, and seated him in it. And they all came and kissed his hand; first the metropolitan, then the clergy and the heads of convents who were present, &c. This was on the morning of the Sunday of the μυροφόροι, 9th April (Nisan). He immediately sent fish, &c. to our lord the patriarch, and asked his prayers; for he had been a friend of ours previously.

On the morning of Monday the new bey sent his coach for the patriarch: and when he was robed, together with the metropolitan, they stood in the church at their chairs. Then the bey came down and stood at his chair; and the patriarch blessed him as he bent down, and kissed his hand. Matthi bey knew no language but the Wallachian; but Kyr Constantine knew also Greek, Turkish, and Hungarian; and by this time we had acquired the Greek perfectly, so that there was no need of an interpreter. . . . And now they set two ἀναλογεῖα in the church, and laid covers over them. On each they placed the gospel, gilt and ornamented with a gold cross. In front of the one, on the right, stood the patriarch, and near the other, on the left, stood the metropolitan. And now they began to administer the oath to all the grandees and ministers of the corta. All laid their hands on the gospel and the cross, and the secretary read from a paper thus: 'You swear on this holy gospel and this ven. cross,' &c. At every word they answered 'Yes.' 'And should you prove treacherous, . . . your part shall be with Annas and Caiaphas, and with the crucifiers of Christ.' And they said, 'Amen, amen, amen,' to every clause. Then they all kissed the hand of the patriarch and that of the bey, and the lappet of his robe, and departed. On the following days the oath was administered over all the country, in which there are above 400,000 houses.

§ x. Afterwards we went forth from the church to the funeral of the deceased Matthi bey; first to the esplanade of the corta. Thence they took us up, and we went to pray over the body, accompanied by the new bey, to the room in which he used to give his banquets on festivals, and found him laid out on the table, with his face uncovered, according to their custom. . . . After the patriarch had read the prayer of absolution, the last kiss was given by the patriarch, the metropolitan, and the bey, and the bishops and priests two and two; and to all of them

were distributed abundant alms in handkerchiefs. Then the grandees entered, weeping, and the rest of the nobility, two and two. Afterwards they raised the body, and carried it all round the church. Then they carried it into the second *νάρθηξ* of the church, and buried it opposite to the deceased wife, the domina, and his son. Here the patriarch read again the prayer of absolution, and they placed him in a royal coffin. It was near the middle of the afternoon when we retired, almost dead with fatigue and standing. Then they conducted us to the banquet of the bey, and he and the patriarch sat feasting till the evening. He was very cheerful and open-hearted, and distributed dresses among us.

§ xi. The new bey begged the patriarch, as a favour, to stay on with him one month. On the morning of the Thursday after his accession, 13th Apr. [there was a great inaugural procession, in which] the bey and the patriarch walked, preceded by all the clergy of the city in their robes and with their crosses, two and two, &c.

§ xii. In Wallachia and Moldavia there are salt mines; and in Wallachia there is a rich copper mine, and mines of silver and gold; only they do not make them known for fear of the Turks. The domina indeed takes 1000 gold pieces yearly from the people as a quit-rent for gathering that metal from the streams which flow by Tergovist. To return: The metropolitan was not present now, the bey having sent him as his envoy to the pasha of Silistria, formerly grand vizir. He has the superintendence over the beys of Moldavia and Wallachia; and no application can be made to the court of C.P. but through him and with his consent. Then the bey sent to C.P. a body of the grandees to bring him the throne and the banner, according to the custom. They went therefore, and took with them a petition, written thus: 'We have chosen Constantine son of Shrâbân for voivode, and have set him up as bey over us.' As soon as they arrived at C.P., the sultan (God preserve him!) gave his consent, and they granted them the inheritance of Matthi bey, and the accession of the new bey, and the possession of the revenue for 1500 purses, *i. e.* 750,000 piastres; and gave them the throne and the banner, and sent a capidgi to collect the money, and to congratulate the bey, who had moreover to pay to the pasha of Silistria and all his suite, and to the Tatar khan and his suite,

about 250,000 more. To his troops he gave thrice the amount of their pay, and remitted to all his subjects six months' taxes and contributions. The expenditure of Wallachia exceeds 600,000 pieces of gold yearly.

On the Sunday of the Samaritan woman, 23d Apr., after the bey had begun the customary procession to the church of St. George, news came that the metropolitan had arrived with a great aga from the pasha of Silistria. He hastened therefore to go out and meet them. On the Sunday of the Blind man, 30th Apr., the patriarch went to the bey to bid him adieu; but the bey would not let him depart. Then he went down with him and assisted at the mass; and they took us to the banquet. In the night of T. 25th April died the priest Soliman, who had accompanied us from Damascus, of the hot-and-cold fever which we had brought with us from Moldavia. It used to come on us every two days, twice or thrice. When my companion died, my alarm and terror were renewed. We buried him in the convent. On the eve of the Ascension the metropolitan invited our patriarch to come and celebrate the mass on the festival, 4th May, in his church of the Ascension. The bey also came thither, and the domina. After the banquet, they also attended the vespers. Then the patriarch went out before the bey, to bless him at his departure, and to bless also the grandees and the domina, and the ladies who were with her in three coaches all full. On the Sunday of Pentecost, 14th May, the bey was occupied with business.

§ xiii. On the Friday after Pt. the patriarch went to take leave of the bey, who received him with the domina in a private apartment; and he gave absolution to them both, after we had vested him in his *ἐπιτραχήλιον* and *ὠμοφόριον*, and they had prostrated themselves on the ground, for him to read it over them. Now the bey sent us the gratuity he had promised us. We expended near 600 piastres for twenty-one horses and five wagons, &c. The coach for the patriarch cost seventy piastres. We had now fifteen servants, mostly Kozaks and Muscovites, who had been taken prisoners in their flight by Matthi bey, and were now redeemed and set free by the patriarch. On the Sunday of All Saints, 21st May, we paid our last salutations in the church of the convent; and on Monday (the first day of the fast of the Apostles) we went out early to see the bey as he passed

with a vast retinue, on his way to Bucharest, the summer residence of the beys, there to receive the banner and the throne from the Sultan. And we the same day, 22d May (Iyar), set out from Tergovist, in company with seven heads of Wallachian convents, bound for Moscow. On the morning of Tuesday we came to the convent of St. Nicholas, known as that of the postelnik Kyr Constantine, our friend. He is a kinsman of the new bey; and on his creation, resigning his own post, he obtained for his only son that of kamarash, or high treasurer. After visiting the church [which is described, with its paintings], we alighted at his palace. Each of the Wallachian grandees is sure to have at least one large convent, with its dependencies; and they vie with one another in adorning them. We left on W., and on Th. reached Bouzeo, and on Friday Rimnik.

§ xiv. On the eve of the second Sunday after Pt. we reached Fokshani, and crossed to the Moldavian side of the Siret on the afternoon of the same Sunday, 28th May. On M. by noon, to Tekouch, T. Birlât, W. Baslui, Th. morning Skentai, and slept near the Barnoska convent, by the great lake near Jassy, which we entered on Friday morning, and stayed again at the convent of St. Saba.

On Sunday the third after Pt., 4th June, after mass, we went in his coach to sit at the banquet with the bey Stefani, and carried him a third present, and one also to his domina. He then bade us adieu, and appointed eleven men to escort us. On the morning of T. 6th June (Haziran) we left, and after four hours or more passed in boats the great river Pruth. Here are two villages, one on each of its high banks, the inhabitants of which are employed in the passage of the river. Early the next day we came to the top of a high hill, whence we had a view of Jassy; and after alighting at Yajashti, we came at night to the village of Bruïcha. The next morning, skirting a vast lake for four hours, we came at noon to Oshaï, which is a bishop's see. The fish from this lake are sold for 3000 pieces of gold yearly. Here also is a convent built by Vasili. Thence we came, by noon on Friday, to Trifeshti. We passed this part in great trepidation, as they kept saying, 'The Kozaks! The Kozaks are crossing to plunder us!' Thence to Sarko, where we slept. All this region, from Moldavia proper to Sarko, was laid waste by the Tatars when they came suddenly in the time of Vasili; for

the frontier of their country (which may God lay waste!) is not far from hence.

Book IV. *The Kozak Country.*

§ i. Sat. 10th June we went on to the bank of the great river Istrus (Dniester), the frontier of the Kozak country, and crossed it in boats. The patriarch put on his mandya, and in his right hand was his cross; for among the Kozaks and in Muscovy they do not bless otherwise; and in his left was his silver crosier. As soon as we stepped out of the boat, we raised a gilt wooden cross on the top of a tall red spear, according to the practice of this country, where no one raises the cross on a spear except the patriarch. The inhabitants of the town of Rashkov were come out by thousands to meet him.

The eve of the fourth Sunday after Pt., and that Sunday itself, we were with them. And now we entered on our travail and labour; for all their churches are void of seats. There is not one even for the bishop. You might see them all through the service standing like rocks, motionless, or incessantly bending with their metánoias, while all sang as with one voice, even the children joining. God help us, for the length of their prayers and chants and masses! But nothing surprised us so much as the sweet voices of the little boys, as they sang in company with the men, with all their heart and might. We observed an excellent custom throughout all these regions of the Russians or Kozaks. All, except a very few of them, know the prayers by heart, and the order of the service, and the chanting, even to the greater part of the women and girls. Besides this, the priests instruct even the orphan children. In this country of the Kozaks the orphans and widows are numberless, since the first appearance of Khmielnitsky and his entering into dreadful wars. On the eve of every festival they go round, from sunset, to all the houses to beg, singing with one voice, in a delightful tune that goes to the heart, the praises of the B. Virgin. When they have finished, the people of the house give them an alms of money or bread or victuals, &c. Thus they live by what they know; and for this reason most of them have learnt the prayers, particularly since Khmielnitsky (may his life be long!) has made his appear-

ance, and taken possession of these countries, and freed these millions of orthodox believers from the accursed Poles. And why do I call them accursed? Because they have shown themselves more vile and wicked than even the worshippers of idols, by their cruelty to Christians, thinking to extinguish the name of Orthodoxy. God perpetuate the empire of the Turks! for they take their impost, and enter into no account of religion, be their subjects Christians or Nazarenes, Jews or Samaritans; whereas these accursed Poles were not content with taking taxes and tithes from the brethren of Christ who were willing to be their subjects, but they subjected them to the enemies of Christ, the Jews, who did not allow them to build churches, nor leave them any educated priests. When the Almighty had seen their tyranny, he made them the scorn of their enemies, as we shall relate hereafter, and brought them low for their haughtiness. To return: from this town of Rashkov to Poutivl, the frontier town of Muscovy, is about eighty great Kozak miles, a mile being about three hours' journey at the rate of the horses' trot when drawing their carriages. The Kozak mile is about five of the small miles of our country.

§ ii. Sund. afternoon, 11th June, we left, with ten Kozaks attending us, and went two great miles to Dmitreshkovo, whence the people came out and guided and supported our carriages to the top of the hill on which their town is built. There are seven churches. The people all threw themselves on their knees as the patriarch passed by, and having received his blessing retired. This scene lasted till we entered the church of St. Demetrius, and the protopope went into the sanctuary, and said, 'Have mercy on us, O God,' &c., and named the grand prince the lover of Christ Alexis of Moscow, and the grand princess Maria and their children. Afterwards he named the patriarch of Antioch and their own metropolitan [of Kieff] Silvester; and all the people in the church chanted as with one voice, thrice at each petition, Kyrie eleison (Hospodi pomilui!). Afterwards they presented the ἁγιασμὸς to the patriarch, to sprinkle the church and the congregation. And they took us with torches to the house of the protopope. The reason why they now commemorated in all these countries of the Russians, that is, of the Kozaks, the name of Alexis grand prince of Moscow was, that in this present year they had, by the counsel of their hetman Khmielnitsky,

surrendered to him their territory; and this for the following reason:

In the present year the khan of the Tatars had agreed with Khmielnitsky to war jointly upon the Poles. About the time of the Theophany (6th Jan. last) the Poles had collected about 200,000 men; and there were with Khmielnitsky above 300,000, and under the khan above 120,000. With these forces they marched against the Poles, and prevailed over them, and stormed their camp; and the Tatars took of them an immense number of prisoners. None of the Poles escaped, but a few, headed by their crâl, who shut themselves up in Cracow, the city of his throne, where soon Khmielnitsky and the khan came and besieged them. When they saw that they now had been eight years fighting with Khmielnitsky, and had no power against him, nor any resource left, they sent and promised the khan 200,000 dinars if he would break off from Khmielnitsky. This offer was accepted; and the Tatars departed to their own country, taking on their way about 10,000 captives out of the Kozak territory. Hereupon the hetman was greatly enraged; and, seeing no resource but in the grand prince of Moscow, he sent envoys to him to ask his help.

§ iii. All this country, which is called Little Russia, had in old time its own rulers. And it is related that, during the reign of the Greek emperor Basil the Macedonian, they received the faith at his hands. The prince who governed them at that time was called Vladimir, and his capital was the city of Kieff. But the nation of the Poles issued from the Franks, and prevailed over all these regions. Then they determined, of their unbounded pride, not to make themselves a king with power to rule them; but each of them who had obtained possession of any territory became sovereign ruler there. Over all they set a stranger, not of their own nation, and called him Crâl, *i.e.* great bey, giving him a territory for his support, where he was to remain quiet and do nothing but by their counsel and command. Whenever they pleased they deposed him, and transferred the crown to another stranger. They extended their conquests, and took one side of the territory of the German Empire, of the Nemsa or Cesar; with a number of towns and fortresses (fifteen it is said) from Sweden, which is near the kingdoms of France and Germany; and having taken part of the territory of Hungary, they

have also invaded Moldavia. Thus also since thirty years back they have held the large city of Smolensk, which they took by fraud from Muscovy. After they had extended their power over all the country of the Kozaks, they tyrannised over them, subjecting them, as has been said above, to the accursed Jews; they even thought of annihilating them altogether, or of making them Franks, to obey the Pope, as they do. Within these forty years they have gone so far as to throw down [take away?] all their churches, and to take their clergy from them; and so excessive has been their cruelty and impiety as to burn to death the metropolitan of the Kozaks, together with eleven of his bishops and priests, roasting them on the fire with iron tongs, and thinking thus to terrify and subdue them. Such impious atrocities were not perpetrated even by the worshippers of idols, in their time.

During this time of distress the boldest of the Kozaks fled to an island at the mouth of the great river Dnieper, where they built a strong castle, and have so increased that now, without reckoning the women, they amount to more than 50,000 souls. They are called the Don [the Zaporog] Kozaks. Meanwhile the great body endured the tyranny of the Poles.

About thirty years ago three brothers appeared at one time among them, and rising against the Poles, made war on them and defeated them. Having established themselves in the city of Kieff, they set up there their own banners and magistrates. And when Theophanes, the late patriarch of Jerusalem, wished to come to this country, they sent 5000 Kozaks to escort him away from Moldavia, and received him with great honour. On that occasion he consecrated for them a metropolitan and bishops, and a number of clergy. Afterwards they sent him on to Moscow.

The Poles contrived to poison all these three brothers, and retook possession of all the territory that they had conquered from them. Towards the peasantry they increased their tyranny; and showed boundless indignation against Theophanes, who was then at Moscow. But he took the road to the country of the Tatars, and escaped them.

After that came the Sultan Osman with above 700,000 men to war upon them at the fortress Khotin on the side of Moldavia; and the renowned fortress of Kamenetz, directly opposite. The Poles therefore sought to engage the Kozaks to become their

auxiliaries for pay; and they agreed to do so, and repulsed the Turk. His own troops afterwards put him [the Turkish commander] to death: and a peace was concluded between the Turks and the Poles, on surrender by the latter to the former of Khotin, to be under the bey of Moldavia, and on their agreeing to pay yearly 70,000 piastres and 30,000 head of sheep and oxen.

For this service of the Kozaks the Poles repaid them with the greatest cruelties, hoping to break their union and disperse their nation. But God raised up Khmielnitsky to punish them, and to deliver his people from slavery; as it has been said: 'Whenever a nation becomes exorbitant, God gives power to some other nation over it to root it out.'

When Zenobius, surnamed by their crâl Khmielnitsky, appeared, not being strong enough by himself, nor having any allies, he sent first to Vasili bey of Moldavia, and next to Matthi bey of Wallachia; but instead of assisting him, they both requited him evil. For Vasili sent his letter to the Poles; and Matthi bey sent his letter to the Turks, to inform them of the whole affair. Khmielnitsky therefore sent to solicit Alexis grand prince of Moscow many times; but the latter refused to help him, as being a rebel and an upstart. His hopes being thus baffled on all sides, he devised an admirable scheme. A secret agreement was planned between him and the crâl, that Khmielnitsky should rebel, and that the crâl should assist him, in order to extirpate the Polish grandees one and all, and to allow him to become king in his own right, to rule, and not to be ruled by them.

Khmielnitsky then took with him his son Timothy, a boy only eight years old, and went to the Kozaks of the island. Having made a league with them, he went at their instigation to the khan of the Tatars; but they would not trust him, till he offered them his son as a pledge; on which they swore to one another. And the Tatars, being thus united to him, equipped to coöperate with him about 40,000 men, and attacking the Poles, routed them, and took many of them prisoners. Everything that could be carried away they plundered; and marching on, they attacked the governor himself, and soon overcame him, and put the Kozaks in possession of all his territory, as it had been agreed between them, viz. that 'the country and the booty shall be for us, and the captives for you.' The peasantry, being all Kozaks, rose and

sided with Khmielnitsky. Thus they pursued their conquests over many districts, and slew their governors, till Khmielnitsky rode paramount over them as grand hetman or vizir, or commissary, for the crâl, having command over more than 200,000 men: and he began to live in grandeur and magnificence.

§ iv. [The writer describes how the Polish grandees collected their forces and entrenched themselves, despising and mocking Khmielnitsky, and carousing in their camp: and how he by a stratagem entirely routed them, and took their camp, and all their treasure, and took their commander prisoner.] And so the Kozaks became masters of the whole country, rooting out the Poles and Armenians and Jews; and Khmielnitsky performed such feats and stratagems as no one ever did before him.

Had the Poles not been so divided among themselves, had they all united with their crâl, as men do in other kingdoms, and as they had done themselves before in the war with the Turks at Kamenetz, none could have stood before them. Moreover, their crâl, who was secretly a friend to Khmielnitsky, used to send to help his designs, in order to break the power of his grandees. When these then at length discovered his conduct, they conspired, and poisoned him. In his place they set up his brother; and finding, at length, that they could not cope with Khmielnitsky, they made a treaty with him, hoping to deceive and poison him. But they failed to accomplish their designs, for God was with him.

And when the Tatars, of their greed for gold, withdrew from him, he sent to make his obeisances to the grand prince of Muscovy. At length this affair was settled, by means of the patriarch, and through the zeal of the Muscovites for the orthodox faith. The grand prince sent to Khmielnitsky some royal kaftans, and also to his grandees, and named him kniaz in the rank of his empire. Then he sent two voivodes, with 60,000 of his troops, to Kieff, the castle of which they built and fortified; moreover, he inscribed 40,000 of the Kozak troops on his muster-rolls, with yearly pay, to coöperate with his own forces at Kieff. As there was peace between the emperor and the Poles and their crâl, he sent to them an envoy, saying, 'I seek three things from you, if you wish our former amity to continue: first, since the country of the Dnieper (*i. e.* of the Kozaks) has become mine, you are not to invade nor injure them; and whereas the Tatars among

you have their mosques, the Jews their synagogues, and the Armenians their churches, you shall allow the like to the Kozaks, who are, like me, of the Orthodox faith; secondly, you shall style me Emperor of the Russias, Great and Little; thirdly, you shall restore me Smolensk: if not, I shall invade your territory.' The Poles refused, especially Radzivil, son-in-law of Vasili bey of Moldavia, who was a great hetman [of Lithuania]. The crâl himself was for a favourable answer; but the rest would not agree.

Meanwhile, what did these wretches? They came this very year on the eve of Holy Thursday, and suddenly invaded, sacked, and plundered some seventy or eighty towns in the Kozak country, while the people [in that week] were all at their devotions. And it is the custom of the Kozaks not to take up arms at all during the great Lent. But the misfortune was chiefly owing to their confidence in the emperor, to whose protection they had commended themselves. Khmielnitsky, on hearing of it, sent some troops to pursue them; but they failed to overtake the main body. The rear, however, they routed, and cut them all to pieces, together with one of the Jesuits, who had accompanied them to urge the enterprise.

When the emperor heard of this he was exceeding angry, and prepared to march out against the Poles with more than 600,000 men. He went forth from Moscow on M. the first day of the fast of the Apostles (21st May, the day that we set out from Wallachia) and besieged Smolensk. To Khmielnitsky he sent 90,000 men; and one of his vizirs with 100,000 horse he dispatched to the frontier of the Tatars, to watch them, lest they should move to help the Poles. But the khan had consumed a great part of the money he had received from them; and now he sent to excuse himself on the plea that there was so large a force of the Muscovites watching him. Before long he died, and another became khan in his stead. This is what had been passing of late.

§ v. To return to our travels: we went from Dmitreshkovo, one mile and a half to Gorajkovo; then two miles to Liaskovsk, and slept there. The next day, with a large escort, we went two miles to Jaboknitsa. The Kozaks have a salutary practice of marrying their children early; and hence they exceed in number the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea. Near every town

or village there is sure to be a large lake called a 'khalistao,' *i. e.* a fish-preserve. Hence, after passing a large river, and going two miles, we reached a city called Obodoka, with large high ramparts, and we entered it, as usual, over a bridge [or causeway] through a lake. We went hence on W., 14th June, one mile to Balanoka; then another mile to three other burghs in a row on the river's bank called Samoka; then, again crossing the river, two miles to two other towns with castles, called Sovolozka. On Th. 15th we rose early, and after less than a mile came to Mojok; and after another mile to Stefanoka, which consists of three burghs, each fortified, and each having a handsome church, but damaged by fire: for these were of the number of those towns which were sacked by the Poles during Holy Week. Then, almost directly, we came to another town, with beautiful fortifications, called Fajna; and after a mile more to Yajinava, and slept. All these towns are near to each other, and it is so through all the country of the Kozaks. And there is not one that has not its three wooden walls, the outermost of which is made with stakes crossed to repel cavalry. The other two, with a trench between them, are within the town; and there is sure also to be a citadel mounted with cannon.

§ vi. On F. 16th one mile to Talalayoka, with a handsome church; but its citadel and ramparts were all burnt. Round this town were four others, that had been treated in the same way. After another short mile we reached Talalayoka, which had suffered the like; and soon afterwards Gorodok, the fortifications of which were burned; but there remained in it a few of the inhabitants, who came out to meet us. From that time to this we never saw in the country of the Kozaks any church to equal theirs for height, and the elevation of its five cupolas . . . Khmielnitsky has 500,000 warriors to fight for the orthodox faith, who receive no pay whatever, but are ready to stand by him, at his call, bringing with them their own provisions and ammunition. The people of the above-mentioned town begged the patriarch to re-consecrate for them their church, which had been plundered and desecrated by the Poles; and no mass had been said in it since. They had been waiting for some bishop to pass. So the patriarch made for them an *ἁγιασμὸς*, and sprinkled their church with it. Thence after two long miles we came to a large town, Ouman, with nine churches, where used to be

the central residence of the Polish governors. On the Saturday we attended mass in their cathedral . . . At the commencement of the singing of the hymn to the B.V. [*i.e.* at the time of the consecration in the mass, when that hymn is sung outside the sanctuary], all prostrate on the ground, with their heads also uncovered, even the celebrating priests [around the altar]. At other times you might see them standing in the churches like rocks, without motion. As for us, we suffered great pain; so that our very souls were tortured with fatigue and anguish.

§ vii. From Ouman we went one mile to Krasnovoda. With our own servants, and the heads of convents with theirs, we were about forty persons; and one of the troopers went on before to give notice of our approach at each place. When met by the people at each place with the banners and crosses, the patriarch alighted, out of respect to them, and walked on foot to the church; whence they took us to the lodgings prepared for us; and the cross on the top of the spear was planted at our door. After another mile on the eve before the fifth Sunday after Pt., we came to a very large town, Sokolovka, with four lakes and four churches. In the ἐκτενὴς they named our lord the patriarch of Antioch, their own metropolitan Silvester, their hetman Zenobius, and the Emperor Alexis, as is always done. Then he describes the churches and the residence of the former Polish governor, Kalinofsky. This Kalinofsky and Pototski, another Polish governor, having been taken and carried off by the Tatars, Vasili bey of Moldavia redeemed them for 80,000 gold pieces each, hoping to receive a suitable return from them. For this, Khmielnitsky bore a great grudge to Vasili; since these two Poles, when freed, began again to war on the Kozaks, till Timothy defeated and slew them. But the Poles requited Vasili evil for good, and sent help to his enemy Stefani, and slew his son-in-law Timothy at Souchava.

§ viii. M., 19th June, we went two miles to Bouki, where there are three churches, and a fourth just built, which the patriarch, at their request, consecrated for them. From our entry into the country of the Kozaks to our departure, we were furnished by the government with carriages and horses, &c. We went on four miles to Lisianka, which also has four churches. Their largest church is called the Catholicon (the Sobor). Hence we sent to the hetman Zenobius a letter in the usual form: for

he was stationed with his army four great miles from this place. On Tuesd., the 20th, we went one mile to Medvin. Here a *πανήγυρι*, or fair, is held on the festival of the Nativity of the Baptist, the 24th of this month Haziran. Again we went two more miles, through a wood and valley between mountains, to Isai, a place of three hundred houses, with two churches.

§ ix. Getting clear of the forest, we went one more mile, and slept at a large town, Bogouslav, on the river Ros, which we crossed in boats. The hetman Khmielnitsky, who was encamped outside the town, came in to salute the patriarch on the Wednesday, the 21st; and we went out from our lodgings to meet him. He was distinguished only by the comparative meanness or simplicity of his dress and arms. As soon as he beheld the patriarch at a distance, he alighted, and came and knelt, and kissed the hem of the patriarch's train once and again, then the cross in his right hand. And the patriarch kissed his forehead. — Where are your eyes, ye beys of Moldavia and Wallachia? And where is now your grandeur and haughtiness? Each of you is inferior to any progónik of the hetman's suite, and in justice and moderation infinitely below him. Kings and emperors for magnanimity cannot compete with him; for he immediately laid hold of the arm of the patriarch, and walked with him step by step till they entered the castle, shedding tears as he went. Then they sat down to table, and the several officers called progóniki sat with them. He conversed much with the patriarch; and granted him everything that he asked: for the bey of Wallachia, Kyr Constantine, and his grandees, were in much fear of the hetman on account of what Matthi bey had done to his Kozak troops. They therefore much entreated the patriarch to intercede for them, that he would forgive them, and that he would write them a letter to reassure them. The hetman sent them what was asked for. Then we presented to him our offering on trays covered with napkins. All of them had their chins shaven; and the meaning of the word 'Kozak' is this, viz. having the beard shaved off, but keeping the moustache.

This Khmielnitsky is an old man . . possessing every quality of a leader . . his fame is spread over the whole world. Truly God is with thee, O Khmielnitsky! And it is He who has raised thee up to deliver his people; as Moses delivered Israel, so

thou hast destroyed the filthy Poles with thy depopulating sword. Glory be to God, who has done in thee all these great works! In respect to his manner of sitting at table, let it be observed that he placed himself in a lower seat, and the patriarch in the seat of eminence, according to the reverence due to him in every assembly. He was not like the beys of Moldavia and Wallachia, who seated themselves in the centre, and placed the head of the clergy below them. At eventide he dismissed the patriarch, sending him home in a carriage drawn by one horse only, and accompanying him to the outside of the castle gate. Here were no princely carriages to be seen, covered with precious cloths, and drawn by a number of beautiful horses, though the hetman has thousands of the latter at his command; and though at the moment there was a heavy fall of rain, he set out for his camp, with a white cloak thrown over him; and left us, after he had sent us our expenses for the road, with many excuses. He furnished us also with a billet for meat and drink over the whole extent of his territory; and gave us letters to the Emperor of Moscow and the Voivode of Poutivl.

§ x. The hetman has now with him eighteen polkovniks or pashas, each of whom governs many towns and forts of immense population. They know nothing of imposts, or taxes, or tithes; but Khmielnitsky gathers into his coffers all the receipts of customs taken on his frontier from the merchants, and the excise on mead and beer and spirits to the sum of 100,000 dinars yearly; and this suffices for his annual expenditure. Bogouslav contains a lofty palace which belonged to the Poles; and a church of theirs, which the patriarch permitted the Kozaks to consecrate and use. In general, the Kozaks had reduced to ruins all the churches of the Poles (for, as the poet says, 'There is no true enmity but that which springs from religion'). We left Bogouslav on Th. 22d June, and passed through the army of Khmielnitsky, who invited the patriarch to visit him. We entered therefore into the midst of the squadrons; and you might have seen the men by thousands pressing forward to kiss the hand of the patriarch, and his cross, on their knees; so that the horses of the coach were unable to proceed for them, and we were alarmed and incommoded by their multitude. At length we arrived at the tent of Khmielnitsky, a small and mean apartment, from which he came forth to meet the patriarch, who, as

the hetman kneeled at his feet, read over him the prayer for victory in war, and invoked a blessing on him and his army. Then the hetman took him by the shoulder, and led him into the tent, spread with mats of the meanest quality. There he had been sitting at his dinner, with the table spread before him, and no other dish laid on it but a mess of boiled fennel. After he had made us drink some spirits, we rose up, and he went out with the patriarch, who gave him his blessing, and we departed.

§ xi. This day we went four miles over a green plain to Kakarlik, the fort of which has been destroyed in the late wars. F. 23d three miles to Tripolie, where we celebrated the Nativity of the Baptist in the church of the Theophany, built about eight years ago, soon after the conquest of this place by the hetman. When in Moldavia we asked Yanaki the Jew, who had taken refuge there, what the hetman Khmielnitsky had done to the Jews in Poland; he answered, 'He has done them more harm, and has slain more of them, than ever Vespasian did of old;' at which we laughed. The great river Dnieper runs near this city, and on its banks here are built the ships which go into the Black Sea.

§ xii. Sat. 24th June one mile to Oboukhov, with high ramparts and two churches, in one of which we assisted at the mass of the Baptist. Afterwards we walked through the *πανήγυρι*, or fair, held yearly on this festival. Then four miles more to a village, Khamoka, near a deep broad river. After a fifth mile we were met by a sotnik with fifty horsemen, who escorted us into Vasilkov, a very large and magnificent town, but depopulated by the plague about two years ago. We were received by the clergy with the remnant of their flock; and they took us to a fine church within the third citadel, dedicated to SS. Antony and Theodosius, patrons of the Kozak country, who first taught them the life of anchorets, and established among them monks and monasteries. Afterwards they took us down to the lodge of the Pechersky convent, which is outside of Kieff, the glory of the Kozak nation; for this town, and a hundred others like it, is an ancient fief of the said convent, for the sake of which so much calamity has occurred to the Poles, owing to the malice of the priests of Jesus (rather of the devil), who wished to take it away from the Orthodox; and thus it became the cause of their ruin and utter destruction. We were in the church for

the vespers of the eve of the sixth Sunday after Pt., and again for the ὄρθρον, and then for the mass.

§ xiii. On M. the 26th, after five miles the sotnik and his troop bade us farewell, and we went on alone through a forest, till near a lake dependent on the Pechersky, the chief dome of which, with the cupolas of its church [of the Assumption], we saw shining in the distance. When we issued out to the face of the hill, the patriarch was met by the archimandrite, with a bishop then visiting the convent, and with his monks. Having placed the patriarch in the coach, gilt outside and lined with red velvet, they took us to the convent of the Assumption, commonly called the Pechersky, *i.e.* the monastery of the Caves. [This is described at length, as is also the city, through which they approached it.] About two years ago there were nearly 500 monks here; but in the plague mentioned above there died of them about 300. They appear very kind and modest and cheerful. They are extremely clean in their persons, and gentle in their movements; and none of them are ever seen without beads in their hands. . . . All the table furniture—as dishes, or plates, or spoons—which they set before us in this place, or elsewhere in this country, was of silver. . . . About this monastery there are twenty-three churches. . . . It should be noted, that in every large convent, and in the palaces of the metropolitan and other bishops, some of the great archons attend as retinue, each having the rank of progónik. These are called servants of the convent; and when the metropolitan or bishop or archimandrite rides in his coach, they go before and behind on handsome high-priced horses, richly clad, and with the finest arms. In every apartment of the dignitaries mentioned, and even in the cells of the priests and monks, there are valuable arms in great numbers, and of various kinds, &c. The bell-towers outside the west doors of the great church are two, one very high indeed. It also contains the great iron clock. Every quarter it strikes once on a fine-toned bell; and when the hour is complete, it strikes four times with a low chime, and then gives the number of the hour on a large bell. Now, on this 27th day of June, it struck in the evening twenty-four complete, the day being seventeen and a half, and the night six and a half hours.

§ xiv. T. 27th we went to visit the church of the Adoration of the Cross, in which are thousands of bodies of the holy

hermits. It is at the foot of the hill, below the great church, and has two cupolas covered with tin and surmounted by crosses. After mass here they led us down, holding wax-lights, to the caves, excavated to a great length in the mountain, and conducted us to the cave wherein had lived SS. Antony and Theodosius, &c. Their cells are together; and near them is a stone table cut in the rock. Close by is a neat little church, also cut in the rock, where the priests of the convent still celebrate, as they do also in three other like underground churches, all in these caves. . . . We did our reverence to the heads of these saints, which are placed here in glass vessels apart. . . . We then left the grotto; and passed along the foot of the mountain (below which flows the vast stream of the Dnieper) to another church, containing the bodies of the two ancient saints of the same name, whose patrons, the original St. Antony and St. Theodosius the Great, were, the one the light of the desert of Skita in Egypt, the other that of the wilderness in Palestine. But the two later saints, the lights of the country of the Kozaks and the Muscovites, excavated this church and the grotto at the foot of the mountain; and, having a great desire to establish cœnobites and convents, they built also the church aboveground for the congregation of the hermits. So they went forth, abandoning their cavern, and began to build this church, till it was finished by the aid of the pious monarch of that time. Afterwards they formed this [second] cavern, and there died.

§ xv. On W., the day before the festival of the Apostles, the abbess of the convent of the Ascension had requested the patriarch to celebrate the mass in their convent, in which are fifty or sixty nuns, all of noble families: the abbess is of the family of the King of Poland himself. . . . During the mass their singing and chanting was with a sweet voice and tune, which touched the heart and drew tears from the eyes. . . . In reading and writing they were all well instructed, and acquainted with the sciences and *belles lettres*. . . . One of them read the Epistle very clearly and distinctly. . . . At the time of the Ἄξιόν ἐστιν (at the consecration) they struck the great bell; and all the nuns walked from their seats to the middle of the choir, where they knelt on the ground, and chanted it in a delightful manner. . . . Under the care of these nuns are many girls of all ages, mostly orphans. Afterwards we breakfasted in

the apartments of the abbess; and the patriarch wrote on a large sheet of paper the *συγχωρητικὸν* for all the nuns. Near to the great church [the cathedral of St. Sophia] there is an excellent printing-house, renowned throughout all this country. Here we printed, as other patriarchs had done before us, a complete set of *συγχωρητικὰ*, with the signature of the patriarch in red ink, exhibiting his name as written in their language, and adorned with the picture of St. Peter the Apostle, of three sizes, for the grandees, the common men, and the women. This day there came to visit the patriarch Kyr Silvester the metropolitan, in a coach lined with red cloth, attended by two bishops and two heads of convents, all wearing gold crosses appended to their bosoms by gold chains. He was escorted by servants mounted on fine horses, and riding in their rich clothes and arms in front and behind. On saluting the patriarch, they placed their crosses on his neck, according to their custom.

§ xvi. On the eve of the festival of the holy Apostles, they rang all the bells; and all the people assembled and went through the great vespers in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, within the apartment of the archimandrite. After their departure, the *ἐφημέριος* and the deacon and the kandilaptes came and took permission from the patriarch; and then they went and set all the bells in motion, including the great bell, which takes eight men to move it. Then we entered the church; and they performed small vespers; after which we withdrew. But two hours of the night had scarcely passed before they again sounded all the bells, and we returned for the *ἀγρυπνία* (the vigil). It was near break of day when we retired to our lodgings. Later the patriarch celebrated the mass in the great church of the monks. . . . At the proclamation, when mention is made of the heads of the clergy, we recited the name of our patriarch, while they commemorated *Paisius the patriarch of Constantinople*, and their own archimandrite. . . . At the ostension of the chalice the abbess came, with her nuns and attendants, to communicate. A deacon went out therefore from the sanctuary; and they opened a *κάλυμμα*, or large veil, before the chalice, that nothing might be shed on the ground (a pious caution that deserves to be noted). And [after they had received the holy communion] they gave to each in turn the *ἀντίδωρα*, and made her drink a little of the wine-and-water. After-

wards the patriarch came out, and distributed the *ἀντίδωρα* to all, even to the little children. We now left the mass for the banquet, at which they served up some princely dishes, which we had never in our lives beheld. . . . In this luxurious diet they constantly indulge themselves in this country, having learned it from the generous Poles.

On the eve before Saturday, after vespers and before the compline, four priests in black phenolia, with deacons in black sticharia and oraria, made the commemoration of the dead and of founders, as they do on the eve before every Saturday, with *κόλλυβα*; and they sang the kanon of the dead; and the patriarch read the prayer for the souls of the departed. Then they recited the compline, and we left the church.

On Sat. morning (after they had performed similar ceremonies) we left them; and they took us in half an hour to the monastery of the cathedral of St. Sophia, where the archimandrite bade us adieu, and we were met by the metropolitan Silvester, with his bishops and heads of monasteries; and we alighted at his palace. They had been waiting for us to attend mass with them in St. Sophia, [where they attended also at the other usual services during their stay.]

§ xvii. This was the site of the ancient city of Kieff, the gates and earthen walls and moats of which are still visible. We observed the ruins of a huge stone gate and tower, called the Gate of the Sanctuary, entirely covered with gilding, which was burned not long ago by the Tatars.

At first the metropolitan of Kieff had jurisdiction over the whole extent of Muscovy; and this continued till about sixty years ago, when Kyr Jeremiah came [into Russia], and established, as the head of the bishops of Muscovy, a patriarch in his own right, to rule, and to have none to rule over him. For all these countries are subject to the patriarch of C.P., and the inhabitants are ever ready to extol his name, saying, 'From C.P. beamed forth to us the light of the faith, and thence we derived our ritual.' Accordingly, the patriarch of C.P. is constantly sending to them exarchs, that is, to the country of the Kozaks; and gratuities are as constantly bestowed upon them. In the apartments of the archimandrite of the Pechersky we saw ancient *συστατικὰ* from the patriarchs of C.P., going back about 500 years, written on parchment, declaring this convent to be

an independent foundation (a σταυροπήγιον). He showed us also similar documents from the late Theophanes patriarch of Jerusalem, and from the present patriarch Paisius. He had now a like συστατικὸν drawn up in their language for the patriarch of Antioch to sign with his hand and to affix his seal to it.

These heads of monasteries here at Kieff are some of them learned, and discuss questions of depth and research. But they are agreed not to style the patriarch of C.P. Ecumenical, *i. e.* patriarch of the whole habitable world. They give him only the title of 'archbishop [of C.P., New Rome,' &c.]. And for this they adduce much argument and abundant evidences, so as to excite our admiration. The belief of all here, and of the whole country as far as Moscow, is, that the patriarch of Antioch is the master of binding and loosing, and the successor of the Apostle Peter, to whom alone Christ first committed the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth, who is the most ancient of the patriarchs. From him therefore they received συγχωρητικὰ (papers of absolution), out of their faith and entire confidence in him.

§ xviii. Here in Kieff there came to visit the patriarch a distinguished ecclesiastic, a Greek, but residing in Paris, who had recently come as envoy from the Queen of Sweden to the hetman Khmielnitsky, to whom she had sent a considerable time ago two other envoys; but they were intercepted by the Poles. She had now therefore sent this priest to C.P., whence he came to the Kozaks with a letter from her to Khmielnitsky, praising his exploits, and thanking him for all he had done against her enemies the Poles. She wrote to him: 'You are to know for certain that I have been equipping 60,000 soldiers, to help you finally to vanquish my enemies.' Accordingly, after this ecclesiastic had had an interview with the hetman, this latter dispatched letters in answer to her by an envoy of his own, who was to accompany him. With this envoy of the hetman the said ecclesiastic proceeded to Moscow, bearing to the Emperor of Muscovy also a similar letter; for the queen's territory borders on that of Muscovy, and between them and the emperor great friendship exists. In her kingdom indeed there are sojourning a multitude of Muscovite subjects.

This priest then, Papas Elia, told us that there was now in France a learned man of the sect of Luther, who had many

followers. This man had stepped forward openly to revile the Pope by many confutations. First, he wrote to him to Rome thus: 'There was a great prince who had five sons, all of whom he loved equally, and he divided to them the succession of his principality. One of these separated from the rest, and turned aside, and gave himself up to the suggestions of his own mind; the other four remained true to one another and to the last will and mandate of their father. Which, then, is the obedient son?' To which he subjoined, saying: 'If the four patriarchs and the Pope have been constituted from the time of St. Peter and the other Apostles, and remained long united in orthodoxy; if afterwards the Pope went off from them, and divided himself from the body of which he was a member, or as from a hand of five fingers of which he was one, then obedience is due to the four consentients, and not to the single dissentient.' Papas Elia went on to say: 'When the Pope read this letter, and there was not one of his council who could reply to it, out of the excess of his rage, he sent to the King of France, and commanded him to put that philosopher to death, lest this reasoning of his should spread throughout the world, and the Church be defiled by his opinions. But the king said: I cannot do that; for there are now in my dominions 200,000 families that are led in religion by this sectarian, and they all love him; while around my territory, besides those in it, there are numerous and powerful enemies, as the English, and Flemish, and the Swedish nations.' .... The same philosopher put forth also a second confutation, thus: 'Whereas the Pope pretends to be the successor of the Apostle Peter, the first to lay this claim is the patriarch of Antioch, because St. Peter was the first that became patriarch in that city, where he sat in supreme honour. In Rome, on the contrary, he suffered an ignominious death on the cross.' We were told by the same priest that in all the Frank countries much love is felt towards the patriarch of Antioch; and that they have entire credence in him, to the exception of all others but the patriarch of Alexandria. As for the patriarchs of C.P. and Jerusalem, they hate the one by reason of their national relations, and the other they detest on account of his malignancy towards the Franks who visit Jerusalem.

§ xix. We now return to our description of Kieff and of St. Sophia, which is built on the plan of St. Sophia of C.P.; but

unfortunately one-half of it from the western nave is in ruins. It is related that the Tatars at a remote period ruined it and set fire to it; and so it remained for one hundred years or more, a resort for cattle and wild beasts. Afterwards it was repaired, and again destroyed by the Uniats, who tore up all the pavement, and the mosaics from the walls, to place them in their own churches; for the whole of this edifice, we were told, was covered with mosaic [fresco] paintings, and every porch and recess was so ornamented both above and below [till they were whitewashed over; but now the frescoes have been rediscovered and restored]. After it had been so damaged by the aforesaid Poles, it remained in that ruinous state about seventy years, till Peter Mogila, brother of Moses bey of Moldavia, being made metropolitan of [Little] Russia, did his best to restore it, and brought it to that state in which it now is. God have mercy on his soul!

Part III. Book V. *The Kozak Country.*

§ i. Around the great or holy arch of this church is written in Greek (what Justinian is said to have written on all the tiles of St. Sophia at C.P.), 'God is in the midst of her; therefore shall she not be moved. God helps her from morning to morning.' . . . To the left of the icon of our Lord, on the iconostase, is a painting of St. Sophia (*i. e.* of the Divine Wisdom), the work of an ingenious and able master. The church is painted with seven pillars in the midst of its court, and under its foundations is a kind of vault. At the top is Christ; and the Holy Ghost is descending on it in rays of light. Under it is a picture of hell, at the mouth of which is the Kashidiari with a large nose, holding a bow and arrows. Near him there are a number of Persians, in their turbans and peculiar dresses, armed with bows and arrows, shooting at the holy edifice. There is also a body of Franks, in their caps and uniforms, pointing their muskets and cannon against it. . . . Kyr Theodosius, the archimandrite of the monastery of St. Michael, which is opposite this church, and near to it, came and begged the patriarch to accompany him in his coach to it. It is all of wood except the church, in which the throne for the chief of the clergy is very magnificent; and in front of it, on the left, there is a portrait of Theophanes patriarch

of Jerusalem, in his cap and riasa, holding a cross. The great sanctuary resembles that of St. Sophia and that of the Pechersky, and has three large windows; and in like manner it has in the centre a portrait of our Lady, standing in her gold ornaments, and having both her hands uplifted and open. Next to her, on both sides, is our Lord, twice over, handing to his disciples [on the one side] the divine Bread, and [on the other side] the divine Blood. Below them are the likenesses of bishops in rows, and all with their names inscribed. . . . These are mosaics; and the same subject, of Christ giving the holy communion in both kinds to his disciples, the bread on the one side, and the chalice on the other, is similarly represented by the mosaics of the great sanctuary in the neighbouring cathedral of St. Sophia, founded by Yaroslaf in A.D. 1037. At the back of the left choir there is a tabernacle, facing your left hand as you enter. . . . Within it is a handsome sarcophagus, containing the body of St. Barbara of Baalbec. After assisting at the mass here, and dining, &c., we returned to St. Sophia. The walls and trenches of the fortress pass close by the gates of this convent, and have been lately constructed by the Emperor Alexis. They are of wood, flanked by deep moats, and have strong towers. . . . In this fort are many large guns, planted one above the other; and here reside two voivodes, lieutenants of the emperor. The troops of the garrison and neighbourhood amount to 60,000. As far as this spot reached the ancient city of Kieff, which, on its conquest by the enemy, was finally laid in ruins, and its inhabitants were removed to the low ground in the valley on the bank of the Dnieper. The way to it is by the entrance of one gate of the castle, and out through the other; after which you descend by a long narrow passage, exceedingly rough, and hardly wide enough for a horse and carriage, to the modern town (the Podole); for the fortress recently constructed is on the top of the hill, whence you look down over the whole city below. On this day one of the voivodes came and paid his respects to the patriarch.

On F. 7th July (Tamouz) we took leave of the metropolitan, and descended to the city of Kieff (the Podole), where we were conducted to a magnificent stone church of the Assumption in the centre of the market-place. Then they went before us to a large hotel, where we alighted.

The Poles had here two churches; one old, the other new;

but now left unfinished and desolate. There used to be in these two churches and in the town surrounding them some thousands of Jesuit priests; and when Khmielnitsky began to conquer these countries, their associates in the land were speedily removed, either by the sword or distress, except a few who escaped hither and thought themselves safe. But the Kozaks reached them nevertheless; and they were bound together by the cords of their girdles and thrown into the river Dnieper, after they had been made to suffer the direst torments; afterwards their bodies were exposed to be devoured by the dogs.

On Sunday the eighth after Pt., 9th July, the patriarch celebrated mass in the church of the Assumption. On the evening of this vigil fell also their festival of St. Antony the younger, who lies, with his companion Theodosius, in the Pechersky. And from the afternoon of this vigil till the day next after the festival, viz. Monday, 10th Tamouz, at noon, they disturbed this lower world with their much ringing of all the bells; and during this night they slept not at all.

§ ii. This same night and afterwards there came on a heavy rain and a great inundation; and this was followed by a severe frost and thick fogs till we were at Monday the 10th of Tamouz, when we left Kieff, and came to the bank of the river at Brovari, and crossed it in a large barge all at once: we were two hours in crossing; and when we had landed on the other side, we saw on our right the monasteries and churches of Kieff, which are on the top of the mountain: and we went two miles to the small town of Brovari. On T. 11th we went two miles to Gogolev; and another mile to Rosano, and half a mile more to Yadloka, where we slept. On W. 12th three miles to Bisan, thence to Bikov, thinly peopled since the plague. Th. 13th three miles through deserts to Barvoda; then four miles to Prilouki, with strong fortifications. The palace in the castle here is ascribed to A.D. 1645, and so has been built only seven years, this being the year 1654, and it is now a year since it fell into the hands of the Kozaks. It was the residence of the fourth Polish general named Vishnovitsky, who commanded from the Dnieper to the Muscovite frontier at Poutivl, and had under him 60,000 troops. Here they lodged us in a large mansion, with pleasant balconies overhanging the great lake; where we stayed till the following Monday, the 17th.

§ iii. During this time we visited a convent of the Trinity in the neighbourhood, founded by Vasili bey of Moldavia; the house in which we were lodged being its dependency. The prior came in his carriage to invite the patriarch, saying, 'Praise be to God, who has vouchsafed me to behold a third true patriarch!' for they had seen before Paisius patriarch of Jerusalem; and Athanasius Patalaron, the ex-patriarch of C.P., who afterwards died near the town of Khmielnitsky's chief residence called Checherin, on the third day of Easter in this present year (A.D. 1654). So we went with him that day, being Saturday, and took with us our robes for mass. This convent, having been burned, was restored with the alms given by Vasili bey; and Alexis Emperor of Muscovy, hearing of his liberality, sent them also 1500 gold pieces for their iconostase. Then [after describing the ceremonial and the dinner, he writes that, after the compline] we went forth to sleep: but, alas, there was no sleep to be had at this season; for the bugs and gnats were more numerous than the motes in the air, there being a succession of lakes and pools from one end of this country to the other. We rose at midnight for the matins, and [the next day, after the patriarch had celebrated the mass, and they had dined] we returned to Prilouki.

§ iv. On M. 17th July we went a mile and a half to Olshan, a large village; then a mile to another village; again a mile to a market-town, Yalobivnitsa, there being at each place a lake. Hence, on T. morning the 18th, two and a half miles to Korobivna; then, after a mile, a sotnik met us with a large troop of soldiers, who conducted us two miles farther to Krasna. W. 19th we went three miles to Karabota, where they asked the patriarch to consecrate for them a new church, and having done so, he gave them the written deed to exhibit to their metropolitan. Hence to Poutivl are six miles. While we were at Karabota, the voivode of Poutivl, Kyr Nikita [Ziuzin], sent one of his servants to ask after the patriarch. By him the patriarch now sent a letter with his blessing to his master, informing him that he meant to come to him the next day. We went one mile, and then halted to pass the night in the open country in perfect security.

§ v. Th. 20th July, being the festival of St. Elias, and just two years since we left Aleppo, we went five miles through

forests without water, catching occasional glimpses of Poutivl in the distance; and so came to the bank of the Sem. At this instant the lieutenant-voivode with many grandees came forth to our side, and having made obeisance to the patriarch, they crossed us over to the farther side, and seated his holiness in a coach which was waiting for him. The voivode himself was awaiting us at a considerable distance from the town; and every hour he was sending one of his nobles to meet the patriarch and inquire after his health. As soon as he perceived us, he dismounted, and the patriarch at the same time alighted; and the voivode made to him a first and second prostration, and the third time struck his head on the ground (all in the mud), as is always their custom. On this the patriarch signed a blessing over him, after the manner of the benediction of the Muscovites, that is, he raised his hand in the lines of a cross, and then formed it on his face and shoulders and breast: and the voivode kissed his crosier, and afterwards his right hand. . . . Then the patriarch having reëntered his coach, and the voivode having remounted, they moved forwards, with the attendants preceding and following them. . . . Six-and-thirty priests all vested, and four deacons, &c. came out to meet us: the monks were still more numerous. We were conducted first to the church of St. George. Then they led us to a large mansion, occupied by the protopope; and we interchanged adieux with the voivode, who departed.

After a short interval the grandees of the town came, and presented to the patriarch a magnificent service of provisions. The chief, stepping before the rest, struck his head on the ground in obeisance, and was immediately imitated by his companions. The patriarch blessed them in the Muscovite form. The chief then took in his hands, first the bread, and said, 'The Emperor &c. the grand prince Alexis Michaelovich presents to thee of his benevolence this bread and salt.' The patriarch meantime was standing, and returned thanks for each article as it was presented by the interpreter whom we had hired in Moldavia. Note that each of the metropolitans and monks, and even each of the merchants, had done the same; so that every one brought with him his interpreter. In like manner also the voivode sent, on his own part, by some of his chief attendants, a princely banquet of some forty or fifty dishes ready cooked, and

liquors to drink, cups of silver-gilt, &c. And the chief, kneeling on the ground with his companions, said: 'Nikita Alexievich strikes his head on the earth before thy holiness, begging thy prayers and blessing, and presents this bread and salt.' It is the custom over all Muscovy never to name any one by his baptismal name only, but they add the patronymic: the emperor they call Alexis Michaelovich, and his chief minister Ivan Vasilievich, &c. And the meaning of the phrase, 'strikes his head on the earth,' is literal; for this act was really done by the grandees so that we heard the knock. For it is the custom, when any one has a petition to present [to any superior], that he bow down to him in a number of low obeisances to the earth, till he obtains his attention, and the magistrate asks him concerning his need. If then he grants it, it is well; but if not, the petitioner ceases not to make obeisances and to knock his head on the ground till the dignitary decides his affair. And for this they have a word (chelobitie) equivalent to 'suit' or 'petition.' Then the protopope of the town came with his offering, wearing his ἐπιτραχήλιον, and carrying some holy water and a cross, and after performing his salutations, said: 'This is part of the ἁγιασμὸς of the festival of St. Elias, celebrated to-day.' And he sprinkled our house, and we sprinkled ourselves, and he departed.

And now, reader, we entered on the second stage of our labours: for every person in this land of Muscovy confines himself to only one meal a day, though it be the longest day of summer; and from mass they never go out till near the eighth hour, or even half an hour later; and all their churches are entirely destitute of seats. Then after mass they recite the none. Custom has made them insensible to weariness. Our feeling was one of intense wonder, and we never left the church but tottering on our legs after so much standing. At the matins they never fail to read daily three lessons, of the exposition of the gospels, &c. from the writings of the Fathers; and again in the evening, after vespers or compline, they are sure to have the kanon for the day. As to the 'fast to the ninth hour,' as we call it, they know it not as such: for every day, whether it be a great eve or a small festival, they fast till after the ninth hour. We indeed had been forewarned by our friends, and we kept up appearances before them in spite of our inward rage and sufferings. Whatever they did, they found in us most care-

ful imitators. For we had been told that any one wishing to shorten his life by five or ten years should go into Muscovy, and walk among the Muscovites as a religious man, making a show of perpetual abstinence and fasting, continual reading and prayer, and rising at midnight for devotions. He must also banish all mirth and laughter and jokes, and renounce the eating of opium: for they set guards over the bishops and the heads of the convents here, and examine all persons going into them, whether by day or night; and at all times they keep a strict watch, by looking through the crevices of the doors; observing whether the inmates practise devotional humility and silence; whether they persevere in fasting and prayer; or whether they get drunk and amuse themselves, &c. If such a government had existed among the Greeks, they would have retained their empire to this day; for the Russians, whenever they perceive any person guilty of either a great or a small offence, send him away forthwith, with troops of other prisoners, to the land of darkness, whence there is no escape, to Siberia, there to be employed in collecting furs. The distance is a journey of three years and a half, far away, to the shores of the frozen ocean, where there is no fixed abode nor cultivation. We were told too, that the Muscovites no longer send back offending foreigners to their own country, so as to give them a chance of coming again; but—in the frequent case of rambling Greek monks, who come among them and perpetrate all sorts of impurities and crimes and enormities, getting drunk and drawing daggers on each other—they now, instead of putting faith in them as formerly, have taken to this method of correcting them, that is, they send them into darkness: and for the special crime of drinking tobacco-smoke they even put them to death. Now, what shall we say, brother, as to this rule of treating them, except that undoubtedly they deserve it? And for this cause we were in great fear on our own account. But we pray continually to God for help and patience, and for the attainment of what we are in quest of.

§ vi. This town of Poutivl is the gate into the country of Muscovy from all parts of ours, and it is an immense gulley between high rocks. As to merchants and traders of all kinds, the Muscovites refuse to know them, and never allow them to enter. One of their contrivances is, to join in a body, and take out a

letter from the syndicate of one of the patriarchs, addressed to the emperor on business pleasing to him. With this, on arriving here, they affect to be envoys from such and such a patriarch; and having appointed among themselves a chief, they thus enter, present their letters to the emperor, transact secretly their mercantile affairs, and after obtaining their congé, depart as they came. But few only know how to manage this: almost all, such as the heads of convents and ordinary monks and merchants, wait for the passage of some patriarch or metropolitan, and by his permission join themselves to his train. On his arrival at Poutivl he calls them his suite, and makes out a list and certificate of their several degrees. Afterwards they all leave the country together. All this is out of hatred to the men of our country and language. On no part of the frontier of this whole empire is there any custom of taking toll on merchandise, even the smallest sum: but the sovereign, on the contrary, in return for the insignificant presents made to him by the merchants, gives them princely gifts of sables, &c. and appoints them a regular allowance till they leave. I am speaking now of the Greek merchants: but in the port of Archangel they take toll from the Frank ships at the rate of ten per cent. Likewise from the Muscovite merchants, who go from one province to another, they take toll. The richest of all the Franks, the English, come in thousands to the port of Archangel.

The voivode of Poutivl, immediately on our arrival, sent letters to the emperor (then engaged in the war at Smolensk) and to the patriarch. Next he sent a secretary to take down the names of every person with the patriarch; and we were in all about forty persons.

Before we reached Poutivl we had been told that a metropolitan from Servia was about to enter Muscovy. We had known him in Wallachia; and he had obtained a letter from our lord the patriarch. This man, when the patriarch of Moscow was going in procession through the city to pray for the emperor, took it into his head to put on the dress of a common monk, and go about to view the streets and the ceremony, saying to himself, 'Nobody knows me.' Now, it is against their rules for any foreign bishop or monk to go about the town except by express permission of the emperor, on necessary business; and they immediately recognised the metropolitan, and reported him

to the patriarch, who at once sent him off to the land of darkness; so that this unlucky ecclesiastic, who had come hither for gain, lost not only his purpose, but his dear self into the bargain. [This is related after mentioning that on Friday, after mass, the voivode presented himself at the door of the patriarch's apartment, and they had to keep him waiting without, until they had gone in and given notice to the patriarch to prepare himself and put on his cassock.] For no bishop or patriarch here ever puts off his cassock, nor monk his cowl; and should any one be seen going about without the cassock or cowl, he is instantly sent to Siberia. So, after we had prepared the patriarch, we went out and invited the voivode to enter, which he did. The manner of their entering, whether they be grándees or of the common people, into the apartment of a bishop, is as follows:—and how beautiful it is!—In perfect silence at first the voivode signed the cross on his forehead, and bowed to the icons; for in every house and chamber there is sure to be an icon or icons; and in whatever place the patriarch sat, there, in compliance with their usage, we fixed the icon over his head. Then the voivode stepped towards the patriarch to receive his blessing, given after the Muscovite fashion; and having bowed down to him to the earth a first and a second time, he then made an inclination with his head towards the company on the four sides. After this he began his discourse and salutations in audible language, and with much effort was forced by the patriarch to take a seat. Still, whenever the patriarch spoke by the interpreter, he would stand up, till he gave his answer. And now the patriarch addressed him in behalf of the seven heads of monasteries who had joined our company with their kellars. He replied: 'I have no orders, except that on the arrival of your Holiness, I should immediately expedite your farther journey into the interior; and we have now been expecting you for nearly two years; but as to any others besides your proper suite, I have no orders.' The patriarch, however, repeated his solicitations in favour of the monks; and the voivode at length wrote down their names for admission. With us there was also come a great number of poor men, in regard to whom no other arrangement was attainable but back they must return, after receiving an alms from the voivode; and thus the toil and expense of their wearisome journey all the way from Wallachia was entirely thrown away.

Then he assigned us lodgings, &c., and agreed to furnish us with forty-three carriages, and horses for ourselves and our companions. He asked the patriarch to celebrate mass at his church in the fortress on the Sunday following, adding that all should be ready for his departure on the Monday.

§ vii. Poutivl stands high, overlooking the river Sem; within its citadel there are four churches. In time past the Poles, with forty thousand men, besieged it fourteen months, but failed to take it. The churches in all are twenty-four. The domes of their churches are elegant and lofty, unlike the cupolas of the Kozak country, which resemble those of our own, and are too grossly broad, as well as too plainly round.

§ viii. . . . The sign of the cross they make in their own peculiar fashion, striking their clustered fingers on the forehead and the shoulders. . . . As for us poor Syrians, we knew not the manner of crossing ourselves as they did; and they used to laugh at us for our ignorance and awkwardness. We were nevertheless amused, or rather pleased, when they used to say to us: 'Why do you cross yourselves on the breast, and not strike your fingers on the forehead and shoulders as we do?' . . . This is indeed a blessed country, and here the Christian faith is preserved in undoubted purity.

§ ix. On the tenth Sunday after Pt., 23d July, the patriarch celebrated mass in the fortress, in the church of the Theophany. It has a gallery all round. Near the north door were standing the women in attendance on the wives of the grandees. . . . Their maids were numerous, and of the Tatar nation, as was evident from the shape of their faces and their small eyes. They are slaves taken in war. We saw some thousands of them in this country, for their purchase-price is very low. Every rich man here has also forty or fifty Tatar men in his establishment. Their devotion and religious knowledge surprised us. When first taken they are sold not for twenty or thirty gold pieces, but at the most for ten: a valuation established from of old time. As soon as they are bought they are forthwith baptised and made Christians. To return: After making an *ἁγιασμὸς*, &c. the patriarch celebrated the mass. And now in the *ἐκτενὴς* we had to mention first the patriarch Nicon; then the emperor, the beloved of Christ, the source of orthodoxy and the fountain of generosity, the grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, and the empress, the religious

princess Kyria Maria Ilichna, and their son Alexis Alexievich. After them we mentioned the voivode Nikita, who has not, however, any determined seat in the church to mark his dignity. After the mass the voivode took leave of the patriarch, and we returned, the whole body of troops marching in two lines on each side of us as before. And the voivode sent us a princely banquet, all served up by the soldiers.

§ x. In this city died Kyr Jeremiah of Aleppo, metropolitan of Acre, who had been sent to Muscovy by the late patriarch of Antioch, Euthymius the Sciote. He found here a tyrannical and cruel voivode, bent only on mischief and corruption; turning back bishops and priests, without the knowledge of the emperor. Him, then, viz. the metropolitan of Acre, this voivode would not allow to enter; but made a show of sending to inform the emperor of his coming; and as it was winter, and the messenger would necessarily be long on his journey, the voivode, during his supposed absence, asked the metropolitan for a bribe. Now, if he had known at first, he might have given him a bribe, like others, and would have made his entry; but after this delay, having nothing else wherewith to satisfy the voivode's avarice, he gave him his silver-plated cross. The messenger had now been gone forty days; and the metropolitan, having no means of subsistence, nor any other resource, sold all his effects, to provide for himself and his companions, having at the same time to endure during the last twelve days of his life the most bitter cold, between Christmas and the Baptism of Christ; and having been for some time in a weak state of body, he died. They buried him with reverence in the convent of the B. Virgin, where, the second day afterwards, they buried another metropolitan of another place also called Acre, in Greece, who died from like tyranny and oppression. This account was given us by the heads of convents, who were with that metropolitan waiting for the emperor's answer, but who afterwards turned back. The voivodes in the reign of Michael were tyrannical and oppressive, and in this town abandoned to corruption, in consequence of his being unwilling to punish or to shed blood. But when the present sovereign, a prince of the utmost courage and vigour, came to the throne, he put to death all those iniquitous voivodes, and set other new officers in their places, who are in constant dread of him. For he loves to shed blood in the execution of

justice. And as soon as he heard what had taken place at Poutivl, he displaced the accursed wretch we have spoken of, and had him with his accomplices and followers brought before him at Moscow; where, after inflicting on them various tortures, he put them ignominiously to death, as a warning to others. Subsequently he sent hither the present voivode Nikita, *who was of the suite of the patriarch*, and is gentle, merciful, and kind. We went to pray over the tomb of that metropolitan.

§ xi. From Poutivl to Moscow is 700 versts, a verst being a Turkish mile measuring 3000 ells, which is the length also of our miles in Syria. The same distance is 140 Kozak miles, and is about equal to that between Wallachia and Poutivl. On T. the voivode came to pay his farewell visit, and the patriarch gave him a *συγχωρητικόν*. He then appointed us a pristav (*i.e.* an officer to conduct us), and sent us kopecks for our maintenance for fourteen days' journey, for each of us by name: for the patriarch, twenty-five kopecks daily; for an archimandrite, ten; for the dikaios the protosyngelos, seven, and for the archidiacon seven; for the treasurer, six; for the kellar, six; for the second kellar, five; for the dragoman, four; and for the eleven footmen, three kopecks each per day. The voivode sent us moreover an immense quantity of provisions for the road. In consequence of the many difficulties opposed here to bishops and archimandrites seeking to enter Muscovy, they often say to the voivode, 'We enter in the name of the sovereign,' and he then at once expedites them into the interior: but then they can no longer leave the country. This contrivance has been lately invented by the Greeks. When we were in Wallachia, there came there a certain Kyr Gabriel primate of Servia, whose see is called Ibakio. This prelate was formerly under the primate of Achrida; but, having asserted his independence, he now pays a yearly tribute to the Bostânji Bashi. He too pretended to be a patriarch, and we wrangled much with him and his clerks on this score. . . . This same prelate went before us from Wallachia, towards Moscow, about the middle of the great Lent; . . . and at the roughest time of the year he arrived at Poutivl in great state, with led horses, splendid saddles, &c. And now again he presumed to call himself a patriarch, and sent word of his arrival as such at Poutivl to the patriarch at Moscow and to the emperor's lieutenant; for the emperor himself was absent on an expedition. In the

mean time he bribed the voivode, whom we mentioned above, and entered before any answer came. Not long afterwards he was met with a rescript ordering that he should leave the country, for that a sixth patriarch was an impossibility. So he was forced to return a three days' journey. Then he entreated to be allowed to send a letter to the patriarch, in which he humbled himself, and craved pardon for his error, and declared that he came to enter in the name of the sovereign; and on the receipt of this letter they sent an order for his admission.

Book VI. *Muscovy.*

§ i. M. 24th July we left Poutivl, and went twenty versts (the pristav going first with the cross on the spear in his carriage) to Miadkin, outside which we halted for the night. The roads were steep and narrow, and all these months of July and August there were deluges of rain. . . . Before the emperor went forth to war, he appointed a voivode, Vasili Sheremetieff, to command on the Tatar frontier, for fear of whom the Tatars did not march out. On the Tatar frontier this present emperor has lately built thirty castles or forts, besides some thousands of towers; and whereas formerly the Tatars used to come hither, which is a month's journey, in five or six days, on a sudden, in the season of the frost, and, having made their capture of prisoners and booty, would as suddenly retreat, now the Muscovites, on the contrary, carry them into captivity. Hence it is that every rich man has fifty or sixty Tatar women or girls in her household; and every gentleman of fortune owns seventy or eighty males. But they do not leave them in the state in which they buy them: they instantly make them Christians, and baptise them with or against their consent. . . . In many of them we remarked a devotion and humility not to be found among the choicest native Christians, and they had learned the principles and the observances of our religion with the utmost accuracy.

§ ii. T., starting early, we came by dawn to Kocherga; then through a forest to Babok; then to Volokichino; then to Esman, where we slept after a journey of eighty versts, or sixteen great miles. W. to two lakes, by dawn; thence ten versts to Sievsk, where Constantine Mich. the voivode sent to the patriarch a

present of provisions, . . and afterwards came in person, &c. He was a man advanced in years, of noble and venerable aspect, as indeed were all the voivodes. Then he sat down, and told a number of stories relating to their country, to which it is not every man that would give credence.

I should remark concerning this officer, that, as among the whole tribe of Frank religionists there is found a great love for the Pope, and a great confidence in his authority, so we saw and heard, as well in him as in all the other voivodes, and in the rest of the grandees, in the entire body of the clergy, and in the whole laity of the Muscovite people, a continual manifestation of prayer for the prosperity of their patriarch, of *praise for his good qualities*, of much gratitude for his bounty, and of the most confident reliance on his paternal conduct. The mention of him is always in their mouths, so that one would be inclined to think they love him nearly as much as they do Christ himself. They *all fear him:* and were ever entreating our lord the patriarch, that when he should come into his society at court, he would be sure to lay before him their grateful duties. As for the emperor, it is impossible to conceive the love that is borne to him, both by great and small.

The voivode now sent for a great quantity of liquors, both of wine and spirits, &c., and forced our lord the patriarch to drink much, and us also, though we had not yet broken our fast. The first health that was given was the patriarch's, which they drank standing, after a prayer had been uttered for his spiritual welfare. Then they drank to the emperor and his ministers, &c. Outside the gate of the second fort the patriarch alighted, and was met by all the clergy in their robes, &c. The voivode walked with us to their chief church. . . . Afterwards he took leave of the patriarch outside the gates of the castle. We went thirty versts, and halted in a forest for the night.

§ iii. Th. 27th July, the festival of St. Panteleémon, we passed Zakharovo.

§ iv. Then we crossed a large river, the Nerousa, by an immense bridge, and through a forest of pines came to Gorodich: then thirty versts on to Yanka; but we passed the night at some distance from it, in the fields, to pasture our cattle. When we travelled in this country in the summer we never used to alight but outside the towns, for the purpose of feeding our cattle;

and dreadful were our sufferings from the heavy falls of rain. Unlike the Kozaks, the Muscovites never shave their beards.

§ v. F. ten versts, or two miles, to a large river, named Navlia; and a small town for the ferry-boats, named Somovo. There was formerly a wooden bridge. The horses all passed by swimming. Then thirty versts to Karachev, where the voivode came out on foot to meet the patriarch. We went through the town, and halted in the open country. Satur. sixty versts to the bank of the river Nougr. Sunday, the 11th after Pentecost, 30th July, ten versts to Bolchov, where there are twenty churches and two convents. We assisted at mass in the church of St. Nicholas; and then, after an interview with the voivode, went on, and halted for the night. From this place we began, and continued as we went on, to see wagons filled with captives brought by the Muscovites from the country of the Poles: there were only women and children in them; no men, these having been put to the sword in battle. Our hearts were afflicted within us at this melancholy sight. God forgive us!

It may be here noted, that when the Emperor Alexis was about to set forth to the war, he issued an ukaz that all the clergy in each town should assemble within the church of the fortress early on Sunday morning before the mass, or immediately after, and perform for him a *παράκλησις*, and then a *λιτή*, or procession, round the castle: and we observed them always doing so every Sunday morning. On M., the last day before the fast of our Lady, we went twenty-five versts, in a vast forest, to Rask; then fifteen more, making in all forty, and came to Bielev. Below this town is a large river, the Oka, by which large boats transport provisions to Moscow. The voivode of this place, named Job, came out to meet the patriarch. Here are twenty churches, and two convents. We went on ten versts, to the neighbourhood of a small town; and here we met some Greek merchants coming from Moscow, who told us that a great pestilence had broken out there, such as had not been known for eighty years; that they had suffered great hardships in consequence; and that the patriarch and the empress, and the rest of the grandees, had left the city. Then T. 1st Aug. (Ab), twenty versts, through a vast forest, ascending and descending, with roots of trees and narrow places, so that a coach could hardly pass, and floods of water and deep mud. The

greater part of this day's journey was performed on foot. Afterwards we arrived at Likhvin, which has six churches, and went on ten versts farther to the bank of the Oka, and passed that river in boats. Then five more versts: and so in all seven great miles this day.

§ vi. Wednesday, the 2d, after going twenty-five versts we approached the great city of Kalouga, and crossed the Oka for the third time in boats. This city contains thirty churches and two convents. We passed through the town, and halted in the open country. Then the voivode came to our lord the patriarch, after sending to him a present as usual. Here we stayed till Friday, while a fresh relay of horses was procured, the first relay having been from Poutivl to Sievsk, the second to Kalouga, and the third being to Moscow, about eight days each relay. From Kalouga the voivode sent with the patriarch certain letters to the emperor, to his lieutenant, and also to the patriarch, informing them of his coming. In this place again we met some Greek merchants flying from the plague, and describing its ravages. Our hearts were sorely distressed at this news. Hence to Moscow are 180 versts, or thirty-six miles, but the road was said to be extremely rough, as we found to our utter perplexity, and almost perdition: for on starting this Friday morning we did not get over fifteen versts in a forest till near evening, and were cursing our very souls for fatigue, when we were relieved by meeting an interpreter, speaking Greek and Russian, sent from the emperor's lieutenant and the patriarch of Moscow, to superintend the embarkation of our lord the patriarch in a state barge on the Oka, not far from Kalouga, thence to travel comfortably to Kolomna, to remain there till the plague should cease. So we returned to Kalouga.

On the eve of Sunday, the 12th after Pt., which concurred with the festival of the Transfiguration (6th Aug.), we prayed in a new church of the Resurrection, where, after vespers, they recited the prayers for the fast; and the Kanon of the day was also, according to their constant practice, duly performed. Afterwards we assisted at the matins and at the mass, during which they brought trays of fine apples and pears, over which our lord the patriarch recited the prayers for the blessing of the vintage. Then we performed a παράκλησις and λιτὴ (litany or procession) for the emperor.

After they had prepared the barge, the voivode conducted the patriarch to it, and we embarked. Our companions embarked in a second boat. Then the voivode sent us provisions for the way, &c.; and these we had over and above what we usually bought ourselves wherever we went. And now he deposited our coach and harness in a proper place; and our horses he gave to his officers to use, after taking a note of their ages, and colour, and value, that they might be duly accounted for. Our voyage to Kolomna was to be 190 versts by the river.

The voivode of Kalouga asked us, saying: 'Is it not true that from Adam to the year of Christ's Incarnation there are 5500 years complete, without increase or diminution, according to the computation of the sacred books; and from the Incarnation to the present year, 1651? But from Adam till now we reckon 7162? These eight years, then, of surplus, whence are they, and where are they to be placed?' And there was not one of us who could give him an answer; for we had ourselves made much inquiry concerning this matter, both in C.P. and in these other countries, and found not one to answer us. Afterwards we ascertained that the Incarnation was in A.M. 5508.

§ vii. F. the 11th of August, at sunrise we started, rowed with oars, thrust on with poles, or towed from the bank; we went thus twenty versts, and at night anchored in the middle of the stream. S. 12th they took us on thirty-five versts, and anchored off a town named Alexin, which has four churches. The chief dragoman, on arriving at any such town, always went to inform the voivode: and now the deputy of the voivode, with the clergy and grandees, came with presents of provisions to the patriarch. Then five versts more to the convent of Bombori, and again eight versts to the close of the eve of Sunday the 13th after Pt. On Sunday morning, 13th Aug., twenty versts to Tarousa, with four churches. Here we assisted at mass. Then ten versts on; and so we came in the evening [of Monday the 14th] to Kashira (having passed two fine convents), and performed the vespers in the church of St. George, it being the eve of the Assumption. This evening the voivode came; and it was arranged that the clergy should come (and they came at the fourth hour of the night) to take us to the church, where we assisted at the *ἀγρυπνία* and the *ὄρθρον*, and did not leave till dawn.

§ viii. Then we crossed to the other side of the river, and visited a stone convent of the Trinity, and assisted at the mass of the festival; and going on this Tuesday and Wednesday we came, on the evening of Wednesday, to a large convent of the Theophany (sometimes the water of the Oka was very shallow), a few versts before arriving at which we left the Oka, and entered the river Moskva, and henceforth were only towed up, owing to the depth and rapidity of the stream: and we saw many vessels on it full of men, women, and children flying from the plague; as also we saw numbers of these fugitives in the villages about, and in the midst of the woods.

We went up to this monastery, and found there the voivode of Kolomna waiting for us, the convent being only two versts distant by land, or four by water. We performed vespers here, and afterwards visited the church of the refectory, named after St. Sergius, who, they told us, was the first that, coming from Kieff, preached Christ here, and built this church. The convent, too, is of his age. We passed the night on the bank of the river, and early on Th. 17th Aug. went on to the city of Kolomna, where the voivode was ready to meet us at the head of the grandees, and the clergy, and all their flock. There we assisted at the mass, they having waited for us in the episcopal church, from which we afterwards were taken up to the bishop's apartments. Here they lodged us by order of the emperor and his vizirs. For the bishop had recently been sent off into banishment by the patriarch *and the sovereign* into Siberia for a fault committed by him, of which we shall speak hereafter. Neither did we find his deputy, the protopope, [he having gone to carry the *ἁγιασμὸς* of the festival, according to their custom, to the emperor, to the patriarch, &c.] On the south side of the city [which, with its walls and fortifications, is described] there flows another smaller river, the Kolomna, from which the place is named. In the bell-tower, a round octagon, below the north door of the cathedral of the Assumption, the clock at the end of this month of August struck fourteen hours to the day and ten to the night. . . . Below this church there are many vaults and sepulchres; and above the porch there is a second story, in which are the treasures of the bishopric, and its riches, which we saw in numerous chests, filled with dollars and ducats. All this is *in the hands of the*

emperor, as we shall have occasion hereafter more distinctly to explain.

§ ix. The episcopal palace is very large, and double; one part for summer, and one for winter. . . . The place where the bishop holds his court is an arched building, newly built of stone; and therein is contained also his treasury. To this bishopric belongs the absolute property of many estates in land, with their peasants; and within the enclosure of this palace is a large prison, furnished with iron chains and heavy bolts for offenders. Whenever any one among the bishop's peasantry has committed any misdemeanor, or has been guilty of theft or manslaughter, they bring him and imprison him here, and punish him according to his sentence, as we witnessed more than once, by *death* and stripes. Over them the voivode has no jurisdiction: the bishop's officers take their fines, and fix the mulct on a thief by doubling the value of what he stole. If any of the bishop's servants was guilty of drunkenness, they put heavy chains on his neck and legs, and hang upon him a huge bolt or log, such as no beast of burden could drag. For many of these offenders our lord the patriarch used to intercede, and obtained their liberation. It is not only in this bishopric that there exists a prison and chains, but in every monastery both a prison and chains are prepared for the chastisement of its servants and villagers. . . . It was told us that this bishopric always maintains on foot a corps of 300 soldiers for its defence, and for the guard of its property and outposts. Their pay is collected from its various estates in land; and one of their duties is, whenever the bishop mounts on horseback, to escort him as cavalry.

At Kolomna there are held markets on Mondays and Thursdays, to which the peasants come from far: for it is like a seaport: and vessels come to it from Moscow, which afterwards go by other rivers to Kazan, and to Astrachan, and so by the Caspian or Persian Sea to Persia and Georgia. Hence to Moscow by the river is 100 versts, by land 90.

To return to our account of the bishopric. All the estates of the churches and convents *are in the hands of the emperor;* so that the bishops have no power over such estates or their revenues; but it is the emperor who sends to every convent, and to every bishop, persons deputed and authorised by him as inspectors

over all their funds and income. No bishop or head of a convent has any command, except over what he has with him as his personal effects. Every bisliopric has its bailiffs and stewards appointed *on the part of the emperor:* every convent keeps a register of its income, and leaves the proceeds in the treasury, to supply the wants of the emperor at the time that he marches out to war, as we shall distinctly show hereafter: so that they neither build, nor take down, nor carry away anything, but with his knowledge and consent. All these matters, as we said before, they exactly register in books kept with the greatest order and accuracy; and we saw here some of the attorneys of the bishopric, who were elderly men of gentlemanly appearance.

The bishops in this country have no claim to contributions from their flock, but only from the clergy, each of whom contributes in proportion to the number of his parishioners and the annual income of his church, the poorest of the priests paying a dinar, or gold ducat. Every bishop acquires, during his ministry, more or less property, but generally to a considerable amount, which he holds entirely at his own disposal, except that at his decease it must revert to the emperor, who is heir of all.

While we were here we were told that this see of Kolomna is the poorest of all the bishopries in Muscovy; and yet it has jurisdiction over above fifteen towns that are residences of voivodes, like Kolomna; which latter voivodeship extends over more than 2000 large and small boroughs, and many villages, containing, some of them, above 10,000 houses. Of these fifteen castles, one is Kashira, the voivode of which has under him above 1000 villages: Serpieysk is like it; Toula, with its trade, and manufactures; &c. These fifteen governments have under them more than 20,000 villages, the inhabitants of which may be more easily guessed than reckoned: they all belong to this bishopric; and yet it is considered poor and weak, God help it! Why, the three patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem are not, all together, equal to it!

The cause of the banishment of the bishop was this: The present august emperor, and the new patriarch Nicon, are very partial to the rites of the Greek Church, and have an abundant love for argument and instruction, particularly the emperor, who favours the clergy and the monks and every order of priesthood, setting an example to the whole country of temperance,

modesty, and humility, of piety and perseverance in prayer, and of the most generous liberality to the bishops and other ecclesiastics, as well as to the various establishments of monks. For ourselves, we have never as yet seen him; but we were informed on all sides of his perfections. These illustrious persons, in the time of the late Parthenius patriarch of C.P., who was put to death a few years ago, sent, out of their great respect for him, to ask him some questions on the mysteries of our religion and the rites of the Christian Church. In answer he wrote to them a letter replying distinctly to their inquiries, which was received with great delight by the emperor, who, after having it translated and read to him, complied provisionally with the sum of its recommendations, and then (in A.D. 1654) assembled a council of the bishops and heads of convents, to lay it before them. This synod confirmed it; and having signed it with their hands, and registered it in the ecclesiastical court, they unanimously ordered it to be printed, as a valuable document for the correction of their errors; with the exception only of the bishop of Kolomna, who, being of an obstinate disposition, would not receive it nor approve of it, much less subscribe it. 'Since the time we became Christians,' said he, — 'since the time that we inherited the faith from our fathers and grandfathers, who excelled so much in their observance of these our rites, and by their stedfastness in this our religion, — we also have tenaciously adhered to the same, and will not now adopt a new religion.' On hearing this, *the emperor* and the patriarch immediately sent him into banishment, together with his monks and servants, and all belonging to him, to the interior of Siberia, a journey of 1500 versts, on the shores of the ocean. Here are convents erected since ancient times for the reception of such exiles, in one of which the messengers of vengeance deposited him, to lead a life to which death would be preferable, so great is the gloominess of the situation, and so execrable the mode of life, amid perpetual darkness and hunger; for bread there is none. From this place all escape or release for him is impossible: and this perpetual banishment *he well deserves*. Such regulations, and such strict enforcement of them, are worthy of applause. Afterwards they consecrated another bishop in his stead, as we shall relate hereafter in due time. For the present, all the peasants carried their dues, and the clergy of the eparchy

their affairs, to the protopope, as he appeared invested with all the attributes of the bishop, exercising authority by command of *the emperor and the patriarch* over them.

§ x. Friday 18th Aug., festival of SS. Florus and Laurus, natives of this country, who, being the first to believe in Christ, and being masons, built a church, and were martyred.

Sunday, the fourteenth after Pt., before mass, they asked the patriarch to make for them an *ἁγιασμὸς*, to sprinkle all the town, as the plague had already broken out in it. After this they performed the usual *παράκλησις* for the emperor. After having again rung all the bells, they took us down to mass. At its conclusion the voivode with the grandees, and the protopope with all the clergy, came and did obeisance before our patriarch, weeping and lamenting, and begging him to permit them to make all the inhabitants of the city fast for one whole week, &c. But he gave them permission for three days only; which fast immediately took place. On W. 23d Aug. the patriarch again made for them an *ἁγιασμὸς*; and they made a procession, singing the *παράκλησις*, a deacon near the patriarch carrying the *ἁγιασμὸς*, to sprinkle each church, with its clergy and people. [After our return] they began the mass; nor did we go out from the church till the clock had struck the eighth hour.

§ xi. At the end of every church service here in Muscovy they perform a *πολυχρόνιον* for the emperor, chanted by all the clergy and singers; and to their practice, from the time of our entering the country of the Kozaks, we strictly conformed, commemorating his majesty, like them, in every *ἐκτενὴς*, and at the end of the service performing for him the aforesaid *πολυχρόνιον*, in which we included also the patriarch [of Moscow], as they do: but in the *πολυχρόνιον* they name the emperor before the patriarch, reversing their practice in the *ἐκτενὴς* [in which they name the patriarch before the emperor].

The 26th Aug. was the commemoration of the entrance of the icon of our Lady, painted by St. Luke, into Moscow. Most of their days here in Muscovy are festivals, and the great bells are rung; especially for their new saints; whereas in Moldavia and Wallachia, and in the Kozak country, they are rung only on the eve of a Sunday or of a great festival. Nothing used to affect me so much as the united clang of all the bells on these eves, and in the middle of the nights following them. The earth

shook with their vibrations, and the drone of their voice like thunder went up to the skies. . . . For ourselves, we were jaded with the length of their masses and prayers; and scarcely ever retired till we were ready to drop. But it is for the Almighty to dispose of us as he pleases. . . . In regard to the church music of these countries, it may be observed that the Kozaks give forth in a sweet high tone, from their very souls as it were, the most delightful sounds; whereas the chant of the Muscovites is without science, just as it happens: it is all one to them; they find no fault; and the finest in their estimation is the low, rough, broad voice, which it is far from pleasant to hear; and they laugh at the Kozaks, and reproach them for their music, telling them that theirs is the music of the Franks and Poles. . . . The ecclesiastics do not shave their heads, with the exception of a large circle in the middle: the rest of their hair they leave to grow to its full length. They are continually dressing and combing it, and are very diligent in looking at themselves in their mirrors, *of which one, if not two, is always found in every chancel.* . . . Whenever a priest is seen in the street, the people come and do their obeisance before him to receive his blessing, which he gives in their peculiar form, touching their forehead and shoulders. . . . It is usual for every cathedral church, like this of Kolomna, to have seven priests and seven deacons, neither more nor less. . . . We saw the banners, the vestments, &c. and the relics. At the beginning of every month they make an *ἁγιασμὸς*, which they cross with the relics: then they sprinkle it over all the churches and houses, &c. 29th Aug., the Decollation of the Baptist, with its vigil, which is strictly fasted, before it.

Part IV. Book VII. *Muscovy.*

§ i. The 1st Ilol, opening A.M. 7136 (1st Sept., A.D. 1654), festival of St. Simeon Stylites of Aleppo. [Ceremonies of the new year described.] On the festival of the Cross (14th Sept.) their ceremony [except in certain details] resembles ours. . . . To return: The great plague had by this time spread from Moscow all around to a great distance, devastating many towns, and among others this city of Kolomna, with its surrounding vill-

ages. [Then follow details of the plague, and of the precautions adopted to prevent its spreading, and of the manner in which letters were forwarded to the emperor in the camp.] . . . It was a state of things dreadful to behold, a scene of woe and lamentation; for the mortality spread its ravages uninterruptedly through the whole capital, and to the distance of 700 versts, from the end of August till near the feast of the Nativity. The number registered by the voivode of deaths in this town was, as he told us, 10,000 families; but as most of the young men were with the emperor in the war, the houses were carefully sealed up for them, to be secured from plunder. . . . The worst of all was the death of most of the clergy, and their consequent scarcity; so that many persons died without confession and communion. Numbers also of the clergy lost their wives. Now it is the practice of the patriarch and of the bishops of this country not to allow any widower priest to say mass. After he has become a monk in some convent, and resided there many years, they pray over him, and then allow him to perform mass; but not even so, without much entreaty. The new patriarch Nicon has, however, *altered this practice*, because he has a great love for the regulations of the Greek Church; yet he does not permit the widower priest to remain in the capital, or in any town, but compels him to reside as a monk in some convent, there to celebrate mass with full liberty. This banishment of the widower priests is a great misfortune in such times as these. . . . All the seven priests of the cathedral here died, and six of the deacons, together with the protopope, his sons, who were priests, their children, and every person in his house. After the mass had successively ceased in most of the other churches, it had still continued to be celebrated in the cathedral daily; but at length it was interrupted even here, as well as the other prayers and services; and this cessation of the ministry lasted a considerable time, till the bailiffs sent one of the village priests on the Sunday mornings to celebrate the mass. . . . One of the victims was the imperial perevodchik, or dragoman, who had attended us from Kalouga. When, after a length of time, the emperor's lieutenant had sent us another, he told us that at Moscow, by the register kept, 480,000 souls had died of the plague from first to last, so that most of the streets and houses were cleared of their inhabitants; and the dogs and pigs were devouring the

dead bodies, having become ravenous to such a degree, that no person dared to walk alone. . . . The emperor's lieutenant himself was taken ill and died, and three of the metropolitans with him, one after another, whom the patriarch had sent to supply his place. The churches generally were left destitute of ministers. . . . At length things came to such a pass, that the ordinary course of burial was impracticable; and they dug large pits, into which they threw the bodies indiscriminately, without ceremony. . . . Most of the city gates were shut for want of troops to guard them. The emperor had sent first 600 janizaries, *i. e.* a beglik with their aga, and they all died; then he sent as many more, and they likewise died; a third time he sent the same number, and the same fate attended them. . . . This state of things lasted from the month of July till near the feast of the Nativity, when it had arrived at its height, and it pleased God that it should cease. . . . All this time we were in great distress and terror unspeakable. We were living in the highest rooms of the episcopal palace; and the servants of the bishopric who were living below we used to see carried out, couple after couple, dead, not in consequence of previous illness, but they would drop down suddenly. . . . We never, therefore, ventured to stir out of our apartments at all, but remained shut up day and night, in hourly expectation of a frightful death, weeping and lamenting our condition. No comfort of any kind approached us; not even a drop of wine could be obtained. . . . Our only consolation or relief was the absence of all that shouting and howling over the dead, so much used by the women of our country, who have learned it from the Arabs.

§ ii. To return to the history of the emperor: After he had marched with his army to the siege of Smolensk, he beset it about seven days, till they had made a breach, and thrown down two of its towers. . . . The commander of the Polish garrison came on the part of Radzivil . . . and the place surrendered. . . . It has seventy-three towers . . . and the Dnieper flows under great part of its walls. . . . The accursed Radzivil, the origin of this war, was coming with 30,000 troops, but he was intercepted, and his whole army cut to pieces; and he himself escaped disguised as a peasant. This wretch was, at the time, the greatest of all the Polish grandees, the grand hetman, and governor of Mohileff, and also of Smolensk. Of all the countries of the Poles his was

the finest, being covered with stone fortresses for the space of two months' journey, beginning from the neighbourhood of Dantzig, which is the seaport of the whole Polish territory. The crâl feared him much; and none besides him dared openly to oppose the demands of the emperor. His religion, we were informed, was the Lutheran. Vasili bey of Moldavia married his daughter to this Calvinist, hoping that he would be a support to him; and no other than this accursed tyrant was the cause of the death of Timothy (also son-in-law of Vasili bey), the son of Khmielnitsky. Great, indeed, was the enmity between these two chiefs, Khmielnitsky and Radzivil; the latter about three years ago having passed with a strong force in boats on the Dnieper and seized Kieff, burning, destroying, and slaying the inhabitants. Khmielnitsky, on hearing of this, came upon him suddenly, and he escaped only by flight, leaving all his captives &c. in the hands of the conqueror. Vasili used every exertion to make peace between the Poles and the Kozaks, but his efforts were defeated by the malice of this wretch, who, in presence of the ambassadors sent to the crâl by the emperor, made sport of the latter, saying, 'He is no emperor; he is merely the crâl of Moscow; and you may go and tell him that I trample on him and his dignity.' The Polish crâl, for his part, had no inclination to encourage such behaviour. When the emperor heard this message he was exceedingly angry, and sent to the Poles other ambassadors, a second and a third time, to propose an accommodation, requiring that they should style him Emperor of Great and Little Russia, evacuate the territory of the Kozaks, leaving them unmolested, and give up to him Smolensk. But this accursed rogue refused to comply, until God humbled his pride, as we shall relate in the sequel.

§ iii. On this the emperor, as our informant went on to state, assembled a great council, and said: 'I am ready to stake my life for the love of our holy religion, for the protection of our Christian brethren the Kozaks, and to deliver the Pechersky convent and others from the hands of the Poles.' With this speech all were delighted, *especially the patriarch*, who much urged him to march out against the Poles. And the chief of the merchants said: 'We request your majesty not to expend your own treasures; we, the merchants, will contribute to you money enough for the benefit of our religion and the subjugation

of our enemies the Poles.' Immediately, therefore, a proclamation was issued for the march of an army; and the merchant above mentioned presented to the Tsar from his wealth a sum of 600,000 rubles, each ruble, or dinar, being in value two rials. This merchant was reported to pay yearly into the imperial treasury 100,000 dinars in duties. He had built for himself a beautiful church, on which he was said to have expended above 50,000 dinars. The rest of the merchants, and the grandees and chief officers of the government, emulated his example; so that the money thus contributed sufficed for all the expenses of the army during the whole of the year, and the emperor needed not to open his own treasury at all. The patriarch was said to have offered about 100 chests filled with money as his own personal contribution, but the emperor refused to accept it, saying, 'The sums which my Christian brethren have presented to me are quite sufficient.' The monasteries also made him offerings of immense wealth, the convent of Troitza alone having contributed above 100,000 dinars. The bishops, emulating this example, equipped for the war upwards of 20,000 men, chiefly taken from the servants of their convents. At the head of these were the troops belonging to the patriarch.

Having formed a large camp without the city, the emperor made a review or numbering of his forces; and the number of men receiving rations was upwards of 700,000, according to the account given by the patriarch of Moscow to Athanasius Patalaron, the ex-patriarch of C.P., who asked him. Of this force 144,000 were infantry, the rest all cavalry. For his bodyguard the emperor selected about 300,000, of whom 40,000 were equipped from his own armoury. To Khmielnitsky, hetman of the Kozaks, he sent princely robes, and took 40,000 of them into his pay. At length, by the favour of God, he reduced Smolensk, and defeated his chief enemy Radzivil. In the mean time his officers subdued upwards of ninety-four towns and castles by storm or surrender, killing God only knows how many Jews, Armenians, and Poles, and throwing their children, packed in barrels, into the great river Dnieper without mercy; for nothing can exceed the hatred which the Muscovites bear to all classes of heretics and infidels. . . . We were informed that more than 100,000 of the enemy were reduced to captivity, so that seven or eight boys and girls were sold for a dinar, or less; and many

of them we ourselves saw. . . . One of the places captured was the city of Mohileff. And because its governor, who commanded for Radzivil, after a long siege surrendered, and, making his submission to the emperor, embraced the faith, and *was baptised*, the emperor confirmed him as voivode of the city in conjunction with one of his own vizirs. The whole of this conquered country was under the government of Radzivil. The emperor, having ordered the walls and towers of Smolensk to be repaired, and having appointed two voivodes to reside there, with a garrison of 30,000 troops, moved away to a town called Viazma, which was formerly the frontier between his territory and that of the Poles, where he remained till the end of the festival of the Theophany, or Baptism, waiting for the plague to cease. Afterwards they brought the chief officers of Radzivil, about three hundred in number, in a boat from Kalouga to this town of Kolomna, to be taken to the prisons at Kazan. Our hearts were distressed at the sight of their wretched condition.

§ iv. In the month of Sept. is the equinox, when the days and nights are equal: but towards the end of Nov., or by the festival of St. Barbara (4th Dec.), the day is reduced to seven hours, while the night has seventeen. On the festival of St. Demetrius (26th Oct.), the first day of the cold season, and again on the Sunday of the carnival before the fast of the Nativity (12th Nov.), our lord the patriarch celebrated mass, and ordained each time a priest. It is to be noted that among all the Greeks, and here also, at the ordination of a priest or deacon they do not lead him forth into the church to make a proclamation over him as we do; but he is led out by two deacons from the royal doors and in again, while they say Κέλευσον, *δέσποτα ἅγιε*, and bow thrice, &c. Again on the second Sunday of the fast (26th Nov.) the patriarch celebrated, and ordained a priest and a deacon in the upper church, where they had heated the stove the night before, on account of the severe cold which now came on. During this season —from the beginning of the fast before the Nativity to the month Nisan—the sledges traverse the country, as the caïques traverse the water at C.P.; and while this frost continues the markets of provisions are plentiful and cheap. This facility of transport is one cause of the great prosperity of this country, and of the abundance which its inhabitants enjoy. The sledges go

at the rate of 100 versts a day. The women draw their children about in sledges. The first week of the fast the river Moskva, with all the rivers and lakes, were frozen over, and so they remained till the middle of the month April. On the rivers thus frozen the sledges pass along with great rapidity, far exceeding their speed over the land, because all is level. [The peculiarities of a Russian winter are then described with much detail.]

§ v. On the third Sunday (3d Dec.) the patriarch again celebrated in the upper church, and ordained a priest and a deacon for the town of Kashira. . . . The bishops here, when they ordain a priest or a deacon, do not let him return till he has said mass at least fifteen times in the cathedral, that the priests may teach him perfectly; a laudable custom. After ordination, they wrote for each of them a *γράμμα ἱστατικὸν*, to which the patriarch set his signature and seal. The officers of the bishopric from every newly-ordained priest received a dinar for the episcopal treasury: and so from every person to be married they took a piastre for the marriage certificate, and for entering his name in their register. They are very severe in regard to the seven prohibited degrees, not allowing that promiscuous intermarriage prevalent among the Wallachians and Moldavians. . . . When any chief priest among them gives anything to a common person, he bows his head to that person in presenting it, though it be only to a boy or to a woman. In like manner the voivode bows his head even to the poorest; and the priests do so even to the women and children. All ranks are in the habit of constantly bowing to each other; and this bending of the head is their usual salutation in the streets, morning and evening. This is all a token of humility; for pride is eradicated from them, and haughtiness is detested. Thus we saw and witnessed: and God is witness to us, that we walked among them after the manner of the canonised saints; refraining from all mirth, conviviality, and jests, and observing the purest morality of the gospel, by the necessity of our situation, not by choice. Again on the festivals of St. Nicholas and St. Spiridion (W. the 6th and T. the 12th December), and on the Sunday *τῶν ἁγίων προπατόρων* (the fifth of the fast, 17th Dec.), the patriarch celebrated and ordained a priest and a deacon.

§ vi. On the evening of W. 20th there was a *πανήγυρις* for the festival (Th. 21 Dec.) of St. Peter, metropolitan of Kieff and

Little Russia, and also of Muscovy or Great Russia. It is he whose image we mentioned before as executed in mosaic in the sanctuary of St. Sophia at Kieff. [And then he identifies him with the first bishop sent to the Russians from C.P., in the time of Basil the Macedonian!] He sat as the first metropolitan in the see of Moscow: they give him the title of Protothronus, *i.e.* first of the metropolitans. To the see of Kieff he appointed another as his successor. At Moscow he died; and his body remains to this day in a silver shrine, surrounded by a silver railing. We afterwards paid our devotions to these relics, which are in the third chapel on the north side of the great or patriarchal church. The Muscovites have great faith in him. On Friday, the eve of the Nativity, the bells were tolled; first for the hours, and afterwards for mass, from which none went forth till the evening. On Sunday [next before the Nativity (24th Dec.)] the patriarch celebrated in the great church, and ordained. We suffered the most dreadful tortures. The lid of the silver ewer holding the water for the service was cemented by the frost, and the deacon could not pour out any water when it was wanted. Even the wine within its vessel became like a crust, or rather a solid piece of rock, and could be dissolved only by being placed on the fire. The elements of the sacred mysteries froze in the chalice, and were turned to stone; though the deacon, after pouring water from the jug into the chalice, always with great care, covers the latter with the *κάλυμμα*, and keeps it so. The Body of Christ also and the *ἀντίδωρα* froze, and became like stones, so as to be unfit for mastication. . . . The worst of all was, that we did not leave the church until evening; and then had scarcely seated ourselves at table when the bells were again tolled for vespers, at which we had to attend. . . . This being the eve of Christmas-day, the priests and deacons, after service, waited on our lord the patriarch, with the icon of the Nativity, and the crosses, chanting the Christmas hymns &c. in like manner as was done in Wallachia and Moldavia: then a *πολυχρόνιον* for the emperor, and another for the patriarch of Antioch, who gave them a gratuity, and they departed. This they repeated on the morrow, which was the morning of Monday, the festival of the Nativity. . . . On [Monday, 1st Jan.] the day beginning A.D. 1655, the bells were rung at midnight, and the people arose for prayer. As for us, we had no strength to per-

form the prayers in the church by reason of the intensity of the cold; but we did this in our own apartments. At mass-time the bells were tolled after the fourth hour of the day: and the patriarch went down out of love to the emperor. He also ordained a priest and a deacon. . . . On the next day, and the next but one after the festival, the patriarch celebrated and ordained in the upper church: for when the report was spread that the patriarch of Antioch was conferring ordination, persons began to flock to him, bringing presents of fish, butter, honey, &c. with petitions to ordain for them.

§ vii. A priest in Muscovy is a personage of dignity, before whom governors and other magistrates stand with reverence, while he is seated. Every priest or deacon has a permanent stipend: and they have, moreover, an abundance of provisions at the cheapest rate, as they are all possessed of farms which are worked by their serfs. We were told that the annual stipend allowed to the protopope by the emperor is fifteen rubles, and a piece of fine cloth: the inferior clergy have proportionate allowances, and cloth of lower price; the deacon has one half. Their articles of food are brought to their houses by their land bailiffs; and besides their pension from the emperor, they are privileged with an exemption from all duty upon their commodities. The protopope of Kolomna has a village bequeathed to him, consisting of 100 houses or more, of which the entire produce is consigned into his hands. He has, besides, a large house for his dwelling; but neither this nor the village belongs to him as his private property: being held *of the emperor*, they pass to the use of the protopope for the time being.

On the death of the protopope, one of the inferior priests *repairs to the emperor*, taking with him a certificate from the town magistracy that he is worthy to succeed to the dignity. When it is the festival of the cathedral church, they make before mass an *ἁγιασμὸς*, of which the protopope elect takes some in a vessel, and, accompanied by the protodeacon, waits on the emperor, to present it to him: the emperor then invests them with robes of honour belonging to their office.

On F., the *παραμονὴ* of the Baptism of Christ, the bells rang from an early hour till the time when they came out from church in the evening: and our lord the patriarch went down

to pray over the water, according to custom. The water had been boiled, but still it froze; and it was with difficulty that the ice was broken to dip the cross. On Sat., the festival of the Baptism, all the priests of the city and neighbourhood assembled, and the patriarch went in procession through the city gate to the Moskva [a place having been prepared as usual]. When he was to dip the cross, several layers of ice had already formed, and it was necessary to break through them. Our hands and feet and noses were nearly bitten off by the frost, notwithstanding tight fur gloves and thick fur boots, and the many fur cloaks in which we were entirely wrapped. The patriarch celebrated and ordained in the upper church, being too much affected by the cold to do it in the cathedral. We were detained until evening, cursing our very souls for weariness and starvation. We had scarcely afterwards sat down to table, before they chimed the bells for vespers.

In Muscovy we were told there are only two festivals on which the great assemblies take place: viz. the Baptism of Christ and Palm Sunday. On Sunday (7th Jan.) the patriarch ordained priest and deacon two sons of a priest at Toula, and gave a written permission to the father, who after the death of his wife had become a monk, to celebrate mass; for all the priests they had in his convent had lately died.

§ viii. Toula is distant from Moscow 130 versts; from Kashira 120; and from the fenced trench lately dug by the emperor towards the Tatar frontier about 500 versts. Toula, which is in the eparchy of Kolomna, is the passage to the Tatar country, as Poutivl is to Turkey. Lately they have discovered there a rich mine of iron.

While we were at Kolomna, there came to visit the patriarch a Kyr Misael, abp. of Riazan, who being on his way to Moscow, had turned aside about forty versts to Kolomna. He told the patriarch that under his jurisdiction there were more than 1000 churches; that lately, in the summer, he had preached to a tribe of those who knew not God; and that, after having suffered from them many hardships, he had at length converted them to Christianity. He baptised 4400 of them all at once in the river. They entered the pale of the faith with great affection; and he built for them churches, to which they flocked for prayer day and night. . . . [After taking leave] he seated him-

self in his sledge, and surrounded by his great officers and servants, and preceded and followed by fifty men on horseback, he departed.

§ ix. The Muscovites are all, from the highest to the lowest, of a silent disposition; and this is the only disagreeable part of their character. They will tell nothing whatever to a foreigner about their own affairs. Our lord the patriarch had sent twice or thrice letters to the emperor's lieutenants, to let them know that we were wearied of waiting. These letters they transmitted to the emperor, but wrote us no answer. Afterwards the patriarch sent to them an archimandrite with letters. The chief cause of our delay here was that the patriarch of Moscow was not present, and remained away for fear of the plague. Else he would not have delayed us till now, however much engaged the emperor might have been, since it is the patriarch who has the care of the clergy. In the mean time we received our allowance every month, of 150 rials, and also the pensions assigned to our companions, from the commissioner of excise on spirits and mead and beer. Our dragoman brought us the money at the beginning of each month. On the Sunday of the [Ten Lepers], 14th Jan., and on that of [Zaccheus, which was the 21st], the patriarch again celebrated mass and ordained. While we were at this last mass, the joyful message we had been so long expecting was brought to us by two dragomans, who came with a present of provisions and a large sledge belonging to the emperor to convey the patriarch. They were accompanied by the voivode of the city; and as soon as the patriarch had gone out of the church they presented themselves, and bowing, and having first recited the emperor's title, concluded with the words 'does his reverence to thy holiness, and invites thee to Moscow,' &c. They informed the patriarch that the emperor had dismissed his troops for the present; but had sent notice to all the provinces that a great force must be collected at Smolensk in the month of March, to march against the crâl of the Poles. So on Tuesday 23d Jan., after assisting at mass, the patriarch, accompanied for some distance by the voivode and the archons, left in the sledge sent for him . . . and we went forward with a velocity like the flight of a bird, about twenty-five versts, and slept at Kozakoff: on W. fifty-five versts to Vishino, only ten versts distant from Moscow. The roads were extremely rough,

and full of lumps and holes, causing our sledges, like vessels on the Black Sea, to jolt from side to side. For this reason the dragomans kept hold of the patriarch's sledge from morning to night, to prevent its overturning. All our other sledges turned over with us repeatedly; nor was it possible to walk, the ground being like soap. We slept in this town the nights of Thursday and Friday (the 25th and 26th of January).

§ x. On the morning of the festival of the [Tr. of St. John Chrysostom, Sat. 27th Jan.] we entered, first within the earth walls and the great moat, then the second stone wall, built by the great-great-grandfather of the present emperor, the grand-prince Theodore, by whom also the earthen walls were thrown up, the circuit of which is thirty versts, with wooden towers and gates. That of the second stone wall is seven versts. We then came to the third wall of stone and brick, and to the fourth, called the Castle, as being very strong, and defended by a very deep moat, on the banks of which are two walls. Within are two other walls, with turrets and numerous embrasures. This castle, which is the palace of the emperor, has five gates. When we had entered by the royal gate they made us alight at a stone convent near to it, which had been used before as a lodging for patriarchs, and is named after SS. Athanasius and Cyril, the former of Alexandria, the latter of Bielozersk, one of their new saints. Our hearts were ready to burst as we entered the city; and we wept much at seeing most of the houses emptied of their inhabitants, and the streets frightfully desolate, from the severity of the plague. The patriarch blessed the people to the right and to the left, while I and the archimandrite held the corners of the sledge behind, after their custom. As soon as we arrived at our lodgings . . . interpreters appointed by the emperor presented themselves; and others to supply our necessities. From the emperor's kitchen and table daily there was brought for our master, first bread, then fish for four kinds of dishes, caviare, and plenty of beverages, a deep-red cherry-brandy, and some of a bright yellow, and large jars of mead; also, for the servants a large barrel of quass, an intoxicating liquor made by boiling from rye or barley, and hops. It should be noted that neither the bishops nor the monks drink spirituous liquors at all: and they are strictly enjoined by the patriarch, whenever they find any one drunk, to imprison and scourge

him, and put him to shame: but the tradespeople and the servants of the bishops, with their relations, are allowed two cups a day. The interpreters were employed in instructing us in all the ceremonies to be observed; and besides them not a single person came near us: for it is a custom with the Muscovites, that if a bishop or an archimandrite has not first had an interview with the emperor and kissed his hand, he shall not go out at all, nor shall any person visit him. Our lord the patriarch was in the habit of constantly laying aside his mandya; and consequently no priest or deacon, nor even any of the interpreters, was permitted to visit him until he had been announced by the porter, and the patriarch had put on his mandya, and had his crosier supported by his side, to receive the visit. This ceremony is observed not only by the bishops, but also by the heads of convents here, never to be seen without their mandyas and latias, even at table, nor even by their own servants.

We now entered on a time of fatigue in standing up, marshalling our retinue, studying precision in our manners and address, and affecting the utmost sedateness and most awful reverence. As for jesting and laughter, we became entirely estranged to everything of the kind; for we were strictly guarded and watched; and whatever they remarked in us, whether of good or evil, they immediately reported to the emperor and the patriarch. For this reason we maintained great caution over ourselves; not by choice, but of necessity; and endeavoured to walk after the manner of the saints, in spite of all our rebellious inclinations. God deliver us from this constraint in which they hold us, and restore us to our beloved freedom . . . and facilitate our return, laden with riches, to the sight of our friends and homes.

Book VIII. *Muscovy.*

§ i. On the second Sat. after our entrance into the capital, 3d Feb. (Ishbat), Kyr Nicon, patriarch of Moscow, returned to his palace, after an absence since the month of August, which he had passed in the fields and forests through fear of the plague; until at length he went with the empress to Viazma, where the

emperor was, having returned from the country of the Poles, and where he stayed to keep the festivals of the Nativity and the Baptism, awaiting the entire disappearance of the plague from the capital, in which it continued its ravages till Christmas. We rejoiced much at the coming of the patriarch. Soon afterwards a report was spread of the speedy arrival of the emperor; and on the afternoon of Friday 9th Feb. the empress reëntered her palace.

On the morning of Sat. 10th Feb. the grandees and troops arranged themselves in order to meet the emperor, who had slept the preceding night in a palace only five versts distant. Early in the morning he arose, and came and assisted at a παράκλησις at the monastery of St. Andrew Stratelata, near the city. On his going out thence, all the city bells began to ring; and the patriarch went forth in his cope [sakkos] and mitre, with the deacons holding him by the arms, according to their custom, and enclosing him with the banners, crosses, and numerous icons carried by the priests in their phenolia before him; and the archbishop of Riazan, with four archimandrites, in their phenolia and mitres, behind him. The whole clergy of the capital, and the great cross carried in its stand by one of the deacons, were near him. Advancing all together, they met the emperor at the earthen walls. We sat in one of the apartments of the convent in which we were lodged, to see the procession and the people from the windows overlooking the royal or main street, in privacy. [Then he describes the procession of the tradespeople, the merchants, and artisans, with their offerings, of banners, and of troops to meet the emperor.] . . . Then advanced the streltsi, troop by troop, with besoms, sweeping the ice from before the august emperor, who now entered, clad in his imperial robes of red velvet, with ornaments of gold and jewels, walking bareheaded, and the patriarch by his side, in conversation with him. Before and behind him were the images and banners: no bodyguard, nor drum, fife, or musical instrument of any kind, as is the custom with the boys of Moldavia and Wallachia, but only the chanters singing hymns. When he came opposite to our monastery, he turned his face towards the neighbouring convent of the Ascension, containing the tombs of the empresses. The abbess and the sisterhood were all standing forward. The emperor made three great metánoias to the ground,

on the snow, towards the images over the gate of the convent; and bowed his head towards the nuns, who all returned his salute, and advancing, presented an icon of the Ascension, and a large cake of black bread, carried by two persons, which he accepted, and went on with the patriarch to the great church, where he assisted at the vespers, and then mounted up to his palace. No one had expected that he would return at all this year from the war. . . . Of Radzivil and the crâl all tidings were lost. It was the wish of the emperor that [the war should be pressed] until he had completely subdued them; and to that end the greater part of his troops wintered in the Polish territory. . . . The emperor, in his passage through the city, wept much, and sank into a profound sorrow. He had sent before him messengers, to inquire of the people concerning their condition, to console them amid their funerals, and to soothe their hearts. When he came near to the gate of the Kremlin, over which was the wonderful clock of the city in a huge and lofty tower, and bells, especially the great bell audible for more than ten versts round, and saw this wonderful tower ruined (for it had been burned by a fire which had broken out in its timber-work during the late festival of the Nativity), he shed many tears.

§ ii. When the Poles heard that the emperor had returned to Moscow, they sent much gold to the Tatars, and received from them an auxiliary force of nearly 50,000 men, collected in this present month of February on the Kozak frontier. From the Germans too they hired 40,000, and from the Poles, Hungarians, and Wallachians as many more. In all they had 130,000 men. With this force they spread over the land of the Kozaks, laid it waste, and came upon Khmielnitsky, who had with him only 3000 men; but by a stratagem he put them to flight, and destroyed the greater part of them. Of all the 40,000 Germans not even one escaped. Immediately he sent to inform the emperor, who, falling into a violent rage, ordered his troops to march out with him in all haste. We were told that within this month he had assembled above 400,000 men from those of his subjects who knew not God. Numbers of them passed before our eyes; and we observed their frightful hideous figures. They are of various tribes of Tatars, dwelling in the interior of Siberia. Trustworthy writers tell us that under this emperor

there are about fifty different peoples and tongues, ignorant of their Maker, and worshipping animals, the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and so forth. The names of some of them are Cheremiss, Kalmuk, Bashkir, Mordvin, Mongol, Cherkass, &c. The assembly of all these tribes was at Moscow in the months February and March, when we saw what a vast army of them the emperor possessed. By the guess of credible persons, there were now assembled to the emperor, in this present year, above a million warriors.

The rude peoples we have spoken of are preached to, and flock to be baptised, and to embrace the faith with all their hearts. We saw numbers of them baptised in the river in front of us. But the eagerness of most of these is occasioned by the presents of clothes, money, and provisions made to them on their conversion by the emperor.

§ iii. Soon after the emperor's arrival the minister sent to us his perevodchik, or dragoman, to inquire concerning the nature of the presents we had brought; and he wrote them all down one by one, with a rather superfluous minuteness, as they are wont. I prepared more than 100 trays. The list began thus: 'Sunday 11th Feb. A.M. 7363, the M.H. patriarch of Antioch and all the East, Kyr Kyr Macarius, came into the presence of [the emperor &c.]. And these are the presents which he brought with him from his holy see, and from among the relics of his blessed country,' &c. specifying the relics and other presents for the emperor, for the empress, for the tsarevich Alexis, born this very day last year (*i.e.* 12th of Feb. A.D. 1651), and for the emperor's three sisters, Irene, Anna, and Tatiana; and his three daughters, Eudoxia, Martha, and Anna (the last only fifteen days old).

While we were at C.P., at the convent of the Resurrection, a widow woman brought to the hegoumen an icon of our Lady of Blachernæ, the same which was in old times carried by the patriarch in procession round the walls and routed the besiegers. The woman had found it in the middle of a wall surrounding her house, with a lamp burning before it. We were then absent at Yeni Keui. On our return, at the invitation of the patriarch, for the festival of the Nativity, we were told of this icon, and saw it. It was not a simple painting, but as it were an embodied figure, or figment of mastic, standing out in relief from

the panel, striking awe into the beholder. Our lord the patriarch did all he could, and offered a large sum of money to obtain it from the hegoumen; but it was impossible. The hegoumen afterwards sent it by a merchant to the emperor of Muscovy, who gave it the handsomest reception; and having covered it all over with gold and silver and jewels, and carried it with him to the wars, he has now brought it back in triumph before him. In return for it he sent to the hegoumen 800 dinars, over and above what he gave to the bearer. It was with the intention of thus disposing of the icon that the hegoumen refused it to us.

They mentioned to us that they had been looking into the archives of the empire, and found that ninety-five years past, in the time of the Tsar Ivan Bas. there came Joachim patriarch of Antioch; but from that time till now no other patriarch of Antioch, but patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and C.P. repeatedly.

Early in the evening of Sunday 11th Feb. (the Sunday of the Prodigal) the vizir sent the perevodchik to salute the patriarch, and to inform him that the emperor would receive him the next day. So on M. 12th Feb. (being the commemoration of St. Meletius of Antioch, and of St. Alexis the second metropolitan of Moscow, whose convent stood near us), there having been now three full years and one day from our departure from Damascus, the emperor sent early a sledge for the patriarch. The bells of the patriarchal church, and the great bell, had been tolling since break of day; and the patriarch of Moscow went to say mass before the emperor in the convent of St. Alexis. As soon as the emperor had come out from mass, and had taken his seat in the grand divan in front of the patriarchal church, he sent to invite our lord the patriarch three great kniazes, viz. the prime minister, the grand stolnik, and the master of the pavilions. [Then follows an account of all the ceremonies of the audience: His sledge was preceded by the bearers of his presents; he blessed the guards to the right and left; bowed to the icon in passing the great church; was met a second time and helped up to the portico of the church of the Annunciation (with its nine gilt cupolas), where he alighted, the emperor standing at the window opposite, and looking on. Hence he was taken by the arms and conducted to the door of the divan, where he was met again and conducted to the inner door; hence came forth the three

greatest officers to receive him, and all the archons, ministers, and nobles. Here the porters relieved him of his crosier; and when he entered, with us following, he turned to the icon over the throne, and, chanting the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν with a low voice, bowed to it, and then to the emperor, who, descending, advanced to meet him, bareheaded, and bowing to the ground. As he raised himself the patriarch blessed him with the Muscovite benediction, on his forehead, breast, and shoulders, and kissed him on the shoulder, according to custom. The emperor then kissed the patriarch's forehead and right hand; and they stood before each other. And [after mutual compliments] the emperor desired him to be seated; and the emperor sat down also, and conversed with him through the interpreter: all the grandees meanwhile were standing round the hall, in dresses loaded with gold, pearls, and jewels, and bareheaded; for the emperor was bareheaded, as we mentioned before; and it is the custom that in the presence of the superior clergy he shall never appear but with his head uncovered. How, then, must it be with his courtiers! As for us, there fell on us at this moment exceeding great awe and dread. As soon as the emperor had taken his seat, one of his nobles approached him, and raising it up supported his right hand, and the minister invited us to kneel down and kiss it. We therefore entered the circle, one after another, and bowing from afar, advanced and kissed the emperor's hand; then we retired backwards, bowing to the emperor twice; and so on, till all our servants had shared the same honour. Every one who kisses the emperor's hand receives from his majesty a present according to his degree.

We were told that formerly, when any bishop from Greece or any patriarch came into Russia, this nation did not permit them to perform mass in their churches, thinking them defiled by their intercourse with the Turks; nor was any Greek merchant allowed even to enter their churches, for fear they should be defiled, as they considered them to be. Since the time of their being visited by Jeremiah patriarch of C.P., Theophanes patriarch of Jerusalem, and others, they have become familiarised with strangers; but up to this present time, if an ambassador comes to them from the Turks or Franks, they do not permit him to ascend by the steps of the church of the Annunciation to the divan, but make him enter by an outer door in

the middle of the palace-court: for they avoid strangers to their religion with the utmost abhorrence, of which we saw surprising instances.

[The patriarch of Antioch presented the letters he had brought] from the patriarch of Jerusalem, and from Kyr Paisius of C.P. The emperor stood up to receive them, and kissed them. Immediately afterwards he said: 'Batushka! for your sake I came to Moscow. . . . It is long ago that I heard you were coming to see me.' . . . Our master said: 'I am a sinful man; but . . . God fulfil all your hopes. May he ever give you victory, as he gave to Constantine; and instead of *αὐτοκράτωρ*, make you *μονοκράτωρ*' (*i.e.* instead of self-ruler, make you sole ruler). The emperor rejoiced at these words, and bowing to the patriarch, kissed his hand a second time. As they were thus standing together, the streltsi entered, bearing the presents [which were then presented by the patriarch, the emperor kissing his hand for each, and kissing the present itself in each tray. And then the registrar named also each of the presents for the Tsaritsa, &c.; and these too were placed in the window]. It was in Greek that our master spoke to the interpreter, which we had learned but could not speak quickly like the Greeks; for he had been cautioned never to speak the Turkish [lest their ears should be defiled]. The emperor asked, 'Why does he not speak quick?' The interpreter answered, 'Because he has only recently learned the language; but he knows Turkish; if it is your majesty's pleasure, he will converse in that.' 'God forbid,' said the emperor, 'that so holy a person should defile his mouth with that filthy language!' The interpreter then made a sign to our master, and he arose and came before the image, and bowed to it first, and then to the emperor, who returned the salutation, and bade him adieu. After the patriarch had given him his blessing a second time, the emperor took him by the arm, and having led him near the door, parted with him. Hereupon the whole body of archons crowded round him, and attended him to the outside, so that all present were astonished at the great respect that was shown him. . . .

After they had placed him in the sledge, the emperor sent some archons with him to conduct him to the palace of the patriarch [of Moscow], that he might have an immediate interview with him: but it used to be customary for the visitor to wait

three days after his audience at court, and then present a petition to the emperor, praying that *he would grant him permission to go to the patriarch;* whereupon the emperor would send orders to the patriarch to prepare for the visit; whereas now he sent our master to him immediately, giving notice at the same time to the patriarch of his approach.

§ iv. As soon as our lord the patriarch approached the first flight of steps leading to the patriarchal palace, he was met by two great archimandrites, who bowed to the ground and recited from a paper thus: 'O holy father &c., your brother and fellow-minister the lord Kyr Nicon &c. patriarch of all Great and *Little* Russia [this is probably inaccurate] has sent us, in conformity with the saying of our Lord in his holy gospel, He who receiveth you receiveth me;' and they again bowed to him to the ground. Our master replied, and blessed them. Then they took him by the arms, as the archons had done before, and went up the first flight of steps. At the second flight he was met again in the same way by two others. On our approaching the outer apartment, where the third flight of steps is, the patriarch Nicon came forth, robed in a green velvet mandya, embroidered with figures in red velvet, with cherubim in the centre in gold and pearls, &c. On his head he wore a latia of white damask silk, surmounted with a gold arch, on which was a cross of pearls and jewels: above his eyes in front were cherubim in pearls; and the edges of the latia were laced with gold and set with jewels. Holding his crosier in his hand, he advanced towards our master with the utmost ceremony and respect, saying, 'O holy father &c., your holiness is now like to our Lord Christ, and I am like Zaccheus, who was short of stature, and sought to see Jesus.' Then he took him by the hand, and led him into the palace, which they had spread with large carpets; and they two advanced, according to custom, to the stand of icons always placed over the prelate's seat. The tapers were burning, and they recited the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν, bowing to the ground, and to each other. The Muscovite took off his latia, and asked our lord the patriarch to give him his blessing. With great reluctance, and after much refusal, he at length blessed him on his forehead, breast, and shoulders, according to their practice; and they sat down to converse through the interpreter. Afterwards the Muscovite arose, and going into an inner

chamber, put off his green mandya, and put on another of embroidered purple, which he usually wore, with a white latia figured in front with cherubim in gold cloth, and no other ornament. He changed also his cassock of green velvet for one of red, as is the custom when archons or common persons are in the presence of priests, or priests in the presence of a patriarch or archbishop, and also in the church.

Meanwhile the archbishop of Servia—that pretended patriarch mentioned before—having after ourselves kissed the emperor's hand, came to the patriarch's palace, and, bending before the two patriarchs, received their blessing, as usual. At this moment the emperor sent one of his nobles to invite the two patriarchs together to the imperial table. . . . The patriarch of Moscow sat on the left of the emperor, and the patriarch of Antioch next to him. This was in a very large hall, built of wood, with tables spread all round it. The emperor's table, all covered with silver, was in the midst, and the ministers and nobles were seated at a long table all to the left of our lord the patriarch. The archbishop of Servia, the archbishop of Riazan, and the rest of the archimandrites were seated at a distant table on the right of the emperor; and we sat, with the rest of the heads of convents, the priests and the monks, at tables placed in rows in the middle of the hall. All before they sat down bowed to the emperor at a distance. [Then follows a description of the banquet.] After the patriarchs had blessed the table, and the Tsar had sent by the stolniks large long loaves to all present, the emperor stood up and presented to each of the patriarchs three cups of wine together. They bowed their heads to him, and set the cups of wine before them. Thus he sent to all the grandees, while the stolnik who took the cup from him cried out from afar the name, 'Hey! Boris Ivanovich' [*i. e.* Morozoff, grand vizir, and brother-in-law to the Tsar], &c., and so on. The banquet-rooms in this country are rectangular rooms, with one pillar in the middle, round which are benches with shelves one above another, covered with linen. On these shelves they set the gilt silver cups, bowls, &c. . . . .

No flesh-meat whatever was served, so as to conform with the rule for convents; though, as this was the week of *ἀποκρία*, or abstinence from flesh-meat, its absence would not now have been extraordinary. But mark what happened! As soon as the

patriarchs had blessed the table, there came a little reader, who, placing a desk in the middle of the hall, with a large book, began to read, with a very loud voice, the life of St. Alexis; and this continued to the end of the repast. O illustrious emperor! . . . How different was the banquet of Vasili and Matthi Bey, who were not worthy to be your menial servants, with their drums and pipes, and horns and trumpets, and Turkish songs, and their sitting on high thrones in the centre of the apartment, while the patriarch was seated below on their *right* hand! . . . The emperor was all the time bareheaded amidst that severe and rigid frost. He ate little himself, being rather engaged in conversation with the patriarch Nicon, and in paying great attention to our master, whom he served with meat and drink copiously, &c. Thus they continued from early in the afternoon till near midnight, until our very souls groaned within us. At length the emperor stood up, and all the stolniks approached him in a body with silver goblets of wine. Of this he presented to the patriarch, who offered a prayer for him, and the singers chanted the πολυχρόνιον. Afterwards he presented wine with his own hand to each of the guests, and each, as he came forward, bowed to him, first at a distance, down to the ground; then he advanced quickly, and kissing the emperor's hand, received the cup; then he drew back and drank it off; afterwards bowing a second time he retired. Then the patriarch prayed a second time, and the singers chanted a πολυχρόνιον for the empress and her son Alexis; and the emperor again, with his own hand, gave a second cup round to all. Afterwards the singers sang a πολυχρόνιον for the patriarch of Moscow Kyr Nicon; at the conclusion of which the emperor first drank himself, and then again gave the wine round to all the guests. Then he commanded them to perform a πολυχρόνιον for the patriarch of Antioch, and for all the archons; which made the fourth round, and was distributed by the [emperor] with his own hand, while the archdeacon supported his arm. It was near midnight when, by the mercy of the Almighty, the emperor rose from table, and the patriarchs said grace. The protopope with his priests, and the archdeacon with his [deacons or clerks], then came into the middle of the hall, and brought us the παναγία, a beautiful silver-gilt stand with angels all round it, supporting a handsome porcelain bowl, in which the παναγία was contained. After they had prayed over

it as usual, all partook of it, the archdeacon and deacons present having incensed all the guests with thuribles, which each held in his hand, shaped like crowns. At the conclusion of the grace the servants brought panniers to collect the fragments from the tables, according to the practice of the convents. Then the emperor bade adieu to our lord the patriarch with a bow; and after the latter had given him his blessing, the emperor appointed archons to attend him with large tapers until we reached our convent door, all the ministers and grandees having taken leave of him previously on the outside of the palace.

We could scarcely believe that we had got back to our convent, so perished were we with the fatigue of standing and with the cold. What must have been the condition of the emperor, who stood on his legs about four hours bareheaded, while he gave drink to all his guests four times round! This, however, was not enough for him; but the moment we arrived at our lodgings the bells tolled, and he entered, attended by his archons, with the patriarch into the great church, where they assisted at vespers and lauds, and remained till daybreak. What amazing strength and constancy in the endurance of fatigue under such circumstances, as were severe enough to confound our senses, and to turn the hair of a young man grey!

To the reader of this narrative my request is, that he will pray for me, the weak archdeacon Paul, that God will forgive me my sins, who gave me facility and opened the powers of my mind, so that I penned this whole narrative, to the composition and details of which many would be unequal. Straining my attention to the utmost, I made vast exertion to extract it from the rough notes a whole year after they were noted down. My whole ambition is to create to myself a memorial, that among posterity some one may be found to feel a sympathy towards me, such as we used to feel towards the late metropolitan Isa, who was taken as a companion by the patriarch Hanna on his visit to this country, when we read his verses. But I say, poor and weak as I am, I have much surpassed him in my humble narrative; for he produced not enough for one hour's perusal; whereas I have produced a large book, praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God! This, then, is what I have written, with much labour and diligence, and with many erasures and corrections, concerning the meeting of the patriarch Kyr Macarius of Antioch

with Alexis emperor of Muscovy and of all the countries of the Russians.

§ v. On the second day after our audience of the emperor, we went with our presents to the patriarch. Among these were an ancient icon of the Descent of our Lord from the Cross, a finger of St. Stephen the first deacon, some relics of St. Antony the Great, and *a crosier* which we made at C.P., according to what the metropolitans with their patriarch used to say to our master: 'Your holiness is in the place of Peter the Apostle; and you have power to give crosiers *for the guidance of the flock* to whom you please.' When, by the permission of his archons and doorkeepers, we went into his apartment, he came to meet us, and, bowing to the icon, kissed it, and was much pleased with it. Afterwards he distributed amongst us silvered icons of our Lady, according to their custom in making presents; and he gave us all his blessing; and we retired. Then we began to take our presents to the ministers and great officers of state. Except at the earliest hour of the morning, we were never able to have interviews with them; for each has a handsome church in his palace, and three or four priests attached to it, for the private service of the archon and his family, by whom they are fed and clothed, &c. When we went to visit them we used to have to wait till they were at leisure from their prayers. . . . The palaces in this city are mostly new, of stone or brick, and built on the European plan lately taught the Muscovites by the Niemtsi or Germans.

The title of most of the great men here is Kniaz, *i. e.* bey, son of a bey. . . . The grandees reckon the houses on their estates with their families, and say: Such a kniaz has three, or eight, or ten, or twenty thousand mujiks (peasants), calculating the value of their lands only by the inhabitants. From every man they have a return yearly of two or three piastres, and take a tenth of the sheep, hogs, chickens, &c. The peasants indeed seem to be slaves; for they sow the ground for their masters, ploughing it with his horses, and carrying the produce in his wagons, and coming and going, and doing everything as he directs them. Whenever a grandee is reduced to poverty, or dies, these peasants are sold to any one who will purchase them. Such is the tenure of estates here, including also the endowments of churches and monasteries. When the family of an archon is extinct, his

property reverts wholly to the emperor; for he is the universal heir. Instances of this were seen during the plague. Most of the rich before their death bequeathed all their property to the emperor, out of their great love and veneration for their sovereign, *whom they regard nearly in the same light* as they do the Messiah.

§ vi. Some time after we had been received by the emperor, he sent to our lord the patriarch the presents [details of which are given]—to the patriarch himself three soroks of the highest-priced sables, three of an inferior quality; a large silver cup; a piece of purple, another of blue, and another of flowered velvet; two pieces of purple satin, and the like of damask; and two hundred rubles, which were brought by the grand secretary and his attendants; and so on in a descending scale down to the servants, who received each two couples of sables, worth about four rubles. The allowance for the patriarch's table had been fixed at twenty-five kopeks daily, but the emperor raised it to one hundred, *i. e.* to a ruble; whereas the patriarch of Jerusalem had had only fifteen kopeks a day.

On inquiry, we found that most of those who come to Moscow in quest of alms, whether archimandrites or common persons, do not come in the hope merely of what shall be given to them; but they bring money, to purchase sables, ermines, and suchlike, that they may realise a great profit on their sale in Turkey. It is upon this principle that most of them come. From their admission at Poutivl to their return and departure thence they are at no expense whatever. If they have merchandise with them, they pay no duties, nor hire of horses: and they spend nothing for eating and drinking; for they have a pension which they receive every month, each according to his rank: the very poorest has four kopeks a day, with as much beer as he can drink. Thus they insure to themselves great profits, if they bring with them a large stock of money or goods. Otherwise, if any person relies on his expectation of alms, his hope is but a poor one. God knows that some do not regain the expenses of their journey! . . . A metropolitan of an eminent and well-known see will scarcely obtain from the emperor, first and last, and from the grandees, altogether a sum of from 200 to 300 rubles. It may be less, but never more. This we saw, and were told by several metropolitans. . . . To the poor who came with us, or with those who travelled in our company, and who had

letters to the emperor from the patriarch of C.P. or of Jerusalem, certifying that they were in debt and distress on account of their religion, there were given twenty or twenty-five rubles a-piece, and no more.

The patriarch of Jerusalem, indeed, had with him some thirty-five persons in his suite, many archimandrites, many priests, and many monks; grooms for his horses; relations, who were sisters' sons, brothers' sons, and cousins; Greek merchants, of whom he took as many as he pleased, and dignified them with the title of archons, &c.: for it is the nature of the Greeks to love grandeur and superiority excessively. So he formed companies, whom he enlisted, some as archimandrites, priests, and clerks or monks from the Jaljala convent, others, as if from Bethlehem, and from the convents of St. Michael, of St. Saba, of Holy Cross, &c.; and this for the purpose of being attended by a numerous train, and still more for the great lucre which would accrue to him from them, first and last: for whenever there came to them a gratuity from the emperor, either for themselves or their convents, he was to use it as he pleased. Thus when the merchants whom he had made into archons received the customary allowance from the emperor of sables and sums of money, he took their portions from them by an agreement made with them beforehand. In like manner did Patalaron, and most of the Greek metropolitans; and they never failed to write each of them down as a relation, for the benefit of themselves and him, calling him *ἀνεψιός*.

To return: On Feb. 18, the Sunday of the *ἀποκρέα* (called in Greek *τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας*), the emperor sent to invite our lord the patriarch, and he went in the sledge to the sobor; and we all robed, together with the two patriarchs, the archbishop of Servia, and the rest of the archimandrites, who put on their mitres, all the priests, and the numerous deacons, in their three orders, *i. e.* the anagnosts or readers, the sub-deacons, and the full deacons; of each class there are ten, and each has its chief. The anagnosts are boys. All are clad in *στιχάρια* without girdles; and each has some particular service. One of them always carries the crosier behind the patriarch, who is not accustomed here ever to hold it in his own hand. The protodiácon of the church is constantly employed in holding the left arm of the patriarch, the archidiácon the right; each supporting it in

an extended posture. . . . After robing, the priests and deacons went forth in procession, with banners, crosses, and icons; and we went out with them from the south door of the church to a large open area behind the chancel, which the streltsi had spread with yellow sand. Here the patriarch of Moscow took his station, with his deacons, on a high scaffold, on which was placed a chair facing the east; and he gave his blessing thrice to the multitude.

Immediately after the patriarchs were robed, the emperor repaired to the church, and the singers chanted the *πολυχρόνιον* while he was saluting the icons. He was bareheaded, and his crown and sceptre were carried by one of his attendant archons. Then, approaching the patriarchs, he bowed to them; and they blessed and sprinkled him and his crown with the holy water. When he had kissed their hands, they kissed his forehead, according to the custom; and when the patriarch of Moscow took his station on the raised platform, spread with carpets to the lowest step, the emperor occupied a similar platform covered with a double fold of sables; and his officers of state placed themselves on his right, while the multitude formed a large circle around. Our master stood on the tsar's right hand, on a carpet *set with a chair and cushion*, behind: the archbishop of Servia opposite to him on the other side [and facing him]. Then the bishops and archimandrites came, two and two, and bowed their heads twice to the emperor, and to the patriarch in like manner, as they passed to their stations [and they stood facing one another]. Thus did also the heads of the convents and all the priests, who then took their places on each side, with the banners and crosses in the centre. In the middle of the whole circle had been placed by the ecclesiarch and his assistants three lecterns (or stands) on one of which was the Gospel, on another the icon of our Lady of Blachernæ, on the third the silver vessels for the *ἁγιασμὸς*; the first of which was a very large vessel, in shape like an octagonal bowl, mounted on a high pedestal, and resembling a baptismal font, which two persons carried by the rings with some difficulty. Round it were cups of various kinds, a complete garniture of silver. Then there was the water-vessel, like a large milk-pail, which four persons could hardly move. Before them they placed large silver-gilt candelabra. In the mean time the great bells were tolling, until the moment that the archdeacon descended

from his station, and taking the thurible, bowed to the patriarch, and then turning to the east, said in a voice of thunder, Blagostovi vladiko, *i.e.* εὐλόγησον δέσποτα [and the office of blessing the water commenced: after which followed the liturgy, described in thirteen folio pages of MS., which the translator omits].

Note, brother, what happened now! So far were they from being content with this lengthened service, extending even to the close of the day, that the deacons brought to the patriarch Nicon the book containing the Homilies for the Season, which they opened before him; and he began to read the Homily for the day [from St. Hippolytus, Pope of Rome and Martyr, about the last times, and the person and power of Antichrist, and the second terrible Advent of the Lord]. And not only did he read this, but he preached upon it, and expounded it to the standing and silent assembly, until our spirits were broken within us during the tedious delay. God preserve us and save us! Afterwards [for this was just before the final dismissal, after the mass] they concluded the service, and, going into the sanctuary, put off their phenolia. Then taking their gowns, they went forth to give their blessing to the emperor, and wish him health during this time of abstinence, and he left the church.

After we had saluted the relics of the saints in this church, and the icon of our Lady painted by St. Luke, we left. Our master mounted the sledge, and we returned to our convent, it being now late in the afternoon. Before we had time to sit down to table, what should we hear but the bells tolling for vespers! Now what shall we say of these duties, severe enough to turn children's hair grey, so strictly observed by the emperor, patriarch, grandees, princesses, and ladies, standing upright on their legs from morning till evening, during this whole day of the *ἀποκρία*? Who would believe that they should thus go beyond the devout anchorets of the deserts? Yet all that I have related is truth, God is witness.

§ vii. On the morning of Tuesday in Cheese-week (*τῆς τυροφάγου*), Feb. 20, the emperor sent for our lord the patriarch in the sledge, to say mass for him in one of the upper churches of the palace (dedicated to the Nativity of our Lady and St. Catherine), in honour of the birthday of his eldest daughter, Eudoxia, born on the 1st of March (Adar), on which day is the commemoration of St. Eudoxia: but *as it now fell in the first*

week of Lent, he kept it instead on this day, as they are used to keep it annually. We went therefore, and ascending the stairs to the church, performed mass there, concelebrating with the patriarch of Moscow and the archbishop of Servia, before the emperor and some of his nobles. The empress and his sisters were in the narthex, the door of which was closed; and they looked over us from behind their veils and lattices.

This church is very small, of ancient structure, with a gilt cupola. On a request made by the patriarch Nicon to our master, the latter held an ordination of a priest and a deacon. As this is the emperor's private church for the winter, observe what he now did there. Descending from his stall, he went round, like a *κανδηλάπτης* (a candle-lighter), to light the tapers and lamps before the icons, while we were looking on in astonishment. After he had gone all along the iconostase, he approached the two patriarchs, who gave him the usual blessing with the cross, and then passed to the empress and her attendants to bless them in like manner. At the end of the mass also they gave them the *ἀντίδωρα*.

At our departure from the church, the emperor took the three prelates by the hand to the empress's apartments, to give their blessing to her and her daughters, to his sisters, and to the tsarevich Alexis; and when they came out, we went with them to the patriarch Nicon's apartments for a short time, till the tsar sent them an invitation to dine with him in the banqueting-hall, where similar forms were observed as on the like occasion before. At the end they stood up, and the patriarch poured out the first round of wine to the health of the emperor, and the second to the healths of the empress and her daughter Eudoxia; the third round the emperor presented with his own hand to the health of the patriarch of Moscow, and the fourth to that of the patriarch of Antioch. Then they all stood, while the *παναγία* was elevated according to custom, and prayers of thanksgiving were said over the table; and after the patriarchs had taken leave of the emperor we returned to our convent.

The next day the emperor, attended by his grandees, went to visit the monastery of Troitsa [sixty versts distant], to keep, as he said, the *ἀποκρία* with the monks there.

On the morning of Thursday *τῆς τυροφάγου* (*i. e.* Th. 22d Feb.), the patriarch invited our master, together with the arch-

bishop of Servia, to concelebrate with him in the great church, to commemorate the deceased metropolitans and patriarchs of Moscow; as it is the custom for the patriarch on this day annually to celebrate the liturgy and a *μνημόσυνον*, and afterwards to give a dinner in his palace to the heads of the convents, the priests of the seven churches, the deacons, to every bishop and archimandrite who may happen to be in the city and to the foreign monks from Greece. We went therefore in the imperial sledge to the church. When the patriarch Nicon had entered, and had done his reverence, and had given his blessing to the congregation, and the singers had chanted *Ἄξιον ἐστὶν* and the *πολυχρόνιον*, he saluted our master, and they went together to do their reverence to all the icons in the church; *in particular to the relics of St. Philip*, sometime metropolitan of Moscow and confessor, whom Nicon, when metropolitan of Novgorod, brought hither, by command of the emperor, from the Solovetsky or Solovka convent of SS. Sabbatius and Zosimus, which is on an island in the ocean called the Sea of Darkness. For in that monastery the day and night in the months of May, June, and July (Iyar, Hazirân, and Tamouz), are all one, viz. light without darkness, with only a slight obscurity for less than an hour; while on the other hand in winter there is perpetual darkness, and they live only by lamplight both night and day. So we were told by the patriarch from his own mouth, and by many others. The place is more than 2000 versts from Moscow; in winter during the frost a journey of two months, in summer of six. To this monastery are banished transgressors from among the Greek priests and monks; and so we obtained from some of them an account of the life there.

This patriarch Nicon was originally a secular priest, who separated from his wife, and became a monk. Afterwards he was made hegoumen of a convent for some time. Then the emperor appointed him archimandrite of the Novospass monastery, built by the father of the present emperor, outside of the city walls (it was Nicon's natural disposition to love the Greeks, and their ecclesiastical ordinances and ceremonies), and here he remained three years. At the end of that time the emperor promoted him to the see of Novgorod, which is the first metropolitan see of Muscovy; for it was to this city that the apostle St. Andrew came, and preached; and it was the first in these

countries, after the city of Kieff, that received the faith: on this account it took the precedence of all the metropolitan sees.

Immediately after his promotion [he became metropolitan in A.D. 1618; but he went for the relics of the metropolitan Philip in A.D. 1652] Nicon was sent by the emperor to bring the body of St. Philip the celebrated metropolitan of Moscow; the reason of which was that this saint, from the time of his *martyrdom* (A.D. 1568) and of his burial in the Solovetsky, had not worked miracles till now, when he wrought many. They sent therefore to fetch his body to Moscow, as he had appeared several times to the emperor in his sleep, saying, 'I have been long enough at a distance from the tombs of my brethren the metropolitans: send and fetch my body, and place me with them.' Thus urged, the emperor sent, in company with the metropolitan Nicon, a great number of archons, who brought his body, having been two whole years on the journey.

Just before the arrival of the saint, there occurred the death of the patriarch Joseph; and it was the unanimous vote of the assembly of the clergy to make Nicon patriarch. But he strongly refused to accept the dignity, until an order should be established that *the emperor should confer no ecclesiastical or sacerdotal offices whatsoever*, as the preceding sovereigns had conferred them. Having obtained his will in this respect, he farther procured an imperial decree, *that his sentence should be absolute*, without opposition or appeal [*i.e.* should not be overruled by the lay monastery court]. And he had no sooner been installed in the patriarchate than he banished three protopopes with their wives and children to Siberia. One of them was protopope to the emperor [*i.e.* to the palace church], and enjoyed such rank and power, in consequence of his place, that he persecuted the clergy, imprisoning them and loading them with fetters, without permission from the patriarchs who preceded Nicon.

This prelate, immediately on his elevation, entered upon the exercise of uncontrolled authority: every person was filled with dread of him; and he is up to the present time a great butcher [djezzar, *i.e.* a strict disciplinarian] over the bishops, the archimandrites, and every order of the clergy, *and even over the grandees in power*, and in the offices of government. No intercession, either from or for any one, has the slightest influence

with him. It was *he who banished the bishop of Kolomna*, and afterwards *consecrated* another in his place. Whenever he hears of any one transgressing, even by a fit of drunkenness, he sends him instantly into banishment; for his janizaries are perpetually going round the city; and whenever they find any priest or monk in a state of intoxication, they carry him to prison, and consign him to scorn and contempt. Thus we saw his prisons full of them, in the most wretched condition, galled with heavy chains and logs of wood on their necks and legs. It used to be the custom for the boyars (ἄρχοντες) to go in to the patriarch without consulting the doorkeepers; when their visit was formally announced, he used instantly to come out to meet them; and afterwards, on their departure, he accompanied them to the outer door: but Nicon keeps them a long time waiting before he sends them permission to enter: then they walk into his presence with extreme fear and awe; and having transacted their business before him standing, take their departure, while he continues sitting in his place. The love, however, of the emperor and the empress for him is beyond expression. . . . . What we have here related of the history of this patriarch does not properly suit this place: we shall hereafter, at a suitable time, give a particular account of every incident in his life and circumstances.

To return: On the arrival of the body of St. Philip, the tsar, the patriarch, the great officers of state, together with the bishops, all the heads of convents, the clergy, and the whole population of the city, went out to meet it, with waxlights, banners, and icons, and in their most splendid robes; and, as we were told by every one, the saint performed a number of miracles—opening the eyes of the blind, raising the sick from their chairs and couches, and curing demoniacs—before they carried him into the cathedral, and placed him in a silver-gilt shrine, near the fifth door, on the south side of the sanctuary, where he still works many miracles. They have for this reason appointed him a commemoration with the new saints, a festival, and kanóns (*i.e.* hymns), and so forth. All the world here buys his portrait; and the painters are employed day and night in making highly-finished copies of it, the goldsmiths in preparing silver-gilt and carved ornaments for its framing and sheathing: so that treasures of wealth are laid out in his name. The women

have great faith in him. . . . The expense of the smallest picture of him is as much as ten dinars. The archons and their ladies load theirs with gold and jewels.

To return: Afterwards the two patriarchs turned back and crossed themselves before the row of icons towards the north side-door of the sanctuary. Then they went into the chapel which is there, and did their reverence to the relics of St. Peter the first metropolitan of Moscow (A.D. 1308-1328), whose shrine is set in the wall between the two sanctuaries. . . . Thence they passed on to the north-west corner of the church, where they saluted the body of St. Jonah.[1] St. Alexis, the second,[2] lies in the Choudoff monastery. Then, having next prayed before all the icons round the four central piers of the church, they passed to the south-west corner, where is a handsome tabernacle with a lofty cupola of bright carved brass, made to receive the coat of Christ, sent by the Persian Shah Abbas to the late tsar Michael, after he had taken it from Georgia. Inside this tabernacle there is an imitation of our Lord's sepulchre. Upon that rests a silver-gilt chest, containing another box, all gold and gems, within it; and in this is a crystal case containing the coat itself, which we saw afterwards on Good Friday. Here lamps and tapers are burning day and night. The door of this chapel is of bright carved brass. On the approach of the patriarchs, the ἐφημέριος brought out to them the chest, which having bowed to and kissed, they returned to the sacristy, accompanied by us; for all the deacons robe before the patriarchs come, that they may be ready to support their arms and attend their procession. Then they bowed before the altar [within the great sanctuary], and kissed the gospel and the cross [on it], according to the Russian custom; and the patriarch took the cross in his hand. At this moment advanced the bishops and archimandrites without their latias, with the priests and deacons, and, bowing to the patriarch, kissed the cross and his hand, all of them in succession. Such is their custom, instead of taking permission (ἄδειαν or καιρὸν), as with us and the Greeks, outside the sacristy. Afterwards the patriarchs passed to the sanctuary of the prothesis (*i.e.* the chapel of the offertory), where they bowed and prayed

[1] The first *native* and *independent* metropolitan of Moscow, and the last who held united the churches west and east of the Dnieper, A.D. 1453-1461.

[2] Second of the four metropolitans who are named in the liturgy, and who in order of time comes between Peter and Jonah, A.D. 1351-1378.

before the chalice and paten as usual; and the same persons advanced as before, and, doing their reverence to the patriarch, received his blessing (*i.e.* took again ἄδειαν). But subsequently our lord the patriarch of Antioch annulled this practice, and forbade the patriarch of Moscow to enter the sanctuary, and there give his blessing (ἄδειαν) to the bishops and priests with the cross. He enjoined him to conform to our custom, and, sitting on his throne [in the body of the church], to let them come up and kiss his hand only. Then they went out towards the narthex or porch; and the patriarch of Moscow went up to his throne, which is a very large and high platform, with three steps, covered with an immense carpet reaching down from the top to the holy doors of the sanctuary. Here his deacons began to robe him as usual, not taking off the mandya from his back till they had first put on him a παραμανδύς studded with pearls; and then they put on the under riza [ποδήρης, or alb]. There were two deacons standing on his right and left, holding the articles needed for vesting him, which they handed gracefully to him one by one; and he, having signed each, crossed his forehead, and put on the various articles of his robes, kissing the cross upon them. So also they put on him the σάκκος open, and then buttoned it on the two sides. All his sakkoses have bells and ribbons, with strings of gold lace, which they tie. Before he puts on his mitre, *he is accustomed to comb his hair and beard* with an instrument made of hog's bristles. Then they put on his mitre: and when he is completely vested, and has given his blessing to the congregation [with the triple and double lights], his deacons descend, and, having bowed thrice towards the east, go up to him again to take ἄδεια. In like manner, after the hours have been read (which is then done), when the bishops, archimandrites, and priests come out two and two from the sanctuary [one of each pair from the north side-door, the door of the prothesis, and the other from the south side-door, the door of the diaconicum or sacristy], they advance two and two before him, and, bowing gracefully, pass to stand in their places. This they do all, to the very last; and from their great number they reached [in two lines, facing each other, from the patriarch's platform at the west end] nearly to the sanctuary, four of the archimandrites wearing mitres, the rest latias. [And so the liturgy commenced.]

§ viii. In the liturgy this day there was also an ordination of a priest and a deacon. We found it was the rule with the patriarch Nicon to celebrate the liturgy most days, and that none of his masses should be without an ordination, on account of the great multitude of the congregations and the clergy [especially after the recent plague] needed for them. We stayed with him more than a year; and at every liturgy we used to see him ordain a priest and a deacon. Nor are these his ordinations performed by himself alone; but he sends to every prelate residing with him permission to ordain in the church wherein he officiates. For the eparchy or [diocesan] jurisdiction of the patriarch is of vast extent; and it would be impossible for him to ordain himself every person he wishes, as they apply to him. He sends them therefore [with letters dimissory] to the other bishops. He sent them to us also afterwards; and we ordained a great number for him. To the archbishop of Servia too he sent many. They were all persons who came from places under the patriarch's immediate jurisdiction, bringing with them testimonials from their relatives and friends and townspeople that they were worthy to be admitted to holy orders. We saw many who had come more than 2000 versts. The patriarch of Moscow, when our master concelebrated with him, was always extremely attentive at the ordination, seeking, for his own benefit, to observe which form was best; and he was continually asking him questions, in order to profit by his information. We shall hereafter mention the defects and irregularities we found amongst them, and the great advantages they derived from our master's instructions.

After the archdeacon had bidden [after the gospel] the *συναπτὴ*, *Εἴπωμεν πάντες*, *κ.τ.λ.*, he gave out the petitions which they add for the departed, 'Have mercy upon us, O God,' &c. 'Farther, let us pray for the repose of the souls of the servants of God, all the deceased metropolitans of Moscow and all Russia.' This he divided, according to their custom, into five petitions, reading the names from a list [the diptychs]; and the singers chanted after each pause 'Kyrie eléison.' Then he concluded as usual with the words, 'Let us ask of the Lord;' and they responded, 'Grant it, O Lord.' And the patriarch said the exclamation, 'For thou art the resurrection, and the rest, and the refreshment of thy departed servants our brethren, the metro-

politans of Moscow, N.N.,' &c.; naming each, as they do in masses for the dead, for the rest of their souls, as we afterwards witnessed. Then the archdeacon entered the sanctuary; and another deacon came forth from it, and cried, 'Pray, ye catechumens, to the Lord:' [and the liturgy proceeded as usual].

After the liturgy they came out from the sacristy, and made the dismissal in the usual form. Then the patriarch Nicon ascended again to his throne on the platform, where he had originally robed, having our master on his right hand, and the archbishop of Servia on his left, and the other bishops, archimandrites, and priests standing in two lines [face to face] on each side. The ecclesiarch had set an *ἀναλογεῖον* [a stand] in the midst, on which there was a silver dish containing boiled grains with honey (*κόλλυβον*), and a cup of wine, as a *μνημόσυνον* (a commemoration) for all the deceased metropolitans and patriarchs of Moscow. Then the deacons began to bring forth bundles of triple-striped wax-lights to the patriarchs, who distributed them to all the assistants. The archdeacon took the thurible, saying, *Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα*· 'My lord, give the blessing;' and, the patriarch having given it, he bade the great *συναπτή*, in which he mentioned, instead of the name of the patriarch or of the emperor, the names of the defunct. We know not whence this *συναπτή* of theirs was taken. Afterwards the anagnosts began to throw incense in benediction of the defunct, while the singers chanted as usual, until the completion of the *μνημόσυνον*. At the first *κάθισμα* [or *στάσις* rather of the 119th Psalm, which is the seventeenth *κάθισμα* of the Psalter], I entered, and bade 'Have mercy upon us, O God,' &c. with the thurible in my hand. This short *συναπτή* has five petitions, at each of which they sang 'Kyrie eléison.' After it I proclaimed, 'Let us pray unto the Lord;' and our master said the collect, 'O God of our souls and bodies,' &c. in a low voice, after their custom, and ended aloud with the exclamation, 'For thou art the resurrection, the life, and thou art the rest and refreshment of thy departed servants our brethren the metropolitans of Moscow, O Christ our God,' &c. After the exclamation the patriarch descended to throw incense around the lectern (going round it), and round the sanctuary and the holy table; and he turned to do the same to the *καθέδρα*, and to the icons. Then

he came forth to incense the royal doors, and the whole range of icons on the iconostase to the right and left; and afterwards he approached and incensed the icon which was over the head of our master; then himself, and the whole line on the same side beginning from him, and the right choir of the singers. The same he then did by the archbishop of Servia, on the other line [and the left choir of the singers]. Afterwards he went round to incense the icons in the body of the church, one by one, the emperor's place and chair, that of the empress, and the whole congregation. The archdeacon, bearing a wax-light, preceded him wherever he went, till he came back and stood in his place; and two deacons supported his arms till he had finished, after incensing the royal doors a second time, and the lectern all round, and our master; and so he went up to his throne with the thurible in his hand. Then all the deacons went below to stand in a row before him, and he incensed them as they bowed their heads; he incensed the two choirs of singers in like manner, as they bowed to him; then the anagnosts and the archdeacon, to whom he gave the censer. On that he bowed thrice to the east, and gave his blessing to the two choirs. Then the archdeacon incensed him, and delivered the censer to me, and I threw the incense first to the patriarch of Moscow, and then to our master, to whom I gave up the censer, taking the wax-light from his hand to carry before him: and he went round and incensed [at the second *στάσις* of Psalm cxviii. just as the patriarch Nicon had at the first *στάσις*], and so returned to his place. The like was then done by the archbishop of Servia [at the third and last *στάσις* of the Psalm]. After the singers had finished chanting the [*ἄμωμος* and the anthems following, with the *εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, κ.τ.λ.*], the incense-thrower began to throw the incense at each division of the *κανὼν* (or string of nine hymns), as it was read and responded to [or concluded] by the chanting of the choirs.

At last the patriarch descended from his throne to conclude the *μνημόσυνον*, and recited the names of the defunct one by one from a register [the diptychs]; and they chanted for each, 'Everlasting remembrance, and everlasting rest;' after which the prelates entered into the sanctuary to unrobe; and, leaving the church, we crossed with the patriarch Nicon to his palace, where the banquet was prepared.

In the middle of the room, according to their custom, stood a table set out with silver-gilt cups, great and small, and round it were the stolniks in attendance. For the patriarch of Moscow they set a table by itself, at the head of the hall; another was placed near it for our master; and another for the archbishop of Servia; and four [a fourth ?] for the bishops, the archimandrites, and ourselves. For the rest of the company tables were set round the hall. Then they blessed the table, and brought forward the *παναγία* in a beautiful silver-gilt vase. When the prayers had been recited over it, we partook of it, and then sat down. Immediately one of the readers set his lectern in the midst, and began to read from a large book in a loud voice, and continued reading from the beginning to the end of the banquet. The patriarch Nicon's crosier was held by another [clerk], who stood near him; the crosiers of our master and of the archbishop of Servia were held up in front of them. Then the patriarch drank three cups of wine together, and made our master and us drink in like manner, before we had eaten a morsel. The stolniks, in their elegant dresses, were standing to wait on us quickly: some to serve the bread, some the dishes of meat, and some for the wine and other services. For every round there was a different shape of cup, and a different quality of beverage. . . . The first thing distributed by the patriarch to all the guests were the usual long loaves: as the stolniks took them from him, they cried, 'O, such a one!' if he was a bishop, naming him by his see; if an archimandrite, by his convent. Then the stolnik named us, saying, 'This is from the grace of the patriarch Nicon to you.' The guests advancing from their tables, bowed down to him to the ground in thanks. The first thing they set upon the table was black and red caviare. Removing it, they brought various kinds of fish and viands, not setting together one sort with another, but first carrying away the presented dish, and then replacing it with a different one, according to the order and service of the emperor's banquets. Thus he gave to his guests, one after another, from among the choicest dishes; and to our lord the patriarch of Antioch first, before all. Each guest sent his present by his servant to his own house, as a blessing: this is their usual practice. In the mean time, whenever the anagnost paused to rest, the singers came forward and chanted. The patriarch Nicon called on us also to sing in

Greek and Arabic. In this way the banquet lasted until the evening.

§ ix. Afterwards it pleased Nicon to entertain our lord the patriarch with the following account. The emperor had sent to summon a party of the tribe of St. Christopher the Martyr [the dogfaced tribe], who are subjects of his empire, and called Lobani [*i. e.* having large foreheads], savages. They eat human flesh; and they eat their dead. They live along the shore of the ocean, the Sea of Darkness, 150 versts north of the port of Archangel, and 1650 to the east of Moscow. There were now come of them to assist the emperor above 17,000; some said 30,000. This people in former times had been rebellious against Alexander, as we were told by them through their interpreters. They have no houses, nor do they know the use of bread, but feed only on raw fish, and on the carrion of beasts of the desert, and dogs, without cooking. They have no horses, but only the wild animal called deer, which is very common among them. This they employ in various services, especially in drawing their vehicles: its flesh they eat; and with its skin they are clothed. . . . Snow and frost never cease in their country: for this reason their skins are very white. The pelisse which covers them from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot they never change during their whole lives, unless, on its wearing out, they have to make themselves another. Their worship, as they told us, is to the heavens. When we looked on them, God preserve us! we shuddered with horror. They are all short, all of a size, all hump-backed, with short necks, and heads close between their shoulders. Their faces are perfectly smooth, without beards. When they moved in a body, you could hardly distinguish them from a herd of bears or other brute beasts. Their faces are as round as a well, and very large, with broad low foreheads, flat noses, and long, small, inverted, fissured eyes. The Greeks call them σκυλοκέφαλοι, *i. e.* dogfaced. The old men among them cannot be distinguished from the young. The servants in the convent of St. Cyril of Bielozersk, in which [*i. e.* in the city lodge of which] we were now residing, told us that the convent has a considerable revenue from its dependents of this tribe, paid wholly in deer-skins. To return: While we were still at table the patriarch Nicon sent for the chiefs of this party, about thirty persons in number; and they came to speak with him through

their interpreters. As soon as they entered, the whole assembly was struck with horror. They instantly bared their heads, by rolling back their caps, and bowed to the patriarch with great veneration, crouching to the ground all in a lump like pigs. He then began to question them. They told him of all, as we have just related. He inquired with what arms they fought: they replied, 'With bows and arrows.' He said: 'Is it really true that you eat the flesh of men?' They laughed, and answered: 'We eat our dead, and we eat dogs; how then should we not eat men?' He said: 'How do you eat men?' They replied: 'When we have conquered a man, we just cut away his nose, and then carve him into pieces and eat him.' He said: 'I have a man here who deserves death; shall I send for him and present him to you, that you may eat him?' Hereupon they began earnestly to entreat, saying, 'Good lord, whenever you have any men deserving death, only give them to us to eat, and you will do us a great kindness.' When the metropolitan Mira came to Moscow, it happened, in consequence of his many odious improprieties, and those of his servants and companions, that his archimandrites, with his pretended relatives [ἀνεψιοὺς] and deacons, were found smoking tobacco. They were all at once sent into banishment. He himself was only liberated by the intercession of the patriarch Patalaron, and was brought by the deacons afterwards to a monastery near the capital. The patriarch, however, had still much anger against him; for no crime with him is ever forgiven: and now he sent to have him brought to these savages, that they might devour him; but he was not to be found, having hidden himself. . . . Afterwards he asked them what their usual food was: they answered, 'Raw fish.' Then he gave them from his table a dish of excellent fish, and bread to eat with it; and they bowed to him, begging to be excused, saying, 'Our stomach will not admit of cooked meats; but give us, if you please, some raw fish.' On his ordering it to be given them, a large fish, a pike, was brought to them, frozen as hard as a board. This was thrown before them; and when they saw it they were much delighted, and returned many thanks. Then the patriarch bade them be seated, and they sat down; and the chief among them came forward and asked for a knife. Then taking the fish he made an incision round its head, and pulled off its skin from top to bottom with amazing dexterity. After-

wards he set about opening it, and cutting it into slices, threw them at his companions, who greedily snatched and ate them. When they had devoured the whole fish, skin, bowels, head, and all, without throwing away a single particle, they asked for another, which they used in the same way, snatching it from each other's hands with the most greedy contention. The smell of their belches now began to spread about the room; and our breath was almost taken away by the horrible stench from them and from their skinny clothes, on which they wiped their hands. We were pleased, however, to have seen this strange sight, which was not to have been expected, as these people come in a troop only at intervals of many years to attend the emperor; but now, to our great good luck, the whole tribe nearly was come for us to look at. They did not walk in the city except in large parties, for fear of any injury from the Muscovites: also we remarked that they were not suffered to lodge in the city or suburbs, but only in the fields remote from the public paths, lest they should hunt the men and eat them.

Vol. II. Part V. Book IX. *Muscovy.*

§ i. *Origin of the imperial family of Muscovy: history of the Tsar Ivan.* After the patriarch had dismissed the chiefs of the dogfaced tribe, he called in other persons; for just now there had arrived the voivode of the inner or northern Siberia, called the New World, which has recently been added to the emperor's dominions. The occasion of its conquest was this, that in the outer or southern Siberia there is settled a large body of Kozaks, very brave men; the same who subdued this southern Siberia in the time of the tsar Ivan, who lived about 112 years ago [so in A.D. 1543], and, before he died, became a monk. [Then follows a history in which John III. and John IV. the Terrible are blended together.] Before this prince the sovereign of Muscovy was not styled emperor, but great kniaz, and could scarcely assemble 100,000 men. All the Muscovite territory was then in the hands of kniazes, each holding by inheritance a portion of it; just as the Polish countries are now held by governors, each of whom is lord in his own territory, and independent of the crâl.

The origin of this imperial family of Muscovy is believed, by persons who examine into the truth of history, to have been from Rome, whence the present emperor's ancestors came by the great ocean about 700 years ago.

When the tsar Ivan had *fixed his residence* in this city, he soon showed himself very brave, crafty, irascible, and such a shedder of blood, that he slew his own son with his own hand. He contrived to bring to his court all the seventy kniazes who then ruled Muscovy, and put them all to death, seizing their treasures and troops and territories. Having so become very powerful, he made war upon twelve crâls of the Franks, and subdued them with like success. Afterwards he marched out against Kazan, then a kingdom of the Tatars; and he took the city, and slew all the population, and took the king alive, and kept him at Moscow till his death. And having no need of all the treasure amassed by his predecessor, he devoted it wholly to God, gilding with it the five great cupolas of the cathedral, and the nine cupolas of the church of the Annunciation, with its entire roof. Then he melted down all that remained of these treasures to make a very large cross, perhaps four cubits high and as many broad; and this he set on the chief dome of the church of the Annunciation, where it still stands, shining like the sun. Thus also he gilded the dome surmounting the lofty bell-tower, which is descried at a distance of more than ten versts. To return: The province of Kazan has three voivodes, and furnishes, as the belief is, 400,000 men for the army. We were told that there are still there some 60,000 Moslems paying capitation tax; but the greater part of its population consists of Tatars living in the deserts.

When the Emperor Ivan had conquered Kazan he marched against Astrachan, then in the hands of another Tatar prince, who ruled over all the north as far as Siberia, which is also Tatary. Indeed, all the inhabitants of Astrachan and Kazan are Tatars, who know Turkish. They are still professors of the Moslem unity; but, as they are poor, the emperors of Moscow work on them by the following course of medicine: every Tatar who undergoes baptism is promoted according to his condition; he is invested with a robe of honour; and some are made kniazes, &c. On this account they are continually being baptised in the name of the Christian Trinity; and they are said to

be very sincere in their faith; and we even remarked that they are more religious than ourselves. After the Tsar had reduced Astrachan, he made himself master of almost all the Persian or Caspian sea. He took from the Persians the city and port of Tarki, on that sea; and he opened the gate or narrow pass into a great part of the country of the Uzbeks, on whom he imposed a tribute of leopards and lions.

After this he marched to Siberia, and subdued that country in like manner, by the help of the Kozaks, whom we mentioned before as being acquainted with these regions foot by foot, which previously had been entirely unknown, and are still in course of being brought under subjection. On the Tatars dwelling in Siberia he laid a tribute, which they pay annually in birds of chase called krechet (falcons). These birds are white and very large, and are made presents of by the emperor of Muscovy. The emperor Ivan reigned eighty years, three only of which he is said to have passed in Moscow; the remaining seventy-seven he was making war of zeal for the Christian religion, and subduing the vast countries we have mentioned, and which he guided to the knowledge of the true God; so that from having been the regions of barbarians, of infidelity and superstition, they became those of Christians, of churches, and of monasteries.

In his reign he placed under the *metropolitan* of Moscow twelve subordinate metropolitans and bishops. The first of them are four metropolitans wearing white latias, viz. those of Novgorod (who wears a sakkos even in the presence of the patriarch), of Kazan, of Rostoff, and of Kroutitz (who resides always at the palace of the patriarch); the fifth is the archbishop of Siberia; the sixth the archbishop of Astrachan (these two never come to court on account of the distance); the seventh the archbishop of Riazan; the eight the archbishop of Tver; the ninth the archbishop of Souzdal; the tenth the archbishop of Vologda; the eleventh the archbishop of Pskoff; and the twelfth the bishop of Kolomna. For each of these twelve the above-mentioned emperor built a residence and a church in Moscow; and to each of them he assigned lands, rents, and stipends. In each of these episcopal palaces there are archons and attendants. All the regulations of government were framed by this emperor, even to those concerning the alms and charities; and they remain unaltered to the present time.

Having done all these illustrious acts, he deemed himself worthy to assume the crown and to be styled emperor, in consequence of the testimony borne to him by the other potentates, and their report, that the Cesar had sent him a crown, and given him the title of emperor: for the Cesar holds the place of Constantine, and it is he who crowns sovereign princes. From the time therefore of the tsar Ivan, his successors are styled emperors of Muscovy.

§ ii. *Account of the Siberian furs.* [At the end of this section there is the following note:] Know, brother, that the relation I have given is beyond all doubt; for *when I returned to Moscow a second time from the country of the Georgians, in company with the patriarch of Misr and my father* [that is when they came again in the autumn of A.D. 1666 to depose the patriarch Nicon], I examined and confirmed *all these accounts* to their foundation.

§ iii. *Account of Siberia. Rhubarb; fish-teeth; large dogs.* To return: The patriarch Nicon invited to his palace the voivode who was come from Siberia. He made his appearance, therefore, with a crowd of officers, grandees of that country, and deputies of the treasury, the accounts of which they were now come to the court to give in. We were much amazed at their appearance; for they are of a tawny colour, and very dry-skinned, looking like aloes-wood. Their faces are broad, and their eyes small. None of them have any beard. The hair on their head they wear tied up; and some tie it up with a portion of a horse's tail. Their apparel is of silk, dyed in beautiful colours. Their garments are not stitched, but looped with knots within each other. Figured on them in the web, on both sides, are forms of dragons (not such as are usually formed for devils), and other animals and wild beasts of frightful aspect, with eyes of crystal, and eyelids of bone. All are worked in gold brocade. They pride themselves much on these dresses, which are worn by none but their grandees and magistrates. These persons were not from the first or southern province of Siberia, nor yet from the second, but from the third, called the New World, which the Kozaks discovered six years ago, ... at a distance of several months' journey into the deserts [from their former frontier]. There were about 40,000 of them marching together (with their firelocks and other arms), for the purpose of catching sables. On a sudden they beheld themselves in a cultivated and habitable

spot, having supposed their own country the remotest towards the north, and their own the very last of human habitations. Raising their eyes, however, they saw before them a large city, with stupendous walls of rocks, situated in the midst of the sea. Finding some of the natives, they seized and bound them, not knowing their language, and carried them bound down to the beach, where they embarked in some boats and made off for the island. And having taken possession of the town, they imposed on the inhabitants a tribute, to be paid every three years to the emperor, to whom they sent an account of what they had done. Afterwards they went round to survey the place, and reported that the island is entirely surrounded by vast rocks for a circumference of three months' circuit; and the whole of the interior is studded with cliffs of huge mountains, like walls. On every side of it is the great ocean; and there is no entrance to it but by the one gate which the Kozaks had passed in their boats. All their crops are produced within these precincts, wherein are found mulberry-trees in abundance, from which the worms produce silk, which is very cheap among them: their clothes, therefore, are mostly made of it. The climate of this city approaches that of the eastern countries, as it lies *between the north and the east*. . . . As they have a gold-mine in this country, they manufacture with its produce the gold brocade which they use for their dresses. The tribute they pay to the emperor consists of sables, fish-teeth, and ingots of gold. Siberia in general is the great Tatar region, extending so far as to join the empire of China.

The first province of this Siberia is at a distance of between three and four months from Moscow, and most of its inhabitants are Moslems. They bring their tribute in birds of chase called kopchik (hawks), of which the sovereigns of Muscovy make presents to all the potentates.

The second Siberia, whence this voivode was lately come, is 30,000 versts distant, as he told the patriarch. He said that he had been absent from Moscow nine years; three years he had spent on his journey out, three he had remained there, and three he had been in returning. He had brought with him three years' tribute, according to custom, to the value of 180,000 dinars, in sables, ermines, and fish-teeth. The rule, as established by the emperor Ivan, is, that every voivode shall stay in his province three years, and no longer; but the voivode of

Siberia is appointed for nine years; three being allowed for his journey out, three for his stay, and three for his return. It is said that the number of troops in Siberia exceeds 200,000, most of whom are Kozaks. The whole population there is unacquainted with wheat-corn and the use of bread. Their food is only boiled fish and the flesh of wild animals; for snow and frosts never cease. However, it is said that at the Feast of the Apostles the frost at length thaws, and the rivers flow; but that again at the Assumption the snows fall and the frost returns; so that forty days make the whole of their summer.

The patriarch, through his interpreter, asked these people about their country; how many versts distant it was from Moscow. They answered: Forty thousand; and we have been absent from it above three years and a half. (For every thousand versts require a month's journey, especially when the roads are broken up.) Then the patriarch said, How do you travel? have you horses? No, they replied; but we have large dogs, which draw our wagons and sledges; and our roads in winter are easily traversed. He said, What do you eat? They answered, When we see a wild animal, we loose our dogs; and when they have caught it, we and our dogs eat it raw, without fire. What do you drink? said he. We find no water, said they; we therefore eat snow, which serves us instead of water. And our dogs, when they are thirsty, lick the ice. He asked them, What is your religious worship? They answered that they were Yonanis, meaning that they worshipped images and animals, and the sky. . . . Then the patriarch dismissed them. . . . The next year, when we were staying in Moscow, by the emperor's command there came from Siberia [the nearer or southern Siberia] many tribes of Tatars, of a strange habit, some of them resembling the Uzbeks in the length of their beards and the fulness of their dress, which was peculiarly rich. We conversed with them in Turkish. They told us that they had to pay a yearly tribute to the emperor of 3000 dinars, for which they brought him rhubarb and musk, which he sells to the Franks. . . . Here these people are under great restraint, and are not allowed to walk about by themselves: they must have streltses following them. Nor does any one speak a word with them but in the greatest secrecy, as we did. . . They told us that they formerly had mosques built of stone, and minarets, which this patriarch Nicon had sent and destroyed. They

call churches monasteries, and Christians they call Kozaks. The country of Sin they call Chin and Pa-chin, and Khota they call Khota-Khotay.

§ iv. *Account of Tatary. Treaty between the Tatars and the Russians.* To return: The patriarch then told our master about the queen of Khota and Khotaya, how she had recently sent to pay her respects to the emperor. The Muscovites call the country of Khota and Khotaya *Kitaiska*. About forty Kozaks having set out with muskets, and going eastwards, after travelling a long time, arrived at the frontier of the above-mentioned country. When the troops on guard beheld them, they were seized with terror: for the Kozaks immediately discharged their muskets, and the guards fell to the ground. When they arose, they conducted the Kozaks with great civility to their queen. She, as they said, was a widow, and governed the kingdom with a little son. After having entertained them at a banquet, she desired them to discharge their muskets, on which all the people of the city were struck with dread, and feared them greatly. They afterwards found interpreters, and she asked them about their kingdom. They told her it was of high degree, and possessed numerous armies. She said to them, There is a prophecy in writing among us that the white emperor is destined to subdue all the kingdoms of the earth. Is that perchance your emperor? Yes, replied they: and he has subdued a vast portion of it already. On this she said, Perhaps you will become mediators between us, to present him our submission, and to entreat him to send us troops with muskets like yourselves: on our part we will send him our treasures. They asked her, therefore, to send with them an ambassador; and they came with him to the emperor, bringing, among the presents, some ingots of silver. The emperor wished much to have some quantities of this silver brought to him (for they said it was as common in that country as stones, and the tiles of their houses were all made of it): and the ambassador was dismissed after the emperor had treated him with kindness, and consented to the wishes of the queen. They calculated that they should have three whole years to travel; and that though the silver were gold, they should have more trouble and expense with it than it was worth: so they gave up the undertaking. . . . These Kozaks brought with them some captives; who said that in their country there were

churches, and bells, which they are perpetually ringing; and they perform a certain worship; but no one knows to whom their worship is directed; for their religion, which was formerly Christian, has now been forgotten through length of time. Thus mention is made in the ancient τακτικὸν of a patriarch of Antioch of the four Catholic regions, saying: 'The third Catholic region is Khota and Khotaya;' an evidence of the truth of which assertion was now manifested by this mention of the fact of their ringing bells for worship. As we had such a foundation to go upon, we told them that they belonged to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch; and they were much surprised. The patriarch above mentioned relates that he sent them 500 priests, who were engaged in baptising them day and night. He says: 'They sent to inform me that they were baptising every day upwards of 20,000 persons.' Thus he writes; whether truly or falsely, we know not. This country, by their account, is beyond the ocean, rising like a cluster of towers on the brink of the sea: but towards Muscovy they have no other way but by land. Thus they said that the king of Spain [Portugal?] had subdued one side of their continent, and that all his silver came from their territory.

As for the sultan of Dhahab and his country, they are near the outer Siberia, between the north and the east. This prince submitted in the time of the present emperor's father, the Kozaks having reduced him to obedience. He sends to the emperor yearly gold ingots from the mines there, saddles made of gold wire and brocade, &c., fine horses, and armour of surprising beauty made of the purest yellow copper, harder than steel. The time required for going to this country is said to be about a year. The people are ugly, and wilder-looking than the Lobani (the dogfaced tribe), with large clubs of wood always hanging at their necks. In Turkish their sovereign is named Altoon Padishah, or king of gold. He is said to be of the sect of Hanifa: for before the conquest of this country by the emperor Ivan, on the north and east of it, all were Hanifites, *i. e.* Moslems. Even in the heart of this very city of Moscow there were Tatar *kings* at the time of Basil *the Macedonian*.

After this prince had sent his sister to Vladimir king of Kieff, and *all that country had been baptised by the hands of St. Peter*, who has been already mentioned, the saint came to

this city of Moscow, which was then in the possession of the Tatars, and performed *here* great miracles. For this reason they loved him much, and believed everything he told them: yet, when he saw that they did not embrace the faith of Christ, he said to them, 'Behold, I will show you a sign from the Lord; fire to burn you, and water to drown this your city.' They arose therefore, and departed from it for a period, and believed in him; and finally removed to the borders of Kazan. Upon this he immediately sent to call king Vladimir and his army; and gave into his hands this city, with all its possessions, without trouble or slaughter. After this they became powerful, and conquered many countries. This Vladimir had twelve sons, each of whom he made king in his respective territory. He built many cities, of which one is still called by his name. Thus the provinces became divided from that time; and were subdivided to the number of seventy, as has been mentioned above, until the reign of the emperor Ivan. Afterwards St. Peter effected a treaty between the Russians and the Tatars; and imposed, in favour of the latter, a tribute on Vladimir and his sons, which they were to pay to the Tatars annually, till they should be remunerated for the cession of their territory; pronouncing anathemas on the party who should break the treaty. It is this saint who built the second wall of the city, outside the palace: for in the time of the Tatars nothing existed but the castle (the kremlin), which is now the palace. The treaty continued in force till the time of the emperor Ivan; when he marched and conquered Kazan, and forced those who escaped to fly to Astrachan. After he had taken this city also, the inhabitants all fled to the Tatar country which is still in their possession, viz. the Crimea, Bakche-serai, Kaffa, &c. From Astrachan to Crim, the residence of the khan, is only fifteen days' journey. The Tatars had under them all the lands and countries which lie to the north [south?] of the stream which runs from Poutivl to Moscow; and they are still called by their names. Over these the princes of Muscovy prevailed by artifice in the following manner. Between the two nations were lands lying waste and deserted for a distance of forty or fifty days' journey. Each emperor used to send and build a castle; and then, enclosing the surrounding country, he thus took possession of the territory; for the Tatars were not strong enough to pre-

vent the encroachment; till the time of this emperor, who during his reign has built thirteen castles, besides the forts and towers erected on the trenches dug by his orders between his territory and theirs. The main trench, they told us, is very deep and broad; it is 5000 versts in length, *i.e.* from near Poutivl to the mouth of the Volga: it is very skilfully fenced all along its banks with wooden railing: on it he has built thirty large forts; and at every thirty versts there is a tower with a garrison of 500 men. They say that the whole number of these garrisons is about 60,000 men. . . . Whereas, then, formerly Crim was about forty days' journey from Moscow, it is now within five days' journey of the emperor's frontier. For the reason above stated the emperor still pays every year in money, sables, ermine, vestments, &c. to the khan and the mirzas, some say to the amount of 12,000 piastres. Others say that the tribute was at first, in the time of St. Peter and afterwards, 40,000 dinars; but at present, in the reign of this emperor, the whole thing has been broken up, and he sends them only a very trifling sum, about 12,000 dinars; and this not through fear of them, but for the rent of their lands, of which the Muscovites have taken possession. And were it not for the anathema of St. Peter, they would have cut off the whole tribute. It is now about ten years since the present emperor's accession, and during that time the Tatars have not once trespassed on his territory, nor taken from him one single captive. . . . During the two years that we were in the country he was wishing entirely to cut off the tribute paid to them; but owing to the war which broke out between him and the Poles he did not do it, knowing how many millions of treasure the Poles had promised to the Tatars, if they would march to their assistance. Afterwards the Poles mocked the Tatars, and gave them nothing.

§ v. *Treatment of foreign ambassadors. Expulsion of the Armenians and English. Trade of the English.* There comes at the opening of every year a Tatar ambassador with a suite of fifty persons, who stay at Moscow a year as hostages. After the arrival of another to replace him, he takes the tribute, and departs. So also a Muscovite ambassador with his suite is sent to the khan, and stays a year. The residence of the Tatar ambassador at Moscow is outside the earthen rampart, where he is very strictly watched by a guard of streltsi: these never permit

any person to go in to see him or any of his suite; and when any one of them goes out to the market, he is accompanied by a strelits with his halberd. . . . The Tatar ambassador is allowed daily a horse (which the Tatars kill and eat), besides sheep, fowls, liquors, &c. The Turkish embassy is allowed daily ten sheep, an ox, twenty fowls, five ducks, and five geese; besides ten okas of butter and ten of honey, and wax, wood, and sherbet, &c. In addition, they and their suites receive a certain number of kopecks daily. In the same manner is treated the ambassador of the Kizzilbash [the Persian]; and every other ambassador, in proportion to the number of their attendants. Indeed, everything they ask for they obtain. With none, however, of these ambassadors do they at all mix; regarding as unclean all foreigners of a different religion from theirs, and holding them in the greatest abhorrence. . . . As for the whole class of priests and monks, not one of them ever dares to speak with a Frank or foreigner on any occasion whatsoever; and over them there is a particularly strict watch. In this city there are many Franks from Germany and Sweden, and of the English nation, merchants, with their families and children, who formerly resided within the walls, in the centre of the town. But this patriarch has recently driven them out; for he bears an immense hatred against all heretics. The immediate cause of this was that, when he passed in procession through the streets, he observed these people not taking off their caps, nor crossing themselves to the crosses and pictures. Having ascertained that they were Franks wearing the Muscovite dress, he forced the emperor to drive them out, not only from this city, but from all the fortified towns, causing them to dwell without the walls, excepting only those who were willing to be baptised. They destroyed also the churches which these foreigners possessed from the most ancient times, together with the mosques of the Tatars; nor did they permit them to build others among themselves outside. Among them they particularly distinguished the Armenians dwelling at Astrachan, whose churches they laid waste, and whom they compelled to take up their abode without the city. By these means they forced them, and others like them, to be baptised publicly both day and night. It is said that one of them was a very great merchant, and interpreter at the court of the emperor. When the imperial order was issued by the patriarch,

that they should lay aside the Muscovite dress, and shave their beards according to their own custom, this merchant, who had a very long and large white beard, sent to offer the patriarch a fine of 50,000 dinars to permit him to retain it. But the patriarch refused; for he needed not the money. How should he in a city of this magnitude, *governed only by two persons, himself and the emperor?* The only answer he returned was, 'Be baptised; become like one of us.' The merchant, however, would not. And the Armenians were all expelled to a man. They had great princely palaces, built of stone, which they were forced to sell to the Muscovites.

There are in this city resident consuls from the king of England, from the king of the Flemings, from Germany, and from Sweden, as there are residing with us at Aleppo. When the English some time ago rose against their king, and put him to death, this emperor Alexis was enraged* at them for their treason against their sovereign, and drove them out from every part of his dominions; until now that the new king [Charles II.] has sent to him [from the Hague] a special ambassador to reconcile his heart, and we obtained a sight of him.

§ vi. *Account of Circassia and Georgia. History of Timouraz Khan and the queen Helena.* . . . The Georgians have two ways to Moscow, one by land, the other by the Caspian sea; only that the latter is much exposed to danger; and when they have attained a port of safety, they arrive next at the Iron Gate, which Iskander built between two mountains, that none might pass hence to the frontier of the Crimea. He built here also a castle, which is in the hands of the Persians to this time. Whoever passes must necessarily pass by this gate, from which to the frontier of Georgia is a distance of fifteen days' journey, that is, to the frontier of Timouraz Khan. It is the custom of the emperors of Muscovy to send to this prince much treasure, besides sables, arms, and so forth. Two years ago the present emperor sent him three ambassadors together, accompanied by 700 men. With them he sent 377 soroks of the finest sables, each sorok worth 300 dinars; he sent also 40,000 Spanish dol-

* These rebels were executing the punishment of God against the sin of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; and Alexis, who was so angry against them, was within a few years, in spite of such warnings, to sin over again the sins of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth in Russia. 'Thou who abhorrest rebellion, dost thou commit sacrilege?'

lars, 10,000 pieces of gold, and arms and furniture. These he dispatched in ships. When they arrived at Astrachan, they transferred themselves to other vessels of the Caspian sea: . . their vessels were wrecked, and all sank to the bottom. Only twenty or thirty of them were saved, and got to land in a state of nakedness. . . . When the emperor heard this, he sent another quantity of treasure with another embassy. It is their custom to send three persons at the head of an embassy, one above another. In like manner they treble the secretaries and the interpreters. When these persons had passed the sea, and, having landed, were approaching the confines of Georgia, the principal envoy died. Observe the adversities which at this time perplexed Timouraz Khan: first, the murder of his son; secondly, the seizure by the Persians of his country; thirdly, the miscarriage of these envoys, the first and the second time. This last misfortune compelled the Muscovites to halt where they were; and they sent one of the Greek monks who were with Timouraz Khan to inform the emperor of the death of the ambassador, and to inquire who was to act in his stead. This Greek monk *is now*, during this Lent, arrived at Moscow. He came to pay his respects to our master, having known him when he was metropolitan of Aleppo. He told us that he had been eighty days on the road, riding post, and taking fresh horses at every place; that he had ruined twenty-five horses; and that he rode during these eighty days without stopping day or night. He observed that the road is difficult, with high mountains to pass, and very perilous on the side of Circassia, whence issue many robbers, who not only strip travellers, but sell them to the Persians and Tatars. For this reason travellers prefer the passage by sea, though attended with so much danger of shipwreck. One side of the Circassian country is subject to the Persian shah; but the remainder of it rebels against him. Each of the chiefs is independent. He said that at times he was escorted by 500 horse to protect him, though passing through a country subject to the emperor. . . . Subsequently, after Easter, the emperor dispatched him with an ambassador in a vessel on the river.

When the emperor learned that the Persians were making war upon Timouraz Khan, after having killed his son David, he was much enraged; and immediately he sent to the shah an embassy, saying, 'From ancient times until now there has never

arisen any war between us: why then have you now made war upon my territory and subjects?' When the shah saw the violence of his rage he had recourse to a denial, and sent to pacify him, saying, 'We are brothers. Till now I had no knowledge of what has passed; but now I have been informed that it is one of my governors in rebellion against me, who has been guilty of this. For your sake therefore I have sent to order him to retire from the Georgian territory, and to restore Timouraz Khan to his place.' . . . The present shah styles the emperor his brother, as their age is equal: it is said that they were born on the same day. Their age is now twenty-seven. In consequence of the great amity subsisting between the two states, when the grandfather of the present shah, shah Abbas, thirty-two years ago, subdued the capital of Georgia, and found the coat of our Lord in one of the cathedrals, he sent it to the late emperor Michael, together with all they had plundered of sacerdotal robes. . . . We saw it [the tunic of our Lord] afterwards on Good Friday, and worshipped and kissed it. It is in its original casket, adorned with gems, with its Georgian inscription. The casket is smaller than a neatly-written missal, and about the size of one of its pages; but it is more elegantly shaped and thinner than a missal. The divine coat is of fine brown linen, filling the case, so that the cover shuts with difficulty upon it.

To return: Then the emperor sent to Timouraz Khan, requesting him to send to him the widow of his son David, with her son Nicholas, that he might marry him to his eldest daughter Eudoxia: for the emperors of Muscovy love this Timouraz Khan and his children exceedingly, and style him king (tsar), knowing that he is of ancient origin in his dominions. . . . When we afterwards arrived in Georgia, in A.M. 7173 [A.D. 1664-5] the people told us that the genealogy of Timouraz Khan goes up as high as to David the king and prophet. They say that David of Kerbela, prince of Georgia, who warred against the emperor Basil the Macedonian, was one of their ancestors: but the other four principalities which exist at this time in Georgia have no remote origin. . . . Timouraz Khan complied with the emperor's desire, and sent him his son's widow, the queen Helena, with her son, the young prince Nicholas. But the shah hearing of it, sent 500 horsemen to take them . . . and as the troops escorting the queen were few in number, the Persians, having slain

the greater part, made all the suite prisoners. When the queen saw what was passing, she cut off her hair, and, disguising herself and her son in mean garments, fled away in the darkness (for it was night), and so she and a few of her people escaped; and before dawn of day she had reached a Turkish fort. Thence they escorted her to Astrachan, and afterwards to Moscow, &c.

§ vii. *Account of the church bells, towers, and cupolas in Moscow.* The number of the steps of the belfry in which is the great bell is 144. From this tower they pass to the place where are the two bells appropriated to the week-days and to the eves of festivals; to the small church of the Nativity; and to a second still higher belfry; as they are all in one row. . . . Note that near the outside of the corner of the sanctuary, in the cathedral, is a small bell, with a man to attend to it; and when it is time to toll the bell, in winter after the second hour [8 A.M.], in summer after the third or fourth [9 or 10 A.M.], this man comes and rings this bell *once*. The men above, who are on the watch, then begin to toll the large bell by the clapper for an hour. On the entrance of the patriarch into the church, the same man comes and rings the small bell *twice;* and when the others hear it, they cease their ringing, till the clergy have recited all the hours to the end. When the mass begins, the man rings the small bell so that those above can hear it; upon which, knowing that it is time for mass, they begin to chime the bells one by one. Then the persons standing in the second lofty belfry answer them with all the middle-sized bells together; and the others at the same time with their day-bell three times. If it is a Sunday or a great festival, they finish with all the great bells, together with this huge bell, the sound of which issues forth like the rolling of thunder. . . . This huge and lofty belfry, the top of which is gilt, is seen at a great distance, particularly when the rays of the rising or setting sun fall upon its cupola. The late metropolitan Isa in his poem says, 'In the palace of the emperor there are twenty-five cupolas of gold.' . . . Of these the Sobor [the cathedral of the Assumption] has five; the church of the Annunciation, nine; the empress's church above, dedicated to St. Catherine, two; a church of St. Anne near it, two; behind the court of the palace there is a lofty church, with a large gilt cupola, dedicated to the Nativity of our Lady. . . . The high

belfry has also its cupola. In the Chudoff monastery there are two cupolas, the larger one immediately over the tomb of St. Alexis, the smaller one over the sanctuary. Behind the empress's palace there is another church with two cupolas; and outside the palace, in the middle of the kremlin, there is another cupola, over the church of the Entrance (εἰσόδια) of our Lady. These cupolas in all are twenty-five, gilt with gold by the tsar Ivan, and so remaining from that time *until the moment of our finishing this chapter.*

To return: The tolling of the bells in the evening, in like manner, is begun at the signal of the man who rings the small bell; and it is continued a short time, till the entrance of the patriarch into the church. When he has notified to them this, they strike a number of the bells together once; and this is the announcement of vespers. In the same way, in the night-time, the man makes his signal; on which they ring the appointed bell for a good while, to rouse the whole city to get up and ring the bells of their respective churches: nor do they cease in the common churches from midnight till morning. The ringers aloft, at the signal of the man below that the patriarch has entered the church, discontinue their ringing, till the time when the matins begin, of which he gives them notice, and then they ring the appointed bells both large and small, according to custom. When it is a Sunday or festival of our Lord, they finish, as we said before, with the huge bell, ringing it for some length of time. With it they ring also all the rest of the bells, at the time of the πολυέλαιον three times; once only at the reading of the gospel. The rule for their rising to night prayers in the winter season, when it is not a festival of our Lord, is that they ring the appointed bell at the eleventh hour during the long nights: if it is Sunday or a distinguished festival, they ring the bell at the ninth hour. In the summer season, when the nights are short, they ring for the vespers *before* nightfall, after 9 o'clock [3 P.M.], and for matins at 4 of the night [1 A.M.], throughout the week. But on the eves of Sundays and festivals they ring them at nightfall, before the first hour of the night is past. On this account we suffered great torment, and excessive watching and discomfort; particularly on the eves of Sundays and festivals, of which latter there is an almost continual succession. We were much annoyed with the ringing of the bells, at

the sound of which the very earth trembled, and that being uninterrupted from midnight to daybreak; for in this city there are some thousands of churches. . . . After much inquiry of others, I asked the patriarch's archdeacon how many churches there were. He answered, that there were above 4000 [400?]. But the chapels or sacristies in which mass is every day performed are more than 10,000 [1000?]; for every church in this city has three sanctuaries or more, and every church, however poor, has ten large and small bells hung over its gate, which they ring successively; but on Sundays and festivals, and on the stated nights, they ring them all at once. How expansive this is to the heart of a Christian! when perhaps in Constantinople and Antioch together there are not 2000 churches, nor 2000 [200?] bells.

§ viii. *Pay of the clergy. Character and anecdotes of the emperor.* Every priest in this city has his stipend from the emperor of two rubles annually; the deacon has one ruble. There is one ruble allowed to the candle-lighter; and six kopecks are allowed for preparing and baking the προσφόραι (oblations). Those churches which have no peasants paying their rent are provided for by the emperor. . . . The regularity of all the Muscovites, both rich and poor, in their attendance at church, is very great. Their love for *metánoias* (bowings and prostrations), which they repeat over and over again, and for holy images, is indescribable. *Perhaps they surpass even the saints themselves* in the number of their prayers. These devout people are not merely the common people, but also the ministers of state as well, and the grandees of the empire, with their ladies. Their emperor and empress are the leaders of the nation in religious observances: how then should the courtiers be otherwise than devout? We were informed that one of the excellences of this monarch is, that he is used to go to the festivals of most of the principal saints in their own churches on foot, abstaining from the use of his carriage through love and veneration for them. He stands up from the beginning of the mass to the end with his head uncovered, like one of the people, bowing continually in metánoias, and striking his forehead on the ground before the icon of the saint, in weeping and lamentation; and this in the presence of the whole assembly. Within his palace, and in the company of his empress, he is said with her to use his constant endeavour to walk *more holily even than the*

manners of the saints, by patient watching and persevering prayer in his church during the length of the night. What we here relate we partly heard from others, and partly saw with our own eyes. *In its proper place we will* give an account of what the emperor did in the first week of Lent. The interpreter told us that he [the emperor] asked the patriarch of Jerusalem, when he was dining with him [in A.D. 1648, when Nicon was consecrated metropolitan of Novgorod by this same patriarch of Jerusalem, Paisius], 'Batushka! I have been told of Vasili bey of Moldavia, that he is very rich, that he is gentle, and fond of building churches, and giving alms. But is it true that he stands in church with his calpack on his head, without ever taking it off?' The patriarch answered: 'Yes, it is true; for I myself observed that he never took off his calpack at all except when the gospel was read, and when the [representative] body of our Lord was carried round' [*i.e.* in the great introit]. This, *as I afterwards learned*, was for two reasons: the one was for his great magnificence; the other because the hair under his calpack was white, while his beard &c. was dyed black, that he might appear younger than he was. When, said the interpreter, he had ascertained this fact from the patriarch, he raised both his hands to heaven and exclaimed, 'O Lengthener of his days, how is it that thou cuttest not off the life of this man, who dares thus to stand before thee?' And this proved to be a denunciation of the emperor against Vasili. This accords with what we have said of Vasili before; for not only did he not take off his calpack in the church, but he neglected to do it even to the bishops, and constantly sat on his throne at the head of the divan, whilst our master was seated in humble guise on his right: whereas the present emperor of Muscovy, and all his predecessors in the empire, have always been used to stand in the church with their heads uncovered; and not only that, but they have always uncovered to the bishops and to the priests. Such has been their custom through their great excellence, their humility, and their entire exemption from arrogance.

We heard also that the grandees in the time of his father held the present emperor in no respect, as he was a sincere and affable youth, of a weak constitution, and no lover of blood or of war, or of anything of the kind: and they went so far as to nickname him '*the young monk*.' He, however, has now over-

powered his contemners, and has reduced them to the lowest condition, and killed most of them. We were told that he *killed one of them with his own hand in the midst of the council.* This man had been sent to bring up troops for an expedition. On his appearance the people of the province came to him and entreated him (bribing him at the same time) to give them a respite. He returned therefore, and interceded for them.... The emperor guessed what had passed; and having secretly made inquiry, he sent for the wretched man, and killed him with his own sword in the midst of the council, being a valiant young man, and of great severity. And whereas the Muscovites were before averse to wars, . . . the emperor and the present patriarch have treated their wisdom as folly; and the emperor has gone out in person to war to strengthen the courage of his subjects, and to fight, as he said, for Christ. And as such was his design, so was his hope granted to him; for he not only lately took Smolensk, a city which his ancestors had built, but he afterwards made himself master of all the towns of Poland (*as we shall have* frequent occasion to mention), one by one, and entirely subverted the dominion of the Poles.

Last year [A.D. 1651?], we were told, he set out with his grandees to visit a monastery outside the city; and instead of crossing the bridge by which his road lay, he descended with his horse into the middle of the river where it is deep and rapid, and arrived at the other side all wet. Then he cried out to his nobles, 'He who does not cross where I have loses his head.' They followed him therefore in the greatest vexation. Most of them being large fat men, they sank up to their necks, and with difficulty kept their own and their horses' heads above water, while the emperor looked on and laughed aloud. At length they got over to the farther bank, in the most wretched plight, with their fine clothes dripping, and began to upbraid the emperor with having really meant their deaths. But he answered: 'I wished to lessen your fat paunches, which you fed up, in my father's time, in rest and idleness.' Then he rode on to the church of the monastery, where they stood at the mass, he being with them in his wet clothes, and the water dripping from them. Then they all left the church shivering, and begged him to let them go their ways, to change their clothes: but he would not, till he had made them drink three cups of brandy, one after the

other, saying, 'We have to-day earned great merit and a vast reward, having assisted at mass half-drowned as we were.' They also told a story of him, that one Sunday he assisted, as usual, at matins. It is the custom for the grandees on these occasions to come from their houses and attend him: but it chanced on this day that they did not know of his going so early, and put off their attendance upon him till noon: he immediately wrote down the absentees, sent to bring them from their houses, with their hands tied behind their backs, and ordered them all, with their fine clothes and gold brocades, to be thrown by the hands and feet into the river Moskva, flowing near his palace, while he talked to them, and said: 'This is your reward; which you have merited by preferring sleep with your wives to the splendid lustre of this blessed morning, and by not coming out to assist at matins with your emperor.' *Many stories similar to these are told of him.*

§ ix. *Continuation of the history of Radzivil. Perfidy of the Poles.* To return to our history: On the morning of the Sunday of Cheese-week, Feb. 25, after we had entered the cathedral, there came the patriarch Nicon; and they chanted Ἄξιον ἐστὶν and πολλὰ ἔτη. In the mean time he saluted our master; and they went together to kiss the icons and the relics as usual, and then to be robed at the west end of the church. Then the emperor entered the church, and the singers chanted a πολυχρόνιον. After he had done his reverence to the icons at the doors of the sanctuary, he approached the patriarchs. The patriarch of Moscow descended from his throne to meet him, and blessed him, first with his right hand, then with the cross, upon his forehead, and sprinkled him with the ἁγιασμὸς; and also his crown carried upon his sceptre by one of the grandees at a distance. When the emperor had kissed the hand of the patriarch, the latter in turn embraced the head of the emperor with his hands, and kissed it, as he is used to do. In like manner did our master also. Then the emperor bowed to them, and went round, and came and stood in front of the large pillar (or pier) covered with red satin, near them, and looking towards them as usual. When we entered the sanctuary [*i.e.* at the lesser introit], the emperor also entered [by the south side-door], and stood in the treasury [*i.e.* in the σκευοφυλάκιον, the sacristy or diaconicum], looking at us. Then we sang the *trisagion* in Greek; and the readers,

whom the patriarch Nicon was endeavouring to teach to take their parts in Greek, of his love for that language, joined with us.

On this day news came that Radzivil had come with 12,000 men to lay siege to Mohileff. When the emperor took this city, the voivode there was baptised, and was left still governor in conjunction with one of the emperor's voivodes, who commanded the troops. This was after he had sworn on the cross and the gospel fidelity to the emperor. But an oath with the Poles goes for nothing. Thus they acted towards the hetman Khmielnitsky many times. But this profanation of God's name has proved their ruin. As perfidy, then, is no sin in their eyes, this voivode fled one night secretly, with all his people, and went to his patron Radzivil, with whom he came to lay siege to the city. No sooner had the emperor learned this, than he fell into a violent rage: he gave the letters to the patriarch, to read them immediately in the church, as the patriarch was the chief of his privy councillors [*i.e.* he went in at the side-door, and so gave the letter to the patriarch while the choirs were singing, that so he might understand his desire, signified at the same time, to have the prayers for soldiers going out to war said over certain persons at the end of the liturgy]. . . . The emperor now determined therefore to select six of his twelve ministers [archons, or commanders], and send them before him, this very day, to meet Radzivil, resolving to follow them soon in person; and this after all the people had reckoned upon his being with them for Easter. We, in particular, had hoped that he would settle our affairs by the Easter holidays, and dismiss us before he departed. . . Then he wrote down the names of the six officers, within the church; and, after the two patriarchs had come out from the sanctuary, and the patriarch of Moscow, taking his station at the *ἄμβων*, had read the homily for the day, preaching upon it, and explaining its meaning at great length, he made the *ἀπόλυσις* (the dismissal), and descended, together with our master, to bless the emperor, and to wish him health for the *ἀποκρέα*. The emperor now presented the six officers to the patriarchs, having gone out himself to the outside of the west door of the church, and called them by their names, one by one, to present them; begging the patriarchs to recite over them the prayers for war. They did so, and presented to each of them

the cross to kiss, and sprinkled them with the holy water; and they departed.

On this occasion the metropolitan of Novgorod concelebrated with the patriarch, vested in his sakkos, according to his constant custom, together with the metropolitan of Rostoff (who was vested in a phenolion). They were come to pay their respects to the emperor; and each of them, after bowing to him, presented him with ten icons of the titular saint or festival of their cathedrals, these being for the emperor, the empress, their son, and the emperor's sisters and daughters. We did not leave the church till the afternoon, half-dead with exhaustion and cold; and we had scarcely sat down to table when the bells sounded again. For the vespers the emperor came with the empress to the convent of nuns opposite to us, in which are the tombs of all the empresses.

§ x. *Observance of Lent. Black bread and quass.* From the morning of Mond. 26th Feb. [the first day of Lent], till the following W., for these three days, there is no opening of shops to sell any victuals whatsoever. The emperor with his empress are used to fast these three days, devoting themselves to prayer, watching, and metánoias, and appearing plainly clad in the churches day and night, as we ourselves witnessed on the present occasion, till after the liturgy on Wednesday; when the emperor breaks his fast on slices of sweet cake, and sends portions of it to his grandees. Then he again fasts till the Saturday, when, after having assisted at the liturgy and received the holy mysteries and the *ἀντίδωρον*, he again breaks his fast. During this whole week he sees no one, nor attends to any worldly business, unless there be some necessary affair of state. In like manner do all the grandees pass this week, being assiduous at prayers in their churches day and night: nor do the common people buy or sell during it, but attend the churches. As to the wine and spirit taverns, &c., the emperor's streltses seal them all up; and thus they remain till after Wednesday in Easter-week. Woe to any one if he be found drunk, or with a vessel of liquor in his hand! . . . But the Muscovites are very cautious during this first week of Lent, and on the Wednesdays and Fridays of the following weeks, during Passion-week, and on the four days of Easter, not to get drunk; for if they do, they are flogged through the streets unmercifully, and thrown

for some days into prison. In the same manner the emperor is used to fast with his nobles in the week of the Passion: he does not break his fast after receiving the mysteries on Holy Thursday, but continues fasting till Easter-eve.

The order of service in the common churches is like that of the convents. . . . Their entrance into the churches every day, after the bells have tolled, is after the sixth hour; and they do not come out till after the eighth or ninth, for they are very long in their prayers, particularly in reading the cathisms, and in making their metánoias, all of which are to the earth.

§ xi. *Presentation of gifts. Bishoprics and convents. Quarry of talc.* On Sat. [3d March, the eve of the First Sunday in Lent] we went with our presents to the metropolitan of Novgorod. We found him dressed in his mandya and latia to receive us, with his crosier in his hand, turned towards the icon-stand and the lighted candles; and he chanted in a low voice the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν, &c. At the conclusion we bowed to him, and he blessed us. We then presented to him blessing and salutation from our lord the patriarch of Antioch, by the tongue of the imperial interpreter, who always went about with us. The metropolitan made many metánoias to the earth in honour of our master; and we, in like manner, bowed to him, and offered him our present. He kissed every tray, and at the end bowed much, and returned many thanks. Then he went into his inner apartment, and brought out to us plated pictures representing the title of his cathedral, St. Sophia. Then he made a gift to each of us of some kopecks wrapped in paper; and we bowed to the icons and to him, and having received his blessing, went forth.

In like manner we went to the metropolitan of Rostoff. . . . We only knew the names of the cathedrals of the bishops by the icons distinguishing them, which are seen on all the bishop's robes and ornaments. If it is his sakkos, there is gold thread forming this picture on its sleeves; the same is also on his omophorion, his cincture, and his epitrachelion. Thus, when they make presents to the emperor, it is of the icons appropriate to their sees: for it is their practice to come at the Nativity and the Baptism of Christ to make him a festal present of icons, and so return to their sees. In like manner they come at Easter . . . Not only have these bishops each of them a painter

continually employed in painting for them icons to make presents of, but even the archimandrite of every convent of any note has one in like manner; and the title of his monastery is embroidered on his sacerdotal dress, on his sleeves, his epitrachelion, and his cincture. . . .

Our lord the patriarch spoke the truth when he said, 'All these customs and institutions existed formerly among us, in the time of our emperors; and, being lost from us, came to these people, who have cultivated and augmented them beyond our experience.' He asked the patriarch Nicon, one day, what was the number of the convents in the whole Muscovite empire. Nicon answered, 'There are more than 3000, without including the country of the Kozaks.' He added, 'We have three convents which are large imperial castles, and are very rich.' These are, first, that of the H. Trinity, the largest and richest of all; that of St. Cyril of Bieloozero; and that of Solovetzky, or Solovka, founded by SS. Zosimus and Sabbatius, on an island in the Northern Ocean, in which there is a quarry of talc. This they cut out in slabs. . . . In this country they make of it mirrors, window-panes, &c. The Persian merchants take of it many shiploads, as do also the Franks and the Greeks; and whoever travels this way takes some of it; for it is produced nowhere else. . . . As to the fish-teeth, they say that they are taken from a sea animal which goes forth and sits upon the ice. Then the Muscovites come to it, and say, 'A guest is come to visit thee;' to which of course it makes no answer. Then they strike it with spears having coils of rope fastened to them; and, as the animal runs away, they draw it back several times, and killing it, draw out its large teeth.

§ xii. *Festival of the icons on the first Sunday in Lent. Degeneracy of the Greeks.* To return: On the 4th of March, the first Sunday in Lent, early, they tolled the cracked bell, with the rest all round, to assemble the bishops and archimandrites, &c. with the deacons to carry their icons to the cathedral. After they had tolled this bell a short time, they ceased, and began with the other bells, one by one. In the forenoon they tolled the small bells and the larger ones, together with the huge bell, all of them three separate times, each round. Thus they rang till the whole city shook: and all the men hastened forth with their wives and children and infants, in their best

clothes; for this is a very great day with them, and they throng to the cathedral with great zeal to meet the icons and the relics; and most of them kiss the icons only on this day. The tsar sent to invite the patriarch of Antioch, who went in an imperial sledge; and we remained in it till they had finished ringing all the bells three times. This is the signal of the patriarch's entrance into the cathedral, which to-day was about the third hour. It is customary for the deacons [and clerks], on a day like this, to put on their sticháría, and go in a body to his palace, bearing large tapers in their hands. When they present themselves before him, they chant as usual [the troparion of the day or season], and those whose duty it is take him by the arms, and bear his train. Before he entered the church, the archdeacon and the protodeacon had preceded him; and having vested themselves, they came out from the sanctuary, and met him with the censers. Then he ascended to his throne and made his adorations, while they chanted the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν and the πολυχρόνιον. And, having blessed the people with the triple lights, he came down from his throne, and saluted our master. Then they went together to kiss the icons, the relics, the casket containing the tunic of Christ, the sanctuary, the cross, the gospel, and the altar of the πρόθεσις, as usual. After this we went out, and robed them. And, after they had blessed the people, we went with them, outside the south door of the cathedral, to meet the emperor, who approached, wearing his imperial robes and crown, while all the bells rang. The priests and archimandrites preceded the emperor with the icons from the churches in the palace, coming from the side of the church of the Annunciation, in rows and rows before him, till they were all come up, and took their places near the doors. Then the patriarch took the censer, and incensed them one by one: then he incensed our master, and afterwards the emperor, who was bareheaded. Then they both together blessed him, and we entered the church. The patriarch ascended to his throne [on the platform]; whilst our master took his station on his right hand, and the bishops with their priests [deacons?] on each side. The emperor's archimandrites and priests, bearing the icons, placed themselves near him on the east side. After he had paid his usual devotions to the icons, and the singers had chanted for him the πολυχρόνιον, he came and stood near the two patri-

archs, bowing to them. They advanced to meet him, and, bowing to him, blessed him, sprinkling him and his retinue, at a distance, with the ἁγιασμὸς, and presenting him the cross to kiss. Then he went and stood in his usual place, near the pillar. After the reading of the hours, they began the liturgy, and we entered into the sanctuary. On this day the patriarch Nicon had five bishops concelebrating with him, viz. the metropolitan of Novgorod and the archbishops of Kazan and Vologda on his right, and the metropolitan of Rostoff with the archbishop of Tver (after the archbishop of Servia) on his left. Whenever the patriarch celebrates, he has always five mitred archimandrites with their deacons to concelebrate with him, viz. those of the Choudoff, the Novospass, the Simonoff, and the Andronieff monasteries. The protopope of this cathedral of the Assumption, with his colleagues, and the protopope of the church of the Archangel, with his colleagues, also assist at the liturgy, which is attended by more than forty deacons and subdeacons, &c.: and though it be a common week-day, all these persons equally attend whenever the patriarch celebrates. When the patriarch had incensed round about the altar, he went out and incensed the emperor. Before the trisagion the archdeacon went out, and mounted the ambon; and the ecclesiarch placed before him what is usually read on this day; and he began to read with a loud voice, very slowly and deliberately, till at the end he mentioned the two saints, patrons of the day, each of them separately. When he ceased, the priests within the sanctuary, and all the clergy with them, chanted 'Everlasting remembrance!' thrice; and the singers without responded in the same words thrice. Every time that the archdeacon named a saint, the ἐφημέριος of the church and the deacons brought his icon and presented it to the patriarch, who bowed to it and kissed it, as did also our master. Then they carried it out to the emperor, who bowed to it and kissed it likewise. He was standing bareheaded before the patriarch's chair, with his hands in his bosom on account of the cold. When they had presented the icon to the emperor, they carried it back into the sanctuary, where the bishops and all the rest kissed it. Thus they went on, repeating thrice with one voice for each saint, 'Everlasting remembrance!' till they had finished our saints. Then they began with their own. When they named those of Novgorod, the

metropolitan of that see came out with their icons, and presented them to the patriarchs and to the emperor, as well as to all the assistants. So also did the metropolitan of Rostoff in his turn, and all the others. Then they named those of the Greek emperors who are reputed to have been godly, and chanted in like manner for each of them; and after them they began the commemoration of all their own emperors, who have now succeeded each other on the throne for more than seven hundred years, with their wives and children, from the time that they became Christians down to Michael, father of the present emperor. Of all these, not one was an enemy to the holy icons, or a heretic, but all were orthodox and religious; not like the emperors of Greece, who contaminated their reigns (God have no mercy on them!) by making war upon the icons, by heresies, and by innovations. God knows, when we saw the icons of the seven councils, and of these heretical emperors, and the multitudes of paintings representing them as gone down to hell, we felt shame before the Muscovites, who ridicule the Greeks and their empire, saying, 'Observe these Greek emperors, from whom we received the light of the faith, how they acted in the holy church of God, making war on the icons; and how they persecuted the patriarchs, the bishops, and every order of the priesthood, together with the religious, more fiercely than did the idolaters, such as Diocletian, Maximian, and others. How could the Greek emperors be expected to act otherwise, when they were guided by enemies of our religion, such as Leo the Armenian, and others, who were ass-keepers and horse-breakers, and suchlike, and belonged neither to the household of the emperor, nor to his nation? How could it be otherwise, when their empresses were such as Eudoxia, who struck Chrysostom on the face?' &c. Would to God no memorial existed of their infamies, nor of the idle sports with which, like little children, they amused themselves, at the hearing of which our youth are made to blush. Through these memories, and the vices and deformities of the Greeks, at all times and in all places wherever they are found, we observed that they are nowhere liked. In Moldavia, from their tyranny as Vasili's archons, and their vice and corruption, the whole population rose upon them, and, putting to flight or massacring them all, plundered their property. A similar fate has lately overtaken them, *as we have just heard*, throughout the

whole of Wallachia. We did not see the Kozaks bear any love to them; and the Muscovites will not receive them, except through pity, to give them alms. How many of them have they not banished to Siberia, and to the monastery of the Sea of Darkness! And how many have been driven back from the frontier by the governors of Poutivl! In none of the Frank countries can they endure to hear them mentioned. What a degenerate people; and what vile conduct! As their emperors acted thus formerly, what wonder is it that they are at the present day guilty of so many crimes wherever they are allowed to settle? As for their bishops, God be merciful to us and to them! This saying of ours is not a private judgment of our own against them; but thus we heard them spoken of wherever we came, and thus criminally did we see them conduct themselves. Yet they have some laudable qualities, as far as regards their love for their bishops, their monks, and priests. For though they witness the flagitiousness of their clergy, and the crimes they commit, and see that their patriarchs banish some of them, behead some, and drown others, yet they shut their eyes to their infamy, and love and honour them, as befits the sacred character of their office. Even when their bishops and monks and priests depart from the purity of their religion, as many of them do daily, they still entertain no doubt concerning their orthodoxy; *nor do they subject the priests and monks to their temporal authority.* They have many merits like this, for which we were constantly grateful to them in the circumstances in which we found ourselves. But they have little judgment or resource among themselves, though some persons of sense and sagacity affect to value them *above us.* God be merciful to us and to them, and deliver us from the torment of hell-fire with them!

To return: Then the archdeacon began naming the officers and men slain at Smolensk and elsewhere during the year, and chanted for them also 'Everlasting remembrance!' Then he repeated the names of the heretical patriarchs and priests, and others, and those of the iconoclast emperors; and they chanted for each of them 'Anathema!' thrice, and cursed them, together with the sects of the Franks, Armenians, and others, till he had gone through them all. Then he named the emperor, reciting his full title, ending with a wish for him of 'many years!' and when the archdeacon had finished the imperial title, &c. the

priests and all the assistants within the sanctuary took it up, and repeated it, chanting it with one voice over again; and in like manner the singers also reiterated it with one accord without the sanctuary. This is what they call the *polychrónion*. All this time the emperor was standing before the patriarch's chair. At the end of it the patriarch went out; and, approaching him, prayed for him, and saluted him with wishes for his long life. In like manner our lord the patriarch of Antioch went out to him and prayed for him, wishing him long life by an interpreter. So also did the bishops, each in like manner. Then followed the titles of the empress Maria, the tsarevich Alexis, the emperor's three sisters, Irene, Anna, and Tatiana Michaelovna, and his three daughters, Eudoxia, Martha, and Anna, with the polychrónion, as for the emperor himself, for each of them: after which the two patriarchs came out and saluted the emperor, and then returned. The archdeacon then recited the title of the patriarch Nicon, after having mentioned the names of the five patriarchs his predecessors; and they chanted as before, the clergy from within the sanctuary and the singers of the two choirs from without, a polychrónion for him; after which the emperor came to him before the doors of the sanctuary and prayed for him, and wished him many years, and bowed to him, as he did to the emperor. When the emperor kissed his hand, the patriarch kissed the emperor's forehead, as usual. The emperor then saluted our master with the rest of the bishops; and they bowed to him, and he to them: all the clergy, both priests and deacons, at the same time bowed to the emperor. Then he went, and, approaching the archdeacon, bade him give out a polychrónion for the patriarch of Antioch (*he had also requested this of the patriarch of Moscow*), and it was done. At its conclusion the emperor came to him to the doors of the sanctuary, and, praying for him, made to him his salutations (God lengthen his days!), of which, as he spoke, we understood not a word, but the interpreter explained to us afterwards. As the emperor bowed to our master, he bowed to the emperor; and when the emperor kissed his hand, our master kissed the emperor's head, according to custom. In like manner the patriarch of Moscow, Nicon, offered to our master his good wishes, as did all the other bishops, and the assisting priests and deacons. Then the archdeacon named the bishops present, with the titles of their sees,

and the rest of the bishops of the Muscovite country who were absent; and the choirs chanted for them as before: and they came out and bowed to the emperor; then to the patriarchs; and offered their good wishes to each other. Then he named those archimandrites who were present by the titles of their monasteries, and all the rest of the archimandrites and heads of convents in Muscovy; and they chanted for them, as before: then the archons of the empire, and the emperor's civil and military officers, and all orthodox Christians in a body; and they chanted the polychrónion for them, and so concluded. We consoled ourselves for our fatigue, and for our endurance of the severe cold, with the joy we felt at what we witnessed, and with the fine melody of the archdeacon's reading, which was with a subdued but broad and delightfully sweet voice, charming the heart. They all indeed read so, and so do the Greeks; not as we, with a loud voice. Even the patriarch and the priests read only with a suppressed voice; and even at the singing of the *τροπάρια* no one hears them but they that stand in the choir, chanting as they do with a voice concentrated and softened. Such is their practice; and excellent it is. Then they began to sing the *τρισάγιον*, and blessed the congregation [with the triple and double lights] as usual: and went on with and finished the mass, in which our master [as on almost every other like occasion] ordained a priest and a deacon; while the emperor sometimes stood at his chair, sometimes before the chair of the patriarch, and sometimes in the sacristy (*σκευοφυλάκιον*) adjoining the sanctuary, looking at the officiating clergy.

After they had set a lectern and covered it, the patriarch went out and mounted the ambon, while we, the assistants, took our stations round it. Nor did this length of service and standing till it was now evening satisfy the patriarch; but the deacon must open for him a book of homilies, in which he read the homily for this day, on the holy icons. Nor did he only read it to the end, but he added exhortations and explanations of his own at great length; while the emperor, with all the men, women, and children present, stood on their legs, bareheaded, in the intense cold, as they had been from the first until now, with perfect order and quietness. In the midst of this his discourse the patriarch had both some new and some old icons brought to him. The new were of such as some of the Muscovite

painters *have recently learned to paint* in the style of the Frank and Polish pictures. And whereas this patriarch *is a great tyrant*, and loves the Greek forms to an extreme, he *sent his people, and collected from every house where they were found*, such paintings as I have mentioned, *even from the palaces of the grandees*, and had them brought to him. This took place during the last summer, before the plague appeared. Then, putting out the eyes of these pictures, he sent them round the city by streltses, publishing *an imperial proclamation*, that whoever should be found henceforth painting after such models should incur various punishments. This was done *in the absence of the emperor*. Now the Muscovites are vastly attached to pictures, neither regarding the beauty of the painting nor the genius of the painter; for with them a beautiful and an ugly painting are all one: and they honour them and bow to them perpetually, though the figure be only an outline on a leaf of paper, or a daub of children: so that of the whole army there is not a man but carries in his knapsack a gaudy picture within a triple cover, with which he never parts; and wherever he halts he sets it up on a piece of wood, and does his reverence to it. Such is their practice, of which we were eye-witnesses. When they saw therefore last year what the patriarch did to the pictures, they judged that he had sinned greatly. Uttering imprecations against him, and making a tumult, they denounced him as an open enemy to the holy icons. While they were thus minded the plague broke out, and there was an eclipse of the sun on the afternoon of the 12th of August. They immediately said: 'All this is through the wrath of God, for our patriarch's contempt of *our* holy icons;' and they were all so violent against the patriarch, that they made an attempt to kill him (for the emperor was absent from the capital, and there were but few troops in it), when an order came to him from the emperor to conduct the empress and her attendants to the monastery of Troitsa, there to remain, for fear of the plague. They went out therefore from Moscow; and the empress abode at Troitsa till the fast of the Nativity. The patriarch left her there; and passed this season in the mountains and forests, dwelling in a tent, under the rain and snow, with no other companion but his fire. For the Muscovites, having had no experience of the plague for about a century, were exceedingly terrified at it. Most of the

grandees fled from the city, and by the providence of God the greater part of them escaped. When the emperor came from Smolensk to Viazma, he sent to the patriarch to come to him, with the empress.

But to return: On this day, then, the patriarch, having obtained his first opportunity of discoursing [on the subject] in presence of the emperor, preached at great length, to show that the painting of icons after this Frank fashion was unlawful; and he called on our lord the patriarch of Antioch to bear him witness, and to certify that certain pictures before them were on the model of the Frank paintings. *They* anathematised therefore all who should persist in painting after such models, or who should place such in their houses. Taking them in his hand one by one, and showing them to the congregation, he threw them down on the iron pavement, as if to break them in pieces, and ordered them to be burned. But as the emperor is extremely religious, and he was standing near us bareheaded, listening in humble silence to the discourse, he entreated the patriarch in an under voice, saying, 'No, father, do not burn them; rather bury them in the earth.' And in such sort they were disposed of. Every time the patriarch took up one of these pictures in his hand, he cried aloud, 'This is from the house of the archon [boyar, okolnik, &c.] so and so, son of so and so' (all grandees of the empire). His design in this was to put them to shame, that the rest of the congregation might see it and take warning.

After this he preached on their way of making the sign of the cross, with the same vehemence as he had done on the former subject. For the Muscovites do not cross themselves as we do, with three fingers put together, but after the manner in which bishops give their blessing. And he called on our lord the patriarch of Antioch to bear witness concerning this also. The fact was, that our master had of himself told him of it, and had observed to him that their manner was not the right one: and our master now addressed the heads of the assembly by the tongue of the interpreter, saying: 'In Antioch the believers were first called Christians; and from that see issued the rites of the Church. So that neither in Alexandria, nor Constantinople, nor Jerusalem, nor Mount Sinai, nor on the holy mountain, not even in Wallachia or Moldavia, nor among the Kozaks,

does any one cross himself as you do; but we all use the same form.'

After this the patriarch made the dismissal; and they went out to the emperor, offered him their good wishes, blessed him, and preceded him with the icons to the outside of the south door, whence he passes to his palace. The bearers of the icons having formed a circle round him, the patriarch incensed them, and, taking off his mitre, kissed them one by one. In like manner did our master; then the emperor; and the patriarchs blessed him as before. On his right hand stood his prime minister [Ivan Bor. Morozoff]; on his left were two youths, brothers, standing side by side; we knew them, from their countenances, to be Tatars: they were sons of the sultan of Siberia. Their grandfather surrendered to the tsar Ivan his whole territory, without fighting. The tsar therefore confirmed him on his throne, on condition that he should pay a yearly tribute. His children and his grandchildren have continued his race until now. These two the emperor had sent for to come to him; and by words, exhortations, and gifts, he had made them Christians. The patriarch baptised them, and the emperor stood their godfather. Their names had been Mohammed and Ahmed; they now named them John and Alexis. But to return: Then the bearers of the icons passed before the emperor with them, and the bells all rang, and we returned into the sacristy to unrobe. The two patriarchs then took leave of each other, and we returned in the sledge to our monastery, amazed at the constancy and firmness of this nation, from the emperor to their very infants. We had entered the church as the clock struck three [nine A.M.], and did not leave it till ten [four P.M.], having stood there about seven hours on the iron pavement, enduring the most severe cold. But we were consoled for all this by witnessing the admirable devotion of this people. Nor was the patriarch satisfied with the ritual and the long synaxaria, but he must crown all with a copious sermon. God grant him moderation! His heart did not ache for the emperor, nor for the tender infants. What should we say to this in our country? Would to God we were thus patient! Without doubt the Creator has granted to this nation to be his peculiar people, because all their actions are according to the spirit, and not to the flesh; and they are all of this disposition. Nor was yet this enough; but after the emperor

and the patriarch had sent us a banquet, and we had sat down to table, still in a state of stupefaction, the bells immediately began to ring for vespers.

BOOK X. *Muscovy.*

§ i. *Expedition against the Poles under Radzivil. Mortuary services.* In the first week of Lent the emperor dispatched the six archons with above 300,000 troops; and a report was spread that he himself would soon follow them; for he was exceedingly exasperated when the double news reached him, of Radzivil having attacked Mohileff, and of the devastation which had taken place in the country of the Kozaks; particularly when he saw the prisoners sent to him by Khmielnitsky, taken from the Tatars, Poles, Hungarians, Moldavians, and Germans; and when he heard how God had granted him the victory over them by the dread of the emperor's name. We, for our parts, could not believe in the report of the emperor's speedy departure, as he had not stayed yet even a month in the capital. But when we were assured of its truth, our joy, conceived at his arrival, fled away; and our grief increased as the time of his departure drew near. We began to utter prayers from the bottom of our hearts against Radzivil, as we had before directed our imprecations against Stefani bey of Moldavia; for without doubt the Creator raised up these two for a punishment on Christians. . . . For this, however, we did not weep; but because the Almighty had not patience with us for fifteen days only, from the Thursday before Palm-Sunday till the Thursday after Easter; as Vasili had promised us about that time to do us every sort of kindness—to pay off our debts, to furnish us with sacerdotal ornaments, a valuable mitre, and so forth. If we had passed the Easter holidays with him, we should have felicitated ourselves on the receipt of all these benefits: he would have sent us hither without fatigue or trouble, and we should have been certain about the time of our return to our own country, and not have been detained here until now. A second reason is, that this accursed Radzivil is at this time in the field, and has roused the dormant ire of the emperor, who previously had intended passing the

Easter festival with us; and we rejoiced at the expected opportunity of becoming the objects of his regard. . . . We thought, upon escaping from the troubles of Moldavia, that our afflictions were at an end; but they have never quitted us, even until now. O God, send upon Radzivil sickness and disease, in proportion as he has waded in the blood of thousands, and turned our comfort and joy into anxiety and sorrow! For this accursed wretch, as we mentioned before, was the origin of all these evils, being a man of ruined circumstances, without fortune or success in war, and without force.

To return: On the eve of the second Saturday in Lent [Friday, 9th March], the emperor came to the monastery of the nuns opposite to us, and sent for our lord the patriarch, who, with the patriarch of Moscow, put on his robes, according to custom; and they performed a commemoration (*μνημόσυνον*) for the mother of the emperor within the choir. . . . . Afterwards they went in to put off their robes; and, coming out again, accompanied the emperor to the outside of the church-door. He gave them his commands for a mass on the following day; and they took leave of him, and he departed; and we returned to our residence.

On the morrow we went again, and performed mass, with an ordination of a priest and a deacon. After they had ended it, they proceeded to the empress's tomb, and did as they had done the day before. The emperor was not present, being busied with the preparations for his journey.

§ ii. *Preparations for the emperor's departure. Siege of Mohileff, and discomfiture of Radzivil.* On the second Sunday in Lent [11th March], after the patriarchs had robed in the cathedral, and the emperor had come and had been blessed with the cross and sprinkled with the holy water, the archdeacon brought a large cross of gold, with another smaller. The patriarch of Moscow blessed the emperor with the one twice, and the emperor touched it with his right hand. In like manner our master blessed him with the other, and made him touch it, saying to him through the interpreter: 'As God through the cross gave victory to Constantine over his enemies, so now may he give it to you!' The emperor answered: 'Amen!' and kissed our master's hand; and he kissed the emperor's head. The emperor, having bowed to the two patriarchs, went and stood by his chair, and sent to our master by the archdeacon a magnifi-

cent sakkos. We therefore took from him the sakkos he had on, and replaced it with this. Such an occurrence was to us the cause of great joy and exultation, as it passed before so great a multitude of persons, whose eyes were bent upon us. . . . . May God lengthen thy days, O emperor of the age! It was not enough to be occupied with the preparations for your expedition, O emperor of the New Rome, which is Moscow, autocrat of Great and Little Russia, and great hossoudar (*μέγας αὐθέντης*) of all the North; but you would not forget Kyr Macarius patriarch of Antioch. May God grant you victory over your enemies, and perpetuate your reign for ages of ages! Amen.

After our master had put on the sakkos, he passed near to the emperor, accompanied by the interpreter, and bowed to him, thanking him for his goodness, praying for him, and blessing him; and, having kissed his head, returned to his place. On this day there was also an ordination of a priest and a deacon; and at the time of the introit, before the archdeacon said *Σοφία, ὄρθοι*, two deacons presented to the patriarch one of the officiating priests, and he recited over him the prayer for the office of archimandrite; that is, he placed him over a monastery in the city named from the Theophany. Having clothed him with the mandya, and appended at his side an *ἐπιγονάτιον*, he put a mitre on his head and blessed him. Then they led him down, bowing as he retired to the patriarch, then to our master, who also gave him his blessing. Then he went round to the bishops, the archimandrites, and the priests, who stood on each side, and kissed them on the mouth, as is their custom, while they blessed him. Then he stood in his place, and the archdeacon having proclaimed *Σοφία, ὄρθοι*, we finished our fifth mass in the presence of the emperor, and our seventh in company with the patriarch of Moscow. After the latter had made the dismissal, and they had entered into the sacristy to unrobe, they went out to bless the emperor. At this moment our master begged of the emperor that he would send him on his way. He answered, 'No, father; on the contrary, I beg you to remain here praying for me, that God may grant me victory, that I may return joyfully, and bestow upon you the favours which are suitable.' Our master replied, 'You know, my lord, that I have now been more than four years absent from my see, having, to my great misfortune, been delayed on the road, and in Moldavia and Wallachia nearly

the whole of the time. If, then, it is your royal pleasure, dismiss me.' The emperor answered him: 'You tarried so long a time in foreign countries; stay then likewise in mine, that it may be blessed by your presence; for by your prayers and with my sword I shall be victorious over my enemies.' On this our master was silent. Then the emperor took him by the hand and presented him to the patriarch of Moscow, saying, 'This is my deputy; I commit you to his care; whatever you wish for, ask of him.' Then bidding them farewell, he departed, and we returned to our monastery.

The patriarch gave us notice to return after two hours, to take our last farewell of the emperor; to whom, at the toll of the great bell, the citizens hastened forth from all parts of the city, to bid adieu. We also went to the church, where the two patriarchs robed, together with the bishops, the archimandrites, and the priests, within the sacristy. We then went out to the narthex (*i. e.* to the west end of the church), where the archimandrites had taken their station as usual, while the great bell tolled. While the emperor was coming down from his palace, they rang all the bells together, so that the very earth trembled, and our ears were deafened. The two patriarchs then went out to meet the emperor, and to give him their benediction. He was dressed in his imperial robes of Venetian gold brocade, bordered round, to the depth of four inches, with pearls, jewels, and gold; being similar to the robes of the Greek emperors. He did not stop at his usual place, but came and stood behind the pillar on the right, that which was covered with red cloth, as we mentioned before, near to us. Then they began chanting the prayers of the moleben for war, the two choirs alternating, in the most delightful music; and the emperor approached the patriarch (who came down to the lowest step of his throne), and gave him a letter, which he read. The interpreter explained to our master its contents, which related to the voivode of Mohileff, thus: When Radzivil, after laying siege to that city, had taken the earthen rampart, the emperor's troops sallied out against him There came also from Khmielnitsky one of his polkovniks, named Zolotorinsky, with 40,000 Kozaks. These attacked Radzivil on all sides, while the guns of the city kept up a continual fire upon him. Seeing vengeance surrounding him, he disguised himself, as before, and fled with a few attendants. Of the rest

of his army not a man escaped. We rejoiced therefore at this good news. After they had finished the moleben, the emperor went within the iconostase [into the sceuophylakion, or into the prothesis, to give his alms perhaps], and returning, bent down his head before the two patriarchs, who read over him the prayers for war, and for victory over enemies, by the intercession of all the saints, both ancient and modern, naming them one by one. Then they blessed him, and took him by the hand, and kissed him, weeping.

Then the patriarch Nicon stood before him, and raised his voice in prayer for the emperor, making a beautiful exordium, with parables and proverbs from the ancients; such as, how God granted victory by Moses over Pharaoh, &c.; and from later history, such as the victory of Constantine over Maximianus and Maxentius, &c.; adding many examples of this nature, and with much prolixity running on like the full stream of a river. Whenever he hesitated and confused his words, or made mistakes, he set himself right with perfect composure. No one seemed to find fault with him, or to be tired; but all were silent and attentive, as if each were a poor man or a slave before his master. But what most excited our admiration was to see the emperor standing bareheaded, while the patriarch wore his mitre; the one with his hands crossed in humility, the other displaying them with the freedom of an orator; the one bowing his bare head in silence to the ground, the other bending his towards him with his mitre upon it, speaking to him; the one guarding his senses and breathing low, the other making his voice to ring like a loud bell; the one as if he were a slave, the other as his lord. What a sight for us! God knows our hearts ached for the emperor. Was not this singular humility? Let us thank God and praise him, for granting us to behold these wonderful things. When the patriarch had ended his discourse with a prayer, he bowed to the emperor; and they saluted one another a second time. Then they went to bid adieu to the emperor at the outside of the south door of the church, where his banners were stationed with his troops; and he placed one of the two crosses which they had given him on a banner, on both sides of which was embroidered a Calvary with the cross upon it, all in gold. The other cross he set on the banner of the cathedral of the Assumption. Then the patriarchs returned; and proceeded

forth from the west door of the cathedral with the priests and deacons carrying the banners and icons in a great procession, on a platform of boards, till we met the emperor and passed before him, observing to turn our right hand towards him. The streltses had strewed the whole of the road with yellow sand, as far as the entrance of the kremlin gate; and large wax torches in great quantity were burning around us, for it was evening; whilst all the bells rang, till the earth shook and our ears were deafened, until we had passed through the kremlin gate to the open space, where we ascended to the stone circle, the station for prayer. The singers during the procession had been chanting anthems from the *παράκλησις*, which they here finished. The patriarch then read the gospel, and gave his blessing with the cross on the four sides. Then he blessed the emperor with it, assisted by our master; and they sprinkled him with the holy water, and read over him a second time the prayers for war, and took him by the hand. In like manner the bishops and the archimandrites came to make their obeisance to him, and kissed his hand, and presented to him gilt icons. After the priests, we also, the deacons, passed forward and kissed his hand. Then he bade them adieu, and mounted his sledge, having the two sons of the sultan of Siberia constantly on his right hand and on his left; and he departed in peace, saying 'Prosti!' that is, 'pardon me' (or farewell). The icon of Blachernæ was set up before him in his sledge; and there were carried around him many torches, for it was grown dark. We remained standing till all the troops had passed. With the emperor there went also the abp. of Tver, together with priests, deacons, monks, and painters in great number. We returned by torchlight to the cathedral, and, having unrobed, repaired to our monastery. As for the emperor, he lodged that night in a palace three versts from the city.

§ iii. *Amount and description of the Muscovite troops. Junction of the Swedes. Account of the potentates.* The patriarch of Moscow told our master, who had asked him of the number of the emperor's troops which now marched with him, that they were 300,000, of which 40,000 are continually around his person, armed with excellent steel cuirasses, besides those sent before with the six archons. He added, 'I myself have given him 10,000 men, with *their horses* and arms.' In like manner has he also received from the convents in the province of Moscow, as

also from the other bishops, from each according to the extent of their estates and revenues. Even from the smallest convents he has been furnished with at least one man armed *and mounted*, accoutred and paid. For all of them dispose of the benevolences and territorial grants made to them from the crown entirely to their own benefit, until a moment of necessity comes like this. This quota of men was over and above the contributions of money which he imposed upon them, to be sent to Smolensk.

The steward (kellar) of the monastery of Troitsa [Arsenius Souchanoff] told us that they had sent with the emperor 1000 armed men. They had sent likewise to him to Smolensk a great quantity of wheat-corn, biscuit, flour, rye, barley, fodder for the horses, butter, and so forth, about 23,000 *bushels;* three of which a beast of burden would scarcely draw in a cart. They calculated the value at more than 200,000 dinars. In like manner he took from the rest of the convents according to their rank.

They sent him from the monastery of St. Cyril of Bielozersk, in the city lodge of which we lived, as being the second monastery after that of the Holy Trinity, 100 armed men, and above 10,000 dinars in money. Thus they sent him from the monastery of Solovetsky 5000 dinars, which was the amount of their proportion.

These 300,000 men are the emperor's own troops. He had sent with the six archons about 400,000, as the patriarch now told us. He took with him of the dogfaced tribe 20,000. It was not his intention to make them fight, but to use the terror of their name and character against his enemies, when they should see them eating human flesh. As we mentioned before, Khmielnitsky had sent to him the polkovnik Zolotorinsky with 40,000 Kozaks, on whom the emperor settled a yearly pay. A fortnight after the departure of the emperor, his vicegerents and ministers dispatched after him one of the great archons (boyars), named Vasili Boutourlin, with 120,000 men. Of these 30,000 were infantry, the remainder cavalry. With them marched 10,000 of the dogfaced tribe, the *Lobani*. But the greatest part of these troops were Tatars of the Cheremiss, Mordvin, Mongol, Bashkir, and Kalmuc tribes, &c. . . . These people were sent to Khmielnitsky, that with them he might form a junction with the 90,000 Muscovite troops who were in observation at Kieff, and march with them all to carry on the war at Kamenetz and the

surrounding parts. Khmielnitsky, having left most of his troops in his own country to defend it from the Tatars, got together, of the Muscovite troops and the Kozaks, above 300,000 men, as we ascertained afterwards from the patriarch. With these he subdued a number of towns in that quarter, as we shall mention hereafter.

The emperor also sent one of his archons with 100,000 men to guard his frontier against the Tatars, besides the 60,000 (some said 150,000) who already garrisoned the castles and trenches on that line. He afterwards sent one of his archons to the cities of Kazan and Astrachan, to take the greatest part of their troops, together with the Kalmuc tribe, who are enemies to the khan of the Tatars, that with them he might subdue the Tatar towns. We afterwards ascertained that he got together of them above 200,000.

Then the emperor sent an order to the troops of Novgorod and Pskoff to march towards the sea-coast and join the Swedes, in order so to enclose the territory of the Poles on its three sides. . . . For the queen [Christina] of Sweden refused to marry; and when the people of her country rose against her, she abdicated and went away, leaving her nephew to reign in her stead. This new king sent soon afterwards to the emperor [of Muscovy] an ambassador, saying: 'I am disposed to stand by you, even to the risk of my life. But the Poles have taken possession of fifteen towns belonging to my kingdom. These I desire to recover out of their hands.' The emperor returned him an answer suitable to his wishes. We afterwards heard that he came by land and by sea, and, *having regained his territory, did great damage to the country of the Poles.* By sea he sent fifty large ships, having on board 25,000 soldiers; by land he marched about the same number. To the emperor he sent 24,000 muskets in cases, worth more than 100,000 dinars. For all these kings—I mean the king of England, the king of the Flemings, the king of Sweden, and the rest—send yearly to the emperor arms, muskets, coats of mail, &c.; and he gives them in exchange wheat and rye, . . . for their country is very narrow, and produces no corn but in small quantities. The import of the word *rega* in these countries is inferior to that of crâl or bey; for in Poland there is a crâl, and in Hungary a crâl, and in England a crâl, but in Flanders rather a *rega*, from the narrowness of his domi-

nions. In the same manner also in Venice there is a *rega*. Of this kind are also all the 'dukedoms.' As to the emperors [or full kings, βασιλεῖς in Greek, tsars in Russian], as far as we could ascertain, the *first* of them is the Turk in C.P., reigning in the place of Constantine. The second is the emperor of Germany, surnamed the Cesar; for they pretend that after the death of Constantine he was the first to assume the crown, and style himself Cesar. The third is the emperor [the king] of Spain. The fourth the king of France. The fifth is the king of the Redheads or Persians. The sixth the emperor of Hindostan. The seventh the emperor of China. The eighth the emperor of Abyssinia. The ninth the emperor of Khota and Khotaya. The tenth empire is what remains of the empire of the Georgians. The eleventh is the emperor of Muscovy; for he acquired the dignity after all the others, as we mentioned before, in the time of the tsar Ivan. They reckon before him even the emperor of Siberia and the emperor 'Altoon Padishah,' *i.e.* the Sultan of the Gold Country. But the Turkish emperor glories in three things above the other emperors. The first is this, that he reigns in the place of Constantine, who was called *μονοκράτωρ, i. e.* sole ruler. The second is, that the Turks slew seven emperors (or full kings), besides beys and other princes, and subdued their dominions—viz. those of Greece, Germany, Bulgaria, Servia, the Arnaouts, Trebizond, and Cherson. . . The third boast of the Turks is, that they are in possession of that half of the world which is best for its climate and productions. But the greatest of all is, that whoever would visit the holy sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, he must enter their dominions.

§ iv. *Prosecution of the war against the Poles; their negotiations. State of the Russian artillery.* To return: The troops that marched out from Novgorod, Pskoff, and the provinces bordering on the territory of Sweden, of the Cesar, and of Poland, were in all 120,000. These subdued most of the Polish provinces near them, having a voivode for their separate command. Nor did they cease taking towns and castles, wasting the country, killing and making prisoners, till they approached the emperor. This side of the Polish territory is the second, having Sweden on the sea side. The emperor in person marched into the midst of it, and let loose the anger of God against the Poles from the

four quarters, so that they knew not from which side the main brunt of war assailed them. Nevertheless, they showed no inclination to make peace and to pay tribute, so great was their haughtiness, but rather had recourse for help to the Turks, importuning them with many embassies, promising them . . . a yearly tribute of 30,000 dinars, to be their subjects, and to march as their auxiliaries when summoned, like Hungary, Wallachia, and Moldavia; telling them openly, 'When the crâl of Muscovy shall have taken our country, he will then speedily come against you.' . . . For proof of their sincerity they placed in the hands of the Turks as a pledge two sons of the former crâl. For this crâl, who had assisted and strengthened Khmielnitsky, the Poles had poisoned, and had set his brother on the throne. What, then, did the latter do? He married his brother's wife by a dispensation from the Pope; an enormity which not even the idolaters committed in their time. His brother's children he sent to the Turks, as we have said. In like manner they sent and promised the Tatars immense treasures to come and assist them. But the Turks refused. The Poles, however, ceased not their overtures to the Turks till the end of the summer. . . . The Poles had hoped also for help from the Cesar; but the emperor had anticipated them, by sending first an ambassador to him. . . . Thus their hopes have been cut off on all sides: and may it please Almighty God completely to root them out, in retribution for what they have perpetrated against their poor neighbours and the Kozaks during these last three years.

[Then he recapitulates the different numbers he has specified above, and makes out that] the emperor had now in the field 400,000 + 300,000 + 40,000 + 120,000 + 30,000 + 40,000 + 1,500 + 10,000 + 200,000 + 100,000 under Sheremetieff + 50,000 + 30,000 German guards + 1000 Poles + 200,000 + 20,000 Circassians + 40,000 Don Cossacks, in all 1,500,000 men, besides the army of Khmielnitsky.

The emperor has always near his person 30,000 German soldiers well exercised as cavalry and artillery, belonging to the different regiments of his army, and receiving yearly pay.

§ v. *Relations between the Muscovites and the Tatars. Warfare of the latter. Predictions concerning them.* If any person should ask, Why, then, does not the emperor march against the Tatars [of the Crimea] and root them out, since they are per-

petually invading his territory, wasting it, and carrying away captives? — we answer, that we inquired much of this, even of the great officers of government, and found the causes to be two. First, that the Poles, when they were strong, have never shown any constancy or good faith. How often did the father of this emperor wish — how often did this emperor himself wish — to march against the Tatars! but they feared the treacherous attacks of the Poles: for when the Poles had taken Smolensk and its province, there remained between them and Moscow no more than 300 versts. The second excuse is, that the Tatar frontier is distant more than a whole month's severe march from the frontier of Muscovy. . . . But the filthy Tatars sally forth on a sudden, and burden themselves with no provisions but roasted meal in leathern bags. Each of them, though he be but a poor man, has with him four or five horses; and in one night they perform five or six days' journey, stopping only where they find water. . . . Then they slaughter some of their horses, and eat them without cooking, laying a store of the flesh under their saddles. . . . This august emperor, however, has not ceased since his accession to make conquests in that direction, and to build castles and towns and entrenched walls; so that the march between his frontier and the Crim under the khan is become (since the acquisition of the Kozak country) a matter of five days only. For how many years has he not been laying up stores in this quarter . . . for the expedition to be undertaken at a suitable opportunity; which is perhaps now near at hand, and, please God, will be in our time. . . . The Tatars, after having been leagued with Khmielnitsky for eight years like brothers, became divided from him; so that he was forced to betake himself for protection to the emperor; and the Poles, who had been very great friends of the emperor's, were so set at variance with him, that before we reached his presence he had marched against them, and had performed the feats above recorded. Again, after the Tatars had been at peace with the emperor, he became their enemy on account of the devastations they committed in the country of the Kozaks, now become his. . . . God take us in safety out of these countries!

§ vi. *Russian coinage. Punishment of deserters, thieves, and fraudulent goldsmiths. Execution of felons.* To return: The emperor hitherto has not opened his own treasures, for the main-

tenance of these troops; but this last year he made the money collected from the merchants and grandees suffice. It is said that he found besides in one of the castles which he took first 6,000,000 gold dinars. Moreover within this last year great fortunes have come into his hands from the rich who died [during the plague] without leaving heirs. He has also lately issued a new coin, by dividing every dollar [or ruble] into four, and stamping every piece with his image, an equestrian figure. This coin is named a *chetvert*. The piastre is thus made into two piastres. Afterwards he stamped the genuine piastres with his die and image, and made each of them from one into two. He made also red copper coin, which he caused to pass for the value of the piastre, proclaiming their currency in trade, and issuing them for the payment of his troops. All this has resulted in the increase of his power, and of the love of the Muscovites towards him, nothing inferior to their love of their Creator. . . . All their silver is of Spanish dollars, and their gold of ducats. . . . We observed that they punished capitally four crimes without mercy, viz. treason, murder, sacrilege, and rape. Persons guilty of these crimes never escape being shown round the city with the lash at their backs, and many of them die under it. We saw some whose heads they beat off with maces upon a stone, not cutting them off with swords: these had been guilty of the murder of their masters. One we saw them burn in a house they had made for him in the square; in which they tied him, and then throwing lighted straw into it, burned him to death: he had purposely set fire to his master's house. Thus they burn the sodomite without mercy. As for the adulterer, when the case is unknown to the emperor or the patriarch, he frequently escapes, after being lashed through the city, with imprisonment and a heavy fine.

Whoever speaks ill of the emperor never escapes punishment: this we particularly observed: for it may be that a person blaspheming his Maker in the most impious and execrable language shall meet with forgiveness among them; but *he who reviles the emperor is sure to lose his head.* If any one accuses his fellow of a crime, they put the accused to the torture, that he may confess; and if he confesses, the law takes its course: but if he does not confess, and the other has accused him falsely, they punish the accuser worse than they would have punished

the supposed criminal, and force him to pay the expenses of the cure of the other's wounds. Woe to the man who commits any offence, whether he be rich or poor! No intercession, no bribery avails him. They drag him off to judgment, executed, God knows, with the strictest justice, as we often witnessed: for to the degree of good government which exists among them no ruler of any other country has attained. This is strictly and truly what we heard of the state of things here.

§ vii. *Regency, character, power, and income of the patriarch Nicon. The archdeacon [kellar] Arsenius.* Before the tsar left, he appointed a vicegerent [for the capital], and many ministers, with an appeal from them to the vicegerent or lieutenant. The patriarch he placed as inspector over all; so that no affair, small or great, should be determined without his advice, nor without their declaring it before him day by day, every morning, as it occurred. For they were in the habit every morning of repairing to the court or divan [*i.e.* the council-chamber in the palace] to consider the affairs of state, and the affairs of the people [*i.e.* causes, &c.], none ever going, on any occasion whatever, to transact business with them at their own houses. Thus, even in the frosty season, we observed the greatest among the ministers, the emperor's vakeel or deputy, repairing to the public office in his splendid sledge, drawn by a pair of white or black horses, with two or three servants behind, not more; both he and they being dressed in plain clothes; for they dislike fine dresses. Whenever it happened that the ministers were not all assembled in the council-chamber when the patriarch's bell rang for them to repair to his palace (as the door of it is always closed *during prayer-time*, and the door-keepers are strict in guarding his doors till the time that the bell rings again, and he comes out to his outer hall), those archons who were too late were obliged to wait at his door in the excessive cold till he should order them to be admitted. This we saw with our own eyes: for our lord the patriarch of Antioch, during the whole period of the emperor's absence, went every now and then to the patriarch's palace, to learn the news of him. On these occasions, when permission was given him, and he entered into the patriarch's presence, the latter would never salute him till he had first turned to the icons and chanted Ἄξιον ἐστὶν, in an under voice, and the archdeacon had said *Kyrie Eléison* thrice, and εὐλόγησον,

while they bent to the ground. Then the two patriarchs, having saluted one another, sat down to converse through the interpreter. Meanwhile the ministers were waiting without. On their being permitted to enter, the patriarch Nicon would turn to the icons, and repeat secretly the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν, while they bowed to him, all together, to the ground, bareheaded, and so remaining till they went out. Besides this each of them severally, advancing and bowing, received the patriarch's blessing; and this he did twice. Even their little boys they brought with them, to be blessed by the patriarch. Thus he conversed with them, standing, while they presented to him their accounts of everything that was passing. To each he gave his answer concerning every affair, commanding them what they should do. By what we observed of the grandees of the empire, *they do not much fear the tsar, nor entertain much dread of him; they rather fear this patriarch, and by many degrees more.* His predecessors in the patriarchal dignity *did not interfere at all in affairs of the state;* but this man, from his ingenuity, comprehension, and knowledge, is accomplished in every art and skill as regards *the affairs both of church and state,* and all temporal affairs whatsoever, by reason of his having been married, and having become acquainted with the world in general. So, after he had dispatched these affairs, he would again turn to the icons, chanting Ἄξιον ἐστὶν a second time; and having blessed his visitors, dismiss them, setting off before them on his way to the church [for the liturgy]: for he never intermits the service in the church three times in the day and in the night, besides assisting at mass and vespers. Most days he celebrates the liturgy himself. At his entering the church and leaving it he is presented by many persons with *chelobitia, i.e.* petitions or memorials: for no one can see him in his apartments except the grandees, who see him in the morning. But under his own suite of rooms there are seven halls or courts [prikazi, *i.e.* courts and offices], presided over by seven judges, attended by numerous clerks. Each divan (prikaz) is appropriated to certain affairs: one of them is for the monks and convents, and there all their causes are decided; another is set apart for the [secular] clergy; and here every person coming from the country to be ordained priest presents himself, with his testimonials from the people of his district. The archon of this divan, who is also treasurer to the patriarch, and a monk, keeps these

testimonials by him till the applicants amount to twenty or thirty; then he presents the documents to the patriarch: and as the candidates stand before him, the patriarch goes round from one to another, with one of their books. For him who reads it readily the patriarch signs his certificate and approval; and those who cannot so read he rejects: for here [*i. e.* in such matters] the authority of the patriarch is equal to that of the emperor. Many of these candidates for holy orders we saw, who had come a distance of some thousand versts, from the districts of Siberia, and other parts [but still from within the patriarchal diocese].

Neither the patriarch nor any other of the bishops receives any contribution from his flock. Their maintenance is from the imperial benefices [estates given in former times and held by grant of the tsar], and they have a tax on each of their priests, according to his rank, which is paid annually.

Another court is for inheritances; on which the patriarch takes ten per cent, besides what is taken by the judge [*i. e.* the officer at the head of the prikaz] and his subordinates. So also every person becoming a parish priest has large fees to pay. Everything that passes in these courts day by day is reported to the patriarch by the [officers or] judges who are over them, and they take his answers as to what he pleases should be done. The petitions which he receives from the people he goes into his palace and reads; and to some he returns an answer, and the affair is decided: but if any one's name is passed over, the petitioner knows that his affair has not succeeded.

Attached to every court is a prison, well furnished with heavy iron chains and large wooden stocks. When any of the heads of monasteries or of the higher clergy has committed a crime, he is sentenced to irons, and condemned to sift flour day and night for the bakehouse, till he has completed his sentence; and in this condition we used to see them. Around the patriarch there are many archons [boyars, sinboyars, &c.], most of whom are in office; some of them being intrusted with the government of provinces, like the voivode of Poutivl; the rest are deputies [set over the different patriarchal courts and offices, either at Moscow or elsewhere, on the patriarchal estates], treasurers, and stewards of different kinds; some being inspectors over the treasury, some over the buttery, some over the cellar; some being for the superintendence of the revenue, others for that of the

expenditure. But he never permits the deacons [*i.e.* clerks; or diaki?] to pass into the interior of his own apartments, nor any person that can read, for fear he should peruse his private papers, &c. He has his own goldsmiths, tailors, ironsmiths, builders, carpenters, painters, and artists of all kinds, each paid an annual stipend, found in clothes, and gratified with presents, &c. Such a man is this patriarch, by means of his vast influence with the emperor. Whereas the patriarchal estate was formerly 10,000 houses of peasants, he has now made it 25,000. For *whenever any archon dies*, he goes to the emperor and obtains from him a part of his peasants and farms. In this way he has got possession of many lakes, which bring him in immense riches from salt and fish. Thus he has been acting *of late;* having prevailed on the tsar to issue a χρυσόβουλλον, or ordinance, that *whenever any archon dies without an heir, the patriarch shall enter on the succession.* In this way he has acquired many salt lakes, which yield him an immense yearly income; whereas the patriarchs before him had to buy their own fish and salt. In like manner *he has forbidden* any duties to be paid to the emperor on his merchandise; and all this by the χρυσόβουλλον. When horses used to be sold in Moscow, or in any other town, out of the price the emperor received two kopecks the ruble (*i.e.* two per cent), and the convent of Troitsa one; so that in every custom-house there was an archon to levy for the emperor, and another for the convent. But this patriarch has taken the half of their revenue on these sales; so that his *daily* income is said to be 20,000 rubles. His income from the churches of the capital and the surrounding district amounts to 14,000 rubles *yearly*, as he receives from each in proportion to its revenue, taking a ruble from the poorest. Thus from every church and all the clergy of his province he receives a contribution. The revenue of the convent of Troitsa used to equal one-third of the emperor's income; but this patriarch has *by force* taken one-half of it, saying, 'The patriarchate has the better right to it.' So has he also taken the best part of the treasures accumulated in the *imperial* monasteries, *as we afterwards*[1] *ascertained*, and placed them in his patriarchal church, *where they were by no*

[1] This, then, like other passages, is an insertion, made when the writer wrote out and retouched his work after his second journey to Moscow, and after the work done for the court and the boyars in A.D. 1666 and 1667.

means wanted, enriching it with their splendid phenolia covered with pearls and costly jewels, their gold vessels, and other riches, and leaving them only a small portion. Being a man of acute intellect, he is sensible of his own ability for taking the lead, and for *interfering* in the government of the empire; and every one fears and respects him. *Whereas formerly no person was raised to the dignity of an archimandrite but by command of the tsar, nor deposed but by him, this man has annulled the rule*, and promotes to that office, or deprives of it, whomsoever *he* pleases, without consulting any one. He from whom God has withdrawn his protection, and upon whom his anger is let loose, is the person who commits any lapse or error before this patriarch, or is known to have got drunk, or to have neglected attendance at prayer; for he is immediately, *by his order*, banished. Whereas formerly the convents of Siberia were empty, this patriarch, since his accession, has filled them with heads of monasteries and heads of the clergy [*i.e.* bishops, alluding to Paul of Kolomna, and protopopes], and with dissolute and wretched monks. When any of the priesthood has been guilty of a crime, he immediately takes his calpack from off his head, which is the same thing as degrading him. If he ever has mercy on him, and pardons him, it must be of his own free motion, for he allows none to intercede: and, except the emperor, no one has the courage to mediate with him. Against many of the clergy he has been so much enraged, as to have their hair shaved off, and to have banished them, with their wives and families, to Siberia, there to end their days in misery. By this severity he makes all fear him, and his word prevails. Lately he has gone so far as to deprive the high steward [kellar] of the convent of Troitsa of his dignity, and has banished him to one of the monasteries; and this though his rank was so high as to be the third high dignitary. For they reckon in this country three high dignitaries: the emperor, the patriarch, and the kellar of Troitsa. We saw him ourselves, as he was on his way somewhither, with many grandees and attendants and troops in his train; such as were not seen in attendance on the patriarch. After this had been his dignity, the patriarch made him to become a corn-grinder in the convent of Sievsk, to which he had banished him. The reason was this: information had reached the patriarch that this kellar was *taking* in many instances *bribes* from the rich, *to excuse*

them from marching on the present campaign with the emperor; and was sending, in their stead, poor men, destitute of means for the service. For the convent of Troitsa has been charged by successive emperors with the burden of furnishing four *polks* of troops, each of 300 men, to be employed alternately in garrisoning the place itself, and in the general service of the empire. The patriarch then appointed as kellar in his stead the deacon Arsenius [Souchanoff], who had come into our country with the patriarch of Jerusalem. From Aleppo he had passed into Georgia. On his arrival at Moscow, *the patriarch and the* emperor convoked a synod, and sent him to Mount Athos, with a large contribution of alms for the convents, and with letters to the superiors of them, requesting them to give him whatever they could command in the way of old Greek books. This was because the present patriarch and the emperor are lovers, to an extreme, of the Greek ceremonies and ritual; and they had observed that, through length of time, some alterations had crept into their own books. They had heard that on the holy mountain all the writings of the Greek empire had been collected. They therefore sent this man to collect all he could find of what was curious among them. He went therefore, and obtained of them about 500 large books of various kinds. We had met him as he was passing into Wallachia. After that he went to C.P., and saw everything there: then, returning, he carried with him planks of cypress in great quantity, as he had been charged to do by the patriarch, for painting icons; as that material is much prized in this country. On his arrival at Moscow, he brought all these things with him; and the books were deposited in the [patriarchal] treasury. For there they have translators, natives of Greece; who translate them one after another, and print and publish them. In reward for these two [journeys and] services which the archdeacon Arsenius had performed, namely, for going at the command of the tsar and the patriarch to Mount Sinai, Egypt, Jerusalem, to our country (Syria), and to Georgia, to ascertain the condition of [ecclesiastical and ritual matters in] all those countries, and now for this second service [of going to Mount Athos and Constantinople] the patriarch rewarded him by placing him in the highest possible situation.

§ viii. *Stores sent to the seat of war. Celebration of the emperor's birthday. Description of the* [*Novo*]*divichy convent.* To return to our information respecting the emperor: Stores of provisions and of arms and ammunition, &c. did not cease to be conveyed to him till the latter end of the summer. These things continually passed under our eyes.

On the third Saturday in Lent, the 17th March, was the commemoration of St. Alexis the man of God. As the emperor was born on this day, completing on it now his 27th year, he was used to have a solemn mass celebrated, and to give a feast to the nobility and the commonalty, with great rejoicings. Besides, he had built and dedicated to this saint a new convent, behind the palace, near to the second wall of the city, and placed in it nuns of noble birth in great numbers. This establishment he loves much, and continually visits it with his empress. If he had been present now, he would have done as usual. But the patriarch perhaps did even better than the emperor would have done. He invited our lord the patriarch of Antioch, and they went together in their sledges to the convent. Alighting near the gate, they were met by the priests and deacons bearing the icons, the cross, and the thurible. The two patriarchs having done their reverence to the icons and to the cross, the patriarch of Moscow blessed with it the people, while the deacon incensed him. Then the nuns came all out to meet him, and conducted us into the church, where the two patriarchs performed the liturgy together, assisted by the rest of the bishops and the archimandrites, who always celebrate with the patriarch. On our leaving the sanctuary, the abbess presented to him an icon of the saint, the patron of the church, sheathed with silver and gold, and bade adieu to our master. After the abbess had presented to them large cakes of black bread (which they kissed on receiving), the patriarch mounted his sledge, covered with satin, the metropolitans taking their places behind him and on his right hand and left; and the archons before and behind him. As for us, we returned to our monastery, where we had a banquet sent to us from the empress's table.

On the third Sunday in Lent (18th March) our master said mass in the church of our convent, and ordained a priest and a deacon. In like manner on the fourth Saturday he said mass and ordained. And whereas on the morrow there fell the feast

of the Annunciation, the empress sent him in carts wonderfully large and beautiful fish of various kinds.

On the next day, therefore (which was also the fourth Sunday in Lent), they rang their fine bells from an early hour; and the patriarch celebrated mass in the church of the Annunciation, as is the custom; one of the metropolitans celebrating it in the sobor. Our master celebrated in our convent, and ordained.

On T. in the fifth week they invited our master to the funeral of one of the kniaginas [*i. e.* princesses, ladies of rank, and nuns] of a convent outside the city, at the distance of three versts. They call it the *Dieichy*. It is dedicated to our Lady surnamed Ὁδηγητρία. We went to it in the sledge with the patriarch [of Moscow], the bishops, and all the clergy. [Then follows an account of the church and of its rich ornaments.] Even upon the windows and lattices of the church there are pictures closing over each other for want of room. . . . We found nothing to compare, not even among the emperor's churches, to the beauties of this church. The patriarch said to our master: 'We have no convent equal to this for riches; because all the nuns in it are kniaginas (princesses), widows or daughters of grandees, who come with all their property and possessions, their plate, gold, and jewels, which they settle upon the convent.'

§ ix. *Funeral service of a nun. Severity of Lent in Muscovy. Devotions of queen Helena.* [This service was a pannychid performed over the body in the narthex of the church, the liturgy having been celebrated beforehand; and after it the body was taken down into the vaults below, the patriarchs &c. following it, and the patriarch of Moscow concluding there the prayers, and blessing the tomb as usual.]

As we were leaving, the abbess presented to each of the patriarchs a large cake of black bread, on which they placed their hands. Then they blessed her and her companions; and the patriarch of Moscow mounted his sledge, &c. We also returned, and, on the way, took a turn in the parade (or Champ de Mars) which the emperor had formed to review his troops in, as he sat in a wooden pavilion of considerable height, with a dome covered with tin, and surmounted by a gilt cross. At present it was shut up. *It is reported* that the patriarch [Athanasius] Patalaron of C.P. was present at the review here, and asked

the number of the troops which the emperor was reviewing. The patriarch of Moscow answered him: 'Seven hundred thousand, all receiving pay.'

On the eve of the Thursday of Repentance (when they sing the great kanon of St. Andrew of Crete), they tolled the bells at the fourth hour of the night; and we entered the church of the monastery, which we did not leave till after the eighth hour, almost dead with fatigue and with standing in the cold; for we underwent with them, during this Lent, such excess of torment as one might liken to the violence of the rack, particularly as to our eating. We could find nothing to feed upon but a confection resembling boiled peas and beans; for they do not allow themselves the use of oil during Lent, in the smallest quantity, as an article of food. On this account we were in great distress, such as cannot be described; so we readily excused them for not eating fish during this Lent; and as to their eating flesh meat, there is no fear, nor need of any prohibition; for there is no such thing to be found among them, as we mentioned before. Nor are they even acquainted with lentils, nor with vetches, unless there happen to be some in the houses of the Franks, dearer than pepper. Other vegetables they never see, unless it be pickled cabbage and cucumbers. They have indeed violet-coloured and white beans, the dearest at three kopecks the pound. Every three pounds make an oka; and we bought the oka for nine kopecks—that is, five okas and a half for a dollar. Except fish, what is there very cheap with them? And what is the *poor* man to eat if fish is forbidden him? But, except [*i. e.* to say nothing of] the soldiery, the poor people, and the ploughmen, there is not a single person who eats fish; for the rich do not allow it themselves at all, reckoning it a great sin to do so. O, how we burned with desire for the food of our own country! . . . But, God knows, the eatables which are found in our country during the fasts are not found with them, even at Easter and Pentecost; for besides fish, flesh, and quass, they are unacquainted with any food. Without doubt, they are the true saints. Even in Moldavia and Wallachia we were bewildered as to what we should eat on the two days Wednesday and Friday, and the rest of the fast-days.

To return: Our patriarch on this day (Th. 29th March) said mass and ordained. On the eve before the Saturday of the

Acathist, they tolled the bells after the third hour of the night till the world trembled; and we entered the church. They began the nocturn, then the matins, &c.; and we left the church at the eighth hour. In this month of Adar (March) the nights and days are equal. At daybreak (Sat. 31st March) our lord the patriarch went in his sledge (which was the emperor's) to the Georgian queen Helena, the widow of David, to say mass for her, as she had requested him many times this Lent; but hitherto he had found no opportunity. . . . She wished to receive the mysteries from his hands; and as the Georgians believe that there is a great advantage in receiving the mysteries on the Saturday, she would not have mass said for her on the Sunday, but on the Saturday.

§ x. *A synod held. Reception of two Polish priests. Visit to the queen, and her communion.* The patriarch of Moscow had held a synod during this week [the fifth in Lent], by reason of what our master had said to him, and of his admonition to them concerning various innovations and defects in their religious customs. The first was, that they do not consecrate upon an *ἀντιμήνσιον* painted and delineated, as ours is, with the relics of saints enclosed in it, but simply on a piece of fine white linen. The second, that [in the preparatory sacrifice of the offertory] they do not make with the particles nine orders (*τάγματα*), but only four. The third, that in the creed they make a wrong inflection [?]. The fourth, that they *kiss* the icons only once or twice in the year. The fifth, that they do not receive the *ἀντίδωρα*. The sixth, that they make the sign of the cross with an incorrect position of the fingers. The seventh concerned their baptism of the Poles; for of late they have been rebaptising them. The synod was held concerning other points also of defective rites and ceremonies. The patriarch therefore attended to the words of our master. And on the present occasion he interpreted the order of the liturgy from the Greek to the Russian language, and explained the ritual and rubrics so clearly, that even children might become acquainted with the true Greek rite. Of these new service-books (slujebniks) he printed several thousands, and distributed them to the churches over the country. In like manner, he stamped more than 15,000 *antiminsia*, delineated and figured, with the relics of saints (enclosed in them), and distributed them also over the country. He corrected also

many of their errors in points of ceremony by *imperial* admonitions and ordinances, and by authoritative prophetic testimonies. Then they concluded the business of the synod by declaring that the rebaptising the Poles was unlawful, agreeably to what our master had told them, and in accordance with what is prescribed in the Euchologium and in the Nomocanon; for the Poles believe in the Trinity, and are baptised, and are not far removed from us, as the rest of the heretics and the Lutherans are; like the Swedes, English, Hungarians, and others of the Frank sectaries, who do not fast, nor pay reverence to icons, nor to the cross, &c. This patriarch therefore, being a lover of Greece, conformed obediently, and said to the bishops, and to the rest of those present of the heads of convents, and of the priesthood: 'I am a Russian, the son of a Russian; but *my faith and religion are Greek*.' Some also of the bishops conformed obediently, saying: 'The gift of our faith in Christ, and all the rites of our religion and its mysteries, came to us from the countries of the East.' But others of them (as there are sure to be found in every nation some persons of a heavy nature and understanding) demurred inwardly, saying within themselves: 'We will not alter our books, nor our rites and ceremonies, which we have received from of old.' But they had not the courage to speak thus openly; for the anger of the patriarch is not to be withstood. Witness what he did with the bishop Paul of Kolomna, when he banished him. Then he confirmed the decree that the practice of rebaptising the Poles is unlawful. And he presented to our lord the patriarch six priests from the country of the Poles, ordained in presence of the cardinal of the Pope residing in the city of Vilna. They said that they were priests in the service of the Russians [*i.e.* of the Uniats], and of our own church [*i. e.* rite]. The dress of the Polish [Uniat] priests is like ours. The only difference between them and us is, that they exercise their functions in the name of the Pope. Even the order of their liturgy is like ours. These men, when one of the emperor's archons had made himself master of one of their towns, and was destroying the Polish churches and killing the priests, presented themselves before him in a suppliant manner, and informed him that they were orthodox. He sent them therefore to the patriarch Nicon, to look into their case. When they came, they stayed eleven weeks; and no one regarded them, as

the patriarch was too much occupied to attend to them, until now that God sent them consolation at the hands of our master; and they passed the whole length of the night in his attendance, chanting the prayers.

This day [Sat. in the fifth week] we took them with us to the queen's church, where our master was met by her archons, and by the emperor's deputies appointed to the queen's service. These led him up to where her majesty was; and he went in and blessed her and her son, and encouraged and consoled her. She was dressed in black, according to the custom of widows in this country. Her son was sitting near her, on a gilt chair trimmed with red satin, dressed in royal robes of gold brocade, adorned with pearls and diamonds. Then we arose, and descended to the church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist; and she came with her son and all her attendants. We robed our lord the patriarch; and he made an ἁγιασμὸς, and sprinkled the church, and the queen, and her son, and all present. Then we brought to the patriarch two of the Polish priests above mentioned, after we had taken off from them their gowns, girdles, and calpacks. Bowing to the patriarch with three metánoias, they stood before him bareheaded, and with the interpreter standing near. Our lord the patriarch then began to expound to them the mysteries of the true faith, one by one, and belief in the seven councils; and they blessed what the councils blessed, and cursed what they cursed. Then they cursed all heretics, and the eighth council [*i.e.* the council of Florence]. Afterwards he read to them the creed, word for word. Then he presented to them the icons and the cross to kiss; and they bowed to the ground. Having read over them the appointed prayers in the εὐχολόγιον, and the prayers for the chrism, he anointed them with it, on the head only, in the form of a cross. Then we commanded them; and they bowed to him thrice, both together. And we took them to the royal doors; and they bowed towards them thrice, and before the icon of our Lady. Thus much for the reconciliation. Then we took hold of them by their arms, according to custom, while we said Κέλευσον, δέσποτα ἅγιε. Then the patriarch blessed them, and vested them with the sticharion and the girdle only, as deacons, without reciting any prayer, saying to each of them, 'Let thy soul rejoice in the Lord; for he has clothed thee with the vesture of purity,'

&c. Then he blessed them a second time; and they stood with us. Also he ordained on this day another deacon and priest. . . . At the time when I said the gospel, I went and presented it to them to kiss, as is customary. So also we mentioned their names after the mention of the emperor and the empress, and their son and daughters and sisters. After the carrying round of the [representative] Body [*i.e.* after the great introit], our master went out with the cross; and they came near to him; and he blessed them with it as usual. Then we brought forward those two Poles; and they bowed before the holy table thrice; and the patriarch blessed them, and put on them the epitrachelion and the phenolion, whilst he repeated the versicles. Then he delivered to them the service-book of the mass; and the other priests kissed them, as usual; and they took their station with them. After the ostension of the chalice, the queen advanced forward to receive the mysteries from his hands. We went out, therefore, first of all with an icon, from which she took a blessing. Then she bowed to the ground thrice; and the deacons held the covering of the chalice removed. Having communicated her in the mysteries, he gave her also the *ἀντίδωρα*. Afterwards, when he had finished the liturgy, we made a commemoration for her husband David, over a dish of boiled grains and a vessel of wine. Then he blessed them; and we returned to our monastery. The queen sent after us her archon with a table of food, and gilded cups of wine, and jars of hydromel, and other royal presents. On this eve of the fifth Sunday they performed matins, and assembled in immense congregations to commemorate St. Mary of Egypt.

§ xi. *Ceremony on Palm Sunday.* On the morning of the fifth Sunday they tolled the great bell, and thronged in great numbers to the churches, it being the empress's name's day: for she was born on the first of April, and was named Mary. . . . Our master said mass and ordained on this day in the church of the monastery.

On Sat. of St. Lazarus (the eve of Palm Sunday) they rang the bells early for the liturgy, for the sake of those who were fasting from the day before in order to approach the holy mysteries. But the patriarch of Moscow celebrated before the empress in a new church named after St. Lazarus. On this day the country people brought in in their sledges branches of a plant

[to be used] like those of the palm-tree, which had put forth buds without leaves. They were selling it in the markets, and the priests were buying it for all the churches, to distribute to the people at night. . . . In the evening they tolled the huge bell for vespers; and they tolled it again, with all the other bells, at midnight, for matins. We arose therefore in the night, the earth all the while trembling with the vibration of the bells: and after the reading of the gospel they brought large twigs of the above-mentioned branches, which they call, like the Greeks, *βαΐα*, and fix tapers on their points. Our lord the patriarch came and incensed around them; and having recited the usual prayers, took the branches, as they were given him, with his right hand, the priests and the *καντηλάπτης* cutting them for him; and fixing on each of them a lighted candle, he distributed them to all the congregation, who ceased not to hold them, with the tapers burning, till after the third hymn of the kanons. When the reader began to read and they sat down, they extinguished them. . . . When he ended, and they rose again for the short *ἐκτενὴς*, they relighted them till after the sixth hymn. In like manner also they relighted them from before the seventh till after the ninth. At last they finally extinguished them, and went out from the church, each with his branch in his hand, to their homes, where they fail not to keep it as a blessing from year to year. If the emperor had been present, the patriarch would have given to him alone a branch of the real palm-tree.

On the morning of this great Sunday of the Palms they rang all the bells round, one after the other, as usual, to assemble the priests of each district and the people of the city; for the festival of this day is with them exceeding great, as is the festival of the Baptism or Theophany. On these two festivals they assemble in vast numbers, greater than at Easter or Pentecost, as we witnessed. The patriarch Nicon had sent the day before to invite our master to celebrate with him; for he gives a banquet also on this day. We went therefore to him. The streltses, during the previous week, had put the road in order, from the cathedral to the Kremlin gate, nailing on it planks, and drying the clay with sand; for in this week the ice had begun to thaw, and the rain to fall. After they had rung the third hour, the patriarch descended from his palace, wearing a mandya of green velvet, having for its emblems cherubim and

seraphim, in gold, pearls, and precious stones; for its border, on both sides, white small clear pearls, strung together; and for the red in the middle, valuable red shells. His white latia, like the mitre on his head, was adorned with gold and precious stones, having a cross at the top, and having its lappets, which hung down, equally covered with gold and gems. All the deacons and subdeacons and readers had come and put on their sticharia in his palace, and now preceded him, with tapers in their hands, chanting the troparion of the Raising of Lazarus, till they reached the church, while the chief deacons supported him on either side, &c. Then they brought to the patriarch the *βαΐα* (the palms); and he took one of them, as did also our master. Then he distributed to the attendants; then to all the archons of the emperor. These had dressed themselves on this day in vests of gold brocade for the festival. Afterwards we all went out of the west door of the church. First those with the banners, then the priests, after them the heads of convents, a vast multitude. In front of all was a large tree, formed of those branches we mention, which they had been preparing from the dawn of day until now. They had tied on its several twigs branches of raisins, pieces of sugar, and apples in great quantity. They had then placed it on two sledges fastened together, and formed around it benches of boards, on which they placed six little anagnosts in their tunicles, chanting the hymns of the Raising of Lazarus with a very clear loud voice, the whole drawn by two horses at a quick pace. They had got ready also from an early hour one hundred boys, sons of streltses, and had given them out of the emperor's treasury a hundred cloaks of divers colours, green, red, blue, yellow, &c. Each of them had put on his cloak; and they had been all trained, and were under a director. Then they brought before the patriarch a *horse*, all covered with linen, as white as a shirt, so that nothing of it could be seen but the eyes. It was well trained, sensible, and manageable; and was tied up from year to year, no one ever riding it except on this day. Upon it was a kind of saddle, thickened to the size of a chair, and covered with velvet, set on one side. The patriarch Nicon *requested our master to ride upon it instead of himself;* but he would not, wishing that we should be only spectators of this *their strange ceremony, which excited our utmost astonishment.* And now they brought before

the patriarch a chair covered with black cloth, on which sitting, he was mounted upon the saddle above mentioned, with his feet hanging down on one side, and his back leaning against the chair on the other. He held in his right hand the cross, in his left the gospel. Then the archons with the great officers of state, all clothed in brocade, richly bordered with pearls and gems, took their places on each side of him. Then came forward the emperor's deputy, and took hold of the horse's bridle, which was of great length. And they led the horse forward step by step, going before him. If the emperor had been present, he would have led it with his own hand. Thus we went forth in procession, the streltses being drawn up on both sides, and the heads of their six centuries around them. The boys, fifty on each side, vied with each other in spreading their coloured cloaks under the horse's feet across the way; and when the horse had passed over his cloak, each boy took it up and ran forward to spread it again as before. It was an hour of delight, such as we should wish every true friend to enjoy. Meanwhile the bells rang violently, so that the earth trembled; and the patriarch gave his blessing with the cross to the assembled crowds, to the right side and to the left; our lord the patriarch of Antioch and the metropolitans following behind him, as also the grandees of the empire, and the patriarch's archons; while the heads of the six centuries were some behind him, some before, and others on each side of him. But nothing transported us with so much joy as the sight of the boys with their cloaks of various colours, which they spread with so much diligence and emulation. In this manner they continued to proceed, till we went out of the Kremlin gate, and descended to the plain. The chief of the deacons and his fellows were all this time incensing the patriarch, as he rode, from a distance; till they came to a large church singular in the beauty of its structure and form, and the variety of the paintings of its cupolas. It is not indeed a single church, but many churches in one, the whole named after the blessed Trinity [Vasili Blajenni]. Here they set down the tree and the banners, and the patriarch in his chair covered with cloth, till he alighted by the steps. We went up with him to one of the churches, which is dedicated by the name of the Procession with Palms: for the above-mentioned churches are likened to the house of Annas and the palace of Jerusa-

lem. In it they performed the service of the procession; and the patriarch said the gospel; and after reading it, took the cross upright in his hands, and gave a blessing with it towards the east, moving it perpendicularly three times. The archdeacon meanwhile incensed him thrice, &c. [and came to kiss an icon, saying certain words]. Then the patriarch turned with the cross to the other three sides, and moved it for a blessing in the same manner; while the archdeacon incensed it as before thrice, with the same words. Then they kissed it, and placed it in its stand or box, and came and kissed the icon of the Procession of Christ with the palms, together with our master. Then they made the *ἀπόλυσις*, and we went down from the church. The patriarch mounted the horse, as before; the sledges with the tree moved forwards; and all the deacons walked before the patriarch, with every other person, in the place assigned to him; while the boys spread their cloaks on the path. Thus we returned to the cathedral, which we entered amid the ringing of the bells. With the tree they stopped before the south doors of the church. Then the patriarch ascended to his platform at the west end, [and the two patriarchs celebrated the liturgy together]; and after the reading of the homily for the day and the *ἀπόλυσις*, he came down, and went out of the south doors of the church, with us attending him. Approaching the tree, he incensed it and blessed it. Then he gave orders to cut branches from it; and one of the streltses cut some off with an axe, and carried them into the church, where the patriarch cut them small, and placed them in vessels of silver, together with raisins, sugar, and apples. These he sent to the empress, and to her son and daughters, and to the sisters of the emperor. The rest of the tree the people divided among themselves.

When we had unrobed, we went up with the patriarch Nicon to his palace, to dine with him; and he sent to the empress and to all the emperor's household dishes from his table, with wines first. Then our lord the patriarch sat down to table, as did the bishops and the archimandrites. We also sat down at a board on his right hand; the grandees all sat at a table on his left. If the emperor had been present, he would have sat at the head of the table; and at his departure from the banquet he would have had *a claim on the patriarch* for the sum of 100 gold dinars, *in recompense for his trouble in walking at the procession*, and

guiding the reins of the horse by a cord at a distance. We were told that the emperor deposits these hundred dinars annually in his treasury for the day of his funeral, it being the earnings of his own labour. The patriarch makes him a present *also of three soroks of sable, two satin dresses, and two of velvet*, as a recompense for his walking, while he himself rides.

Then they led into the middle of the dining-hall two poor blind men, and two others maimed and crippled, and set them at a table near the patriarch, who called them one by one to his side, and gave them meat and drink with his own hand, with very great respect and reverence; so that our hearts were moved at the sight. Afterwards he arose, and they presented to him a basin and ewer; and he went round to the poor men; and having washed their feet, one after the other, dried them, and kissed them, and then gave alms to them all. We wondered much at this spectacle, and were moved to tears by these affecting circumstances. Thus they say it is usual for their emperors to do at their banquets constantly. This festivity they did not terminate until evening, when we arose from table, and returned to our monastery, penetrated with the utmost astonishment at what had occurred. As for the boys, when they had returned from the procession, and the patriarch had entered the church to celebrate the liturgy, they all went to the river; and having washed their cloaks from the mud, put them on again, and came and stood in the patriarch's way as he came out of church, crying out all together aloud, and praying for him. He commanded therefore that they should be treated with a meal, as usual; and after they had eaten, he distributed among them a dollar each: and they ceased not to sing hymns the whole length of the day, standing in front of the patriarch's banqueting-hall, from the time he left the church until the evening. The joy of being thus equipped in the cloak, and of receiving the dollar, they look forward to from year to year. None but the sons of the streltses and chaoushes (guards) dare enter themselves among them: to these the turn goes round annually. What we have described of surprising things, Christian brethren, we saw with our own eyes. May God preserve the Muscovite empire for ages of ages! Amen.

§ xii. *Ceremonies of Holy Week. List of relics.* [On Holy Wednesday, after the hours, the patriarch gave absolution to

all present, and took the cross in his hands; and they all advanced to kiss it, and beg pardon from it. In the evening they began to perform in all the churches the great compline, which goes on without interruption till the eve of Easter-day.]

During this week they do not open the markets except for eatables; but all attend the successive services of the church.

On the morning of Holy Thursday they tolled the bells from dawn of day; and our lord the patriarch of Antioch went by invitation to the patriarch of Moscow. After the tolling of the third hour, they all came together from the patriarchal palace to the cathedral; then they robed at the west end, as usual. And the bishops and archimandrites and the rest of the priests in their phenolia came out to them, and took their places in the usual order. The ecclesiarch had set in the midst a table like a lectern, of carved marble and of European workmanship, resting on four wooden legs. He had covered it with a covering of gold brocade with rich fringes, and on its four corners had set four candlesticks of silver gilt. On the centre of it he had placed a large silver-gilt vessel, having rings to carry it by, as it were a huge bowl, filled with oil; near it was a silver flagon of wine, and a high cup filled with wheat-grains, in which they had stuck seven burning tapers, and seven small sticks of wood covered with rolls of cotton. This is what they set on the left side: on the right side they placed the holy gospel. But the patriarch of Moscow having asked our master *if this was all correct*, he answered, 'Yes; but one thing is wanting: viz. that he who officiates should pour some of the wine upon the oil, according to what is directed in the book, and according to the words of the gospel, that the good Samaritan poured into the wounds of him that fell among thieves wine and oil.' The patriarch was pleased, and perfectly agreed. Then they began the ceremony of the ἐυλαιον, according to the ritual, &c. After the patriarch had finished the prayers, he took from the vessel of wheat one of the sticks, and signed with it a cross upon the oil. Then he lighted it, and fastened it in its place; and taking a burning taper, extinguished it in the oil. In like manner, our master also said the next gospel, and then recited the prayer after it for the oil; and having signed it with a stick in the form of the cross, lighted the stick, and having extinguished a

second taper in the oil, returned to his place. So too did the archbishop of Servia; then the rest of the bishops, till the complete number of seven had performed the rite. After the burning of the seven sticks and the extinguishing of the seven tapers, the patriarch of Moscow descended from his throne, with our master near him; and the bishops opened the gospel over their heads, near the oil. Then he took a beautiful silver ladle, and stirred the oil with it from top to bottom, as if to spread the blessing equally through every part of it. Then he set out three glass vessels and a cruise of silver gilt, of exquisite workmanship, which he caused to be brought from his treasury, to send to the emperor. Having blessed it, and recited over it a prayer for his majesty, he requested the patriarch of Antioch to do the same; and he blessed it, and said over it the prayer for the oil, as before. Then the patriarch of Moscow sealed it, and delivered it to the emperor's lieutenant, who sent for one of the sotniks, to dispatch him with it to the emperor. The patriarch had written a letter to him as he stood above in his place; and he now sealed it, and prayed a blessing on the messenger, bowing low to him, as if he were bowing to the emperor in his person. After he had sent away the messenger, he turned towards our master, to anoint him; and they two did it to each other. Then they two stood with the archbishop of Servia, and with the deacons before them, holding the three phials, and they began to anoint the congregation, from the bishops and priests to the grandees and all the people. After they had finished, they sat down in their chairs a little while, until the desk was removed with all the vessels.

It was their practice formerly, when the emperor was present, to conclude the office and depart, and afterwards return. But now, to our good fortune, God inspired the patriarch, and they entered the sanctuary together for the washing of the holy table. Having ranged themselves around it, they took off from it its covering of gold brocade. Through the love of this patriarch for the ritual of the Greeks, *he was continually begging our master that, whenever he noticed any fault, he would mention it*, and, when officiating himself, do whatever he knew to be right. Now, it had been their custom to take off from the holy table the upper covering of damask only, and to wash its under linen covering by wiping it with a sponge: for all

their holy tables are of wood. But the patriarch of Antioch now bade them to take off the linen also, and then to wash it with the sponge, as usual. Besides, there was always the *Typicon* (the formulary or directory) set on the right hand of the patriarch Nicon, *into which he was constantly looking;* as well as into the particular rubrics, one after another. After they had dried the table and replaced its coverings, they went out into the body of the church; and they began to read the hours; after which followed the liturgy, with an ordination.

After the liturgy, we went out to the west end of the church for the lavanda. They had set a long seat on the left side of the platform, covered with a piece of carpeting: this was for the disciples: and at the head of it they had placed a high chair, covered also with carpeting, on which they seated our lord the patriarch of Antioch, as in the chair of St. Peter, the founder of his see. Observe this coincidence; blessed be the Creator for it! Below him, on his left hand [*i. e.* between his chair and the top of the bench], they placed another chair, on which they set the archbishop of Servia. Then the archdeacon, with his fellow deacons, entered into the sanctuary; and first brought out the priest who was to personate Judas, and placed him on the bench on the platform near the candelabra [*i. e.* at the eastern extremity of the bench]. Then they went in, and brought out, two by two, first the bishops, then the heads of convents, and bowed with them to the patriarchs, as they stood with their arms held up near the holy doors, and made their first reverence: then they advanced with them a second step, and made their second reverence; then a third step, &c.; and seated them on the bench on the platform near the candelabra, till they were all placed. Then the patriarch of Moscow rose, as if from supper, and laid aside his outer garments; and they took off from him his mitre and sákkos. When he had said, 'And he girt himself with a towel,' they brought him a linen apron with long strings, which they tied under his arms, crossing them before and behind. Then they put on him white linen sleeves, tied as before. When he had said, 'He poured water into a basin,' they brought to him a large silver ewer, which he took, and poured from it water into another beautiful ewer. Then they set down the basin before him; and he began to wash the feet, first of the priest personating Judas. When he

had finished, he kissed his feet, and blessed him. In like manner he did with the rest. After he had washed their feet and kissed them, he gave them his blessing, till he finished with our lord the patriarch of Antioch, and said the well-known words as to Peter, the interpreter interpreting between them. After the gospel was finished, the patriarch came down to the floor of the church, and began, assisted by our master, to sprinkle all the people with the same water with an aspersoir of bristles, from the bishops and other clergy to the grandees who were present; and when they crowded upon him, he sprinkled over them to as great a distance as was practicable. Afterwards the patriarch mounted the ambon, and read the homily for this day, of such a length that our legs were ready to drop under us, having stood from early dawn until now. Then he made the dismissal; and the choirs chanted a polychronion for him first, and then for the emperor, as usual. Afterwards they went into the sanctuary to unrobe, and saluted each other. We did not leave the church till after the chiming for the eleventh hour; and were cursing our very souls from fatigue. God grant us his special aid to get through the whole of this present week! As for the Muscovites, their feet must surely be of iron. And yet, from their perpetual standing in their churches, they are subject to a disease in the feet, which attacks all ranks, from the emperor to the beggar, and is incurable.

On this day the greater part of the laity, both men and women, go to confession in the churches, where they are anointed with the holy oil. We were told that the priest places before the person confessing the cross, the gospel, and the appropriate icon, in order to move him to confess his sins one by one; and that with them confession out of the church is not permitted.

In the evening they rang the bells, and went to the great compline.

At the second hour of the night, on the eve before the Great Friday, all the bells were tolled at once, and they arose to the great matins. When we entered the church they began to distribute to all the assistants tapers, which they lighted at each of the twelve gospels, &c.

At the third hour of the morning we arose and went to the cathedral, whence we went up in procession to the church of the Annunciation, in which are preserved the relics of all the saints.

In the mean time all the bells rang, till the very earth trembled; and the streltses were ranged on each side; the emperor's lieutenant and all his ministers also attending. On entering, the patriarchs, as is the custom, took some of the church icons in their hands. Before the doors of the sanctuary was set a long table, covered with brocade, with small long boxes or caskets of silver-gilt set out in rows upon it; but no one could tell what was contained in each casket, nor of what saint they were the relics, except by his effigy, which is stamped upon it, and accompanied by his name. There were, in all, thirty-five boxes. In many of them are contained the relics of several saints, having their effigies and names on the outside, worked with great skill.

The patriarch took the censer and incensed around them, and kissed them with his head uncovered, one by one. In like manner did our master; and I, a poor sinner, with him, giving thanks to God for the sight of these treasures, and for the opportunity of taking a blessing from them on this day; for no one does this except the patriarch and the deacon in attendance on him, who is always at his right hand. After he had incensed them, he took an icon for himself, gave a second to our master, and a third to the archbishop of Servia. Then he distributed the remainder to the bishops and the archimandrites and the rest of the priests, till he had gone through the whole of them. Then the two patriarchs first, and we near to them carrying their mitres, went forth from the church, and they carried the icons upon their heads, while the deacons in turn threw incense before them; and the bishops, with the heads of the monasteries and the priests, walked behind, two and two. Meanwhile the bells rang all together, and the people stood on the ground in the place facing towards the procession, till we entered the cathedral. Here the patriarch of Moscow passed on with all his attendants to the south-west end of the church, to the brazen tabernacle containing the tunic of Christ. On a signal given by the ecclesiarch to the ringers, they rang all the bells in honour of it. Then the patriarch and our master bowed before the gilt casket containing it, and incensed it, and the patriarch carried it on his head, and advanced with it step by step, while the bells rang till the church quivered with the sound, and all the people present bowed down to the earth, weeping, crying,

and saying, Gospodi pomilui, *i. e.* Κύριε ἐλέησον. When he came to the middle of the nave, he put it down from off his head, and having broken the emperor's seal which was upon it, he opened the lid, and took out of it a kind of small thin book, inlaid with gold and jewels, and placed it on the central lectern with the utmost reverence. Then, having placed the casket on its side, he opened one corner of the covering a little, so that the very tunic of our Lord appeared; and he incensed it, and bowed before it, and putting off his mitre, kissed it. In like manner did our master; as did I also, a wretched sinner, though unworthy to touch it with my mouth, or even to set eyes on it from a distance. It was of a fine dark-coloured linen. The Georgians think that the soldiers to whom the lot of this coat fell, which has no seam, were men of their country, and that, beholding the wonders of that time and hour, they set great value on it, and carried it into Georgia, to preach upon it and its divine owner, as the Magi had done; and that it was kept in their sacristies till our time. For our parts, we gave entire credit to this their report, because the empress Helena [the Georgian queen, then at Moscow] acknowledged its truth, as well as some other European sovereigns. Moreover, they [the Georgians] now informed us that the cloak also of our Lord is in their possession, kept in the sacristy of one of their churches; but that no one dares to uncover it, or to look at it; for they imagine that fire comes out of the earth and burns the beholders, &c. They have also in their possession a shift of our Lady the Mother of God. . . .

To return: The patriarch then ascended to his chair on the platform, and all took their usual places. And they began to read the first great hour. At the time of the gospel, he himself read it in his place, with his head uncovered, word for word, amid the most perfect silence; and woe to him that coughs or sneezes or spits when he has once begun. After the gospel the patriarch came down, and standing before the water, dipped the cross in the two vessels three times, after he had first signed it with the form of the cross, while they chanted Ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτισθέντος σοῦ Σωτὴρ, &c. Then he placed the cross in its case; and the protopope, together with the two ἐφημέριοι of the church, advanced, and began presenting to the patriarch the caskets of relics, one by one; and as he read the name of the saint whose relics they were, and the choirs chanted his τροπάριον, he

dipped one side of the relics in the water in the two vessels, and kissed them. Then our master also kissed them, as I did too; and we looked at them. Then he gave them to the officers of the church, who dried them and replaced them in their casket. Afterwards they presented others; and so on, till they had presented them all. These are the names of some . . . . the right hand of St. Mark; an arm of St. Stephen; the right hand of the emperor Constantine the Great; the head of Gregory the Divine; the head of the martyr St. Christopher, like the face of a dog, with a long mouth, and as hard as adamant; the right hand of Theodosius the Great, &c. These are some of the large relics, preserved in salt, which we noticed, and of which I wrote the names. I had a great desire to write the names of all; but I found it difficult, for many reasons. One was, my fear lest any one should know that I was busy writing everything I saw, which would have been very disagreeable and dangerous; for they were very cautious with us, and not one of them allowed us an insight into their secrets, because we were strangers to them, and dwellers among the heathen. The second was, the perplexity surrounding us at this moment; for who could in so short a time commit to memory a thousand names of limbs and relics? But what [might have] facilitated to us the whole matter was this, that I prevailed upon our lord the patriarch to ask the patriarch of Moscow, saying to him, 'Is there any list or book among you which gives information as to all these holy things?' He answered, 'Yes; but it is in the emperor's treasury.'

To return: The particles of the wood of the true cross he dipped all in the water; and with the towel which he held in his hand he wiped them clean, and wrung the towel into the water-vessel. Then he took the casket in which was the coat of our Lord, and opening one-half of it, plunged the whole into the water-vessels. Then taking it out, he wiped it with the towel, and shutting it up, put it in its place. Afterwards he took a silver ladle, and mixed the waters together, stirring them from top to bottom. Then the empress's steward came with a china tray, in which were suns [stars (?), like ἐγκόλπια] belonging to the empress, and crosses and chaplets (κομπολόγια) of gold, and her jewels, and those of her daughters, and of the emperor's sisters; and he dipped them in the water one by one: some said that they might be sanctified by it; others because in

the greater part of them there was some particle of the wood of the cross, and it was proper to dip them to clear away any dirt. After he had done so, he placed them in their tray, and the steward went away with them. Then they brought him large and small silver vessels, and he filled them with the water, and sent them to the empress and her daughters, and to the emperor's sisters, and to all their relations. But first of all he filled for the emperor a beautiful silver vessel, which he sealed up and sent to the emperor's lieutenant, who called a sotnik and committed to him the vessel, with a letter, and he set off with it immediately. Then he filled a vessel also for our lord the patriarch of Antioch, which we preserved with great joy. Afterwards he filled also for the grandees. Then the patriarch uncovered his head, and incensed the casket containing our Lord's tunic, and raised it upon his head. Immediately they gave a signal to the ringers, who rang all the bells, while he proceeded step by step to the place where it is kept, chanting the *τρισάγιον*. Then he incensed it, and the two patriarchs bowed to it together.

Then they entered [the brazen tabernacle], and took up the carpeted table which is set there, having first incensed it. It is this table upon which the above-mentioned casket always stands, with candles burning before it, in imitation of our Lord's sepulchre in the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. He carried it, assisted by the patriarch of Antioch in front, and by the bishops behind, all round the church, till they came with it before the doors of the sanctuary. It is the table used as the bier, and they set it lengthwise from the holy doors towards the west, in front of the table of the relics. Then they entered the sanctuary and took the *ἐπιτάφιος* [or representation of Christ dead], upon which is embroidered Christ's body taken down from the cross, with portraits of Joseph, Nicodemus, and the women, from off the table [on which it ordinarily lies]; and placing it on their heads, carried it out, to set it on the other table, with the head to the west and the feet to the east. Then the patriarch took the censer, &c. And when they had begun the vespers, four deacons stood facing each other, two on each side, with large long silver fans in their hands, with which they fanned over the *ἐπιτάφιος* in a very graceful manner, the fans being made to represent the wings of angels, each two in the form of a

cross; and when those at the head ceased, the others at the feet began to fan in like manner. They were like angels fluttering with their wings; so that we were delighted and amazed, and wept for joy at the sight. The persons bearing the banners, the crosses and tapers, were stationed all around. When the vespers were finished, they returned with the relics and icons to the church of the Annunciation, where we replaced them on the table which we mentioned before, &c. Afterwards we returned to the cathedral, which we did not leave till the eleventh hour, half dead with fatigue, with our legs dropping under us from standing since daybreak to the evening. When we were come to our own convent, and the priests had departed from the cathedral to their own churches, what they had already gone through was not enough for them, but the bells of their churches tolled, and they went in with their flocks for the vespers. As for the cathedral, they rang the bells again for the great compline. What a prodigious wonder is the corporeal energy of these people! What bodies, what legs must they have! God Almighty preserve them!

For the matins of Holy Saturday, or the Saturday of the Light, they rang the bells [at the seventh hour of the night], and we went to the cathedral. After the patriarch had ended the matins, they brought him triple tapers lighted, of which he took one himself, giving one to our lord the patriarch of Antioch; then to each of the bishops and of the archimandrites, who came two and two abreast to receive them. Then he distributed them to the emperor's lieutenant, and to all the grandees; afterwards to the rest of the ecclesiastics, who were standing in their places; for in none of their churches is there found a single stall or chair, but the priests stand in rows extending towards the east on their legs, without chairs to sit on, or stalls (*στασίδια*) to lean against, in the middle of the church. [Then they made the procession with the *ἐπιτάφιος* or plaschanitsa, &c.] The length of the office of the *ἐπιτάφιος* during this night was such that we did not get back to our convent till sunrise.

The patriarch Nicon told our master this morning that the emperor was passing this holy season at Smolensk, and that he intended to march out thence against the Poles on the 9th of May, having assembled with him at this moment more than 600,000 troops.

To return: They did not come out from the liturgy on this day till the evening. [The time to *begin* the vespers and liturgy on the Great Sabbath is, according to the Typicon, the tenth hour of the day.] We did not attend them, through the excess of our fatigue; for God is witness that we returned home in the morning so weak that we could not stir, particularly my wretched self, who remained many days entirely overcome with weakness. However, we did not escape altogether from liturgy; for the patriarch of Moscow sent to our master two candidates for holy orders; and he celebrated therefore in the church of the convent, and ordained the one priest, the other deacon. In the evening [at the first hour of the night] they rang the bells for the compline [that is, for the kanon of the Great Sabbath].

Part VI. Book XI. *Moscow.*

§ i. *Easter ceremonies. Use of red eggs.* In the middle of the night preceding the Great Pasch, which fell this year on the 15th of April, they rang the bells of all the churches, till the earth trembled; and the people left their houses in the dead of the night, to be present at the *ἀνάστασις*. But the bells of the cathedral were not rung till about three hours before daybreak. Thither we went; and as soon as the patriarch of Moscow was come, we entered the sanctuary to robe; after which he distributed candles to the assistants, and they went round the altar, and out in procession through the door of the prothesis, and out from the north door of the church, and so round to the main door at the west, before which they stopped, and performed the usual ceremony of the *ἀνάστασις*. Then the patriarch opened the door, and they entered the church: he went up to his chair on the platform; the rest stood in the usual way, chanting the kanon for Easter. But it was very different from the ceremony of the Greeks, and from the tumultuous joy and clapping of hands customary in our country. After the kanon &c. they entered the sanctuary for the patriarch of Moscow to lay aside his sakkos; a vestment of insupportable weight, which has recently been made new for him, of yellow Venetian brocade,

embroidered with gold, of which the ell is worth above fifty dinars, set all round its skirt, sleeves, and sides, to the breadth of four fingers, with large pearls like peas, with costly jewels among them. In like manner on his breast there was a kind of *ἐπιτραχήλιον*, reaching to his feet, which he desired us to lift up, but we could not. He said there was in it a pood of pearls, and that it had cost above 30,000 dinars. He has not one only of this sort, but above a hundred, kept from ancient times; and from time to time to all these he adds new ones. Then he put on another that was light, to breathe a little, and took in his hand a cross, giving another cross to our master, and the gospel to the archbishop of Servia; and they ranged themselves in a line [on the solea], with their faces to the west. Then the patriarch of Moscow went to them each in succession, and kissed the cross in the hand of our master, and his mouth, saying *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη* (Christ is risen). Afterwards they went out and stood in a line in the porch, where they placed before the patriarch a basket of red eggs, of which he first gave three to our master on kissing him; then he gave to each of the bishops two; and to the archimandrites and the priests one each, as he went round to them. Then the grandees of the empire came up and kissed the cross, together with the right hand of the patriarch, and his mouth, saying *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη*. After them came the monks, and all the people who were present in the church. Some of them presented the patriarchs with eggs; while on the other hand the patriarchs gave eggs to others, namely, to the poor. We were told that when the emperor is present, he himself distributes the eggs to all with his own hand; and each person who receives one from him preserves it in his house as a kind of blessing from his hand. After this the two patriarchs entered the sanctuary with all the attendant clergy; and after the archdeacon had bidden the prayers &c., we left the church at sunrise.

We observed on this day a circumstance which surprised us much; for they did not interrupt their great *metánoias* to the ground, either now nor yet during the whole of the fifty days, though at this season they are unlawful. But such is their custom.

An anecdote: There came hither once in time past a Greek bishop, a philosopher, celebrated for his knowledge and eloquence. Now it is the custom of the Muscovites to put to the trial a man

like this. They asked him therefore about the red eggs at Easter, whether there is any authority for that ceremony in the Scriptures? He adduced the prophet, who says, 'Who is this that cometh from Edom, with red garments of Bosor?' The philosopher [Paisius] Ligarides, metropolitan of Gaza, *the learned man from Rome*, when we asked him [later, in Moldavia] concerning this, replied, that it was because, when Mary Magdalene went to Rome, and complained to Cesar against Pilate, her garments were dyed with the blood of the Messiah.

After the third hour of the day on Easter Sunday they began ringing the bells of the cathedral; and our master went to the palace of the patriarch of Moscow, to meet him; and the patriarch of Moscow took him with him to the empress, to pay her his visit for the festival. They had with them a cross and holy water. When they came to her doors, they requested permission, and entered. The patriarch of Moscow said the prayer, 'Save, O God, thy people,' &c., naming all the saints, and praying for the emperor, for her, for her son and daughters, for the emperor's sisters, for the whole imperial household, and for those present with the empress. Then he sprinkled the apartment, and her also; and presented to her the cross to kiss, and blessed her, and kissed her right hand; and sprinkled her son and daughters, and the emperor's sisters, and blessed them. In like manner did our lord the patriarch of Antioch. Then the empress asked for the metropolitans, who were standing without; and they entered, bowing to her to the ground, and kissing her hand, and blessing her. In like manner, after them, entered the archimandrites, as our master told us afterwards. Then they went forth from her presence, and descended to the cathedral.

The patriarch Nicon this day was clad in a gown of deep-red velvet, reaching to the ground, with sleeves of another stuff. Over it was the mandya of green velvet; and he wore the same latia. On his feet he wore green slippers; and thus on most days we had seen him wearing green or blue or red slippers or sandals. He is not singular in this: most of the monks and clerks and nuns go about in green dresses and in green slippers: for the greater part of the stuffs imported to them by the Persian merchants are green; so that the clothing of the generality of the people also is such; and an excellent dress it makes. When the patriarchs robed, the patriarch of Moscow put on the sakkos

of St. Sergius, sometime patriarch of C.P. [Sergius II. A.D. 999-1019]; and our lord the patriarch of Antioch put on the sakkos of St. Photius, another patriarch of C.P. [really a metropolitan of Moscow of the same name]. For they relate that the Greek emperors and patriarchs of that time sent them to them [in A.D. 1409] with all manner of blessings. They are embroidered all over, both before and behind, on blue satin; having both before and behind representations of the festivals of our Lord, and many figures of saints, with inscriptions and all the names in Greek. There is worked all round each of these sakkoses, from the sides to the skirt, the creed, '*We believe in one God*,' &c., in large embroidered letters. For this reason all the sakkoses belonging to the present patriarch of Moscow have been similarly worked and ornamented all round, either in embroidery, or in large pearls. Like their *sticharia* (tunicles), they have four appendages, besides the main piece; namely, the two sleeves, the square cape between the shoulders, and the bottom of the skirt. This division and arrangement are very pleasing to the eye. Their phenolia also are very wide, large, and flowing down in a wide sweep to the ankle, and having a seam at the shoulders. They have all broad fringes at the bottom of the skirt of their sticharia on the great festivals. The joinings of the sleeves are of pearls, as are also those of the shoulders entirely, or else of heavy gold lace; and so are the seams of the phenolia. These seams they make ornamental to the dress by covering them with figures, pearls, jewels, and small portraits between the icons [small icons between the larger representations]. So the patriarch's sakkoses are always furnished with appendages for the arms of a stuff different from the main piece; and the seams are adorned with figures in gold lace, or in pearls or jewels. In like manner the sides and skirt are of stiff cloth, with either gold lace in letters, or pearls in large letters, or beautiful figures. This is the fashion of the sacerdotal robes not in Muscovy only, but also throughout all the country of the Kozaks. On all their robes there is always a cross of pearls or heavy gold brocade behind. We therefore made crosses for all our robes and sacerdotal ornaments, lest they should despise us and our habit. This method of piecing together different stuffs is a good idea . . . . and it produces a more tasty effect; *as, if we live, you shall see.*

To return: Then they began the liturgy (in which there

was an ordination). At the time of the reading of the gospel, the chief of the deacons went out to the ἄμβων, and the patriarch to the altar; and so they recited the gospel, clause by clause, with much chanting, and at great length. It was the patriarch who always began; and when he had finished a clause of eight or ten words only, they tolled the great bell by itself. It was managed in this way: The καντηλάπτης stood at the door of the church, opposite to them, with a small rattle in his hand: and whenever he heard the conclusion of the patriarch's clause, he rattled it once; and the ringers above, hearing it, answered with the great bell. At the end of the gospel they rang all the bells together; and in like manner at the going round with the [representative] body of Christ [at the great introit]. During the whole year it is only on this day that they ring them on these occasions. At the time of the great introit, the deacons carried at the head of the procession a representation of the city of Jerusalem, with the church of the Resurrection and the sepulchre of our Lord in the middle of it, with all the cupolas exactly as they really are, with crosses on their tops; the whole being of silver. When the liturgy was over, the patriarch went up upon the ambon, and read the homily [printed with the office] of St. J. Chrysostom. Then he made the dismissal, with the cross in his right hand. Our lord the patriarch of Antioch held another cross; for such is their custom during this week: even the ordinary priests do not conclude the service without a cross in their hands. And whereas it had not been their custom to take the *ἀντίδωρα*, our master on this day made the patriarch of Moscow distribute it to them; so that from him sprang the *subsequent and present practice*. He gave them therefore of the antidora; and they kissed the cross as they received it. Then they brought on the part of the empress baskets of peeled and coloured eggs, and pieces of saffron-coloured bread; and the patriarch read over them the usual prayer, and sent them back to her. Then we went in, and unrobed; and did not leave the church till after the eighth hour. But in the common churches the liturgy had been celebrated early in the morning.

We then crossed over with the patriarch Nicon to his dining-room: for it was he who gave a banquet at his palace this day, in place of the emperor. The first thing they placed on the tables were portions of red and black caviare; after that, fish of

various kinds, according to the rule they always practise [that monks should never eat flesh-meat], and a bad practice it is. As for us, it was no feast at all, but rather a fast: and there we stayed more than two hours. At length they rose from table; and went down to the church again to give thanks. Afterwards they took leave of each other, and we returned to our monastery, nearly fainting from the fatigue undergone during the whole of the past week. We remained very weak, with pains in our backs and legs, for some days during these holidays, which were certainly no holidays for the foreigner, though he had had the strength of Alexander.

Every day in this week they rang the bells at the patriarch's coming out from the church to return to his palace, and also at his return to the church from the banquet: for it is his custom during this whole week, after the repast, to go down to the church, and to give thanks to God through the *παναγία*.

Nor were the young men and boys during this week idle in ringing their bells in every street throughout the city, both night and day, taking a great delight in it: for this is their joy; this is their sport and glory. Note that their Easter lasts from now till Ascension-day; and that during this time, whenever any one of them first visits a friend, he presents him with a red egg, and kisses him on the mouth, saying *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη*.

§ ii. *Police regulations at Easter. The river Moskva, and its bridges. The market, and manner of trading.* The shops and taverns for the sale of liquors and spirits continued shut up and sealed from the beginning of Lent till the Monday after St. Thomas' [*i. e.* after Low] Sunday. For they are stricter in keeping them closed during this week even than in Lent. Also during all the year they are prohibited from opening them from the eve before Sunday to Monday morning; and the like is the custom for all the great festivals. During this week the streltses went round the city, like fire; and whenever they found any one drunk and disorderly, they dragged him to the police-court, whence he was sent to prison for a number of days, after much beating and bruising; a thing we saw continually happening.

During the week of the Passion, and also during this week of Easter, the patriarch of Moscow visited the prisons, and did much kindness to the prisoners. As for those confined for debt, he paid their debts for them, and let them out. If the emperor

had been present, he would have done so too, according to his usual custom. The patriarch paid a visit also to our master, and distributed to us of the paschal bread (called ἄρτος). In like manner also the deacons and clerks and singers came in troops to our residence, to pay the compliments of the festival to our lord the patriarch of Antioch, chanting Χριστὸς ἀνέστη, and a πολυχρόνιον for him. He then made them a benefaction, and they went away.

To return: At the beginning of March the days and nights are equal; but after the 10th [old style] the days began to lengthen; so that on this day of Easter, 15th April, the day was fifteen hours and a half long, and the night was reduced to eight and a half. On this day the ice covering the rivers broke up; and we went to look at the river Moskva, which runs under the palace, and through the middle of the town, not having seen it up to the present time; for there had hitherto been upon it mountains of snow and ice. [Then follows a description of the bridges, and of the bazaar.] . . . Young boys are stationed in most of these shops, and we observed in them such a degree of prudence, artifice, and cunning in their sales and purchases, as quite astonished us. Most of these lads are Turkish and Tatar captives taken by the Kozaks of the Don. . . . When we spoke to them in Turkish, they blushed and would not answer, for fear of their masters, who have had them baptised, and have brought them up Christians. Credible persons informed us that no proselyte from any religion shows such sincerity in his conversion after being baptised as the Turk and the Tatar. They are brought over with their whole hearts and souls; and we saw many of them become monks, and abandon the world, displaying much devotion and many virtues, and pitying their infidel parents who begot them in paganism. . . . We gained the advantage frequently in bargaining over the grown-up people; but these youths laughed at us, and made fools of us, and with them we could do absolutely nothing.

A certain converted Jew, born at Saloniki, who was interpreter at the emperor's court for Greek and Turkish, told us that the Jews surpassed all other nations for cheating and roguery, but that the Muscovites surpassed the Jews in cunning by far.

The markets in this city are held on Wednesdays and Fri-

days. . . . When any one of the great festivals of our Lord falls on a Wednesday or a Friday, they do not open the shops till after mass.

§ iii. *Description of the Kremlin; of the second and third city walls; and of the outer mound.* The emperor's castle and palace (the Kremlin) has, as we said before, an immense ditch all round it, on the bank of which, on both sides, are two walls with battlements; and within them are two other very high walls with towers. It has five gates, at the front of each of which are four or five barriers; and of these one is always in the form of an iron cage [a drawbridge], which they raise and lower with an engine. Over the great imperial and eastern gate is painted on the outside our Lord standing in the act of blessing. This gate they call the Spasskia, of Smolensk. On the inside of the gate towards the palace is an icon of the Mother of God throned, with the Muscovite bishops bowing before her. Above is the great clock-tower. At the second gate, on the outside, is the picture of St. Nicholas holding a drawn sword in his right hand, and in his left the city of Moscow, saved by him from Tamerlane. This is called the Nikolskia. On the inner side is the picture of our Lord, before whom St. Leontius and his companions, the bishops of Rostoff, are doing reverence. The third gate is very strong; for here the moat is very deep. Leading to it is a long bridge, at the head of which, on the city side, is a huge tower. . . . On the bridge also are two walls, with battlements on both sides. On the outside of the gate of the above-mentioned tower is the picture of the emperor Constantine; on its inner side is that of the emperor Vladimir. On the inside of the palace gate [*i.e.* the gate into the Kremlin, at the farther end of this bridge] is the icon of our Lady, surnamed *πλατυτέρα*, with the heavens, the angels, and the four evangelists around her. Above this gate is a huge tower, in which is an iron clock, heard by the western inhabitants of the palace. And as this tower and the gate are very high above the ground, the ascent to this bridge is very considerable. From the circumstance that within this gate and opposite to it is the lodge belonging to the monastery of the Holy Trinity (in which the kellar constantly resides) there is painted over it a representation of the Trinity, with the likenesses of Abraham and Sarah, and with a table set. The fourth gate, looking over the imperial gardens, and situated on the

south-west of the palace, has St. John the Baptist painted over it. The fifth gate, on the south of the palace, has painted over it the Samaritan woman and our Lord at the well. They call it the Water-gate, because by this gate they go out to draw water from the Moskva. By it too they go out on the day of Christ's baptism and on the 1st of Aug. to bless the water in the river.

As for the second wall [that of the Kitai Gorod], its first part is from the corner tower of the fortress [of the Kremlin] on the east side, extending along the river Moskva; the other part of it is from the opposite corner of the palace towers, reaching along the other river. . . . This wall has seven gates, two close to the bridge over the river, and two opposite them, at the mouth of the other bridge upon the other river and lake. The other three gates are single. Each gate has over it, both inside and out, some icon painted.

As for the third wall of the city, built of large white stones, and called the White wall, the emperor Vasili Ivanovich built it. The two former walls are of brick. . . . Its portholes, which are filled with cannon, bear, by the contrivance of the builders, upon the very bottom of the wall. One side of this wall joins the corner of the second wall. Thus one side of the city, on the west of the palace, is enclosed by this white wall, and on the east and north the greatest part of the town; for it extends from the east to the west, enclosing two walls; and on the south one wall; as the great river Moskva is defended by it. In this white wall there are more than fifteen gates, distinguished by the names of the icons upon them. Before each of these icons there is a lamp. . . . Every gate has four doors, all closing upon each other, in its long porch. All the gates without exception have their cages of iron bars, which are let down from the top of the tower, and raised again, by an engine.

The vast wall of earth, looking like the other three put together, which has a moat both inside and out, is beyond all these walls, between which and it there is a great distance. It was made by the patriarch Philaret, grandfather to the present emperor. Its circumference is thirty versts. It is more defensible than all the walls of stone and brick. . . .

This then is the description of the city of Moscow, and of its walls, ascertained by our own observation, so far as we could carry it by stolen glances of the eye. . . . I calculated, with my

European watch in my hand, that from our residence within the Kremlin, in the centre of the town, to the wall of earth, it was more than a full hour's distance; but a person walking would probably not perform it within an hour and a half. The length therefore of this city from west to east is a journey of three full hours, as I in this manner calculated it.

§ iv. *Regulations for the prevention of fire. History of the two sobashis. Judicial and provincial administration. Imperial revenue.* . . . All the houses of the city are of wood; and the lives of the inhabitants are on this account very anxious, as it is at Constantinople and its suburbs; and indeed worse; for on many nights while we were at Moscow some great fire was announced.

The two sobashis [whose charge it is to guard, the one the palace and its environs, the other the city, from fire] are two brothers, of Turkish origin. . . . We afterwards associated with them; and there arose between us a very great friendship and intimacy. They knew the Greek, Turkish, and Persian languages. They related to us that they had been with the vizir Khosref Pasha on his expedition to Bagdad, together with their father, who was pasha of Roumelia. When the vizir was defeated, and their father slain, they were taken prisoners by the Persians, and became slaves of the shah, attached to his own person. At length they succeeded in making their escape to Georgia, to the court of Timouraz Khan, after riding day and night for fifteen days. Hence they passed into Moldavia, where by their own request they were baptised by the late Theophanes patriarch of Jerusalem, and were raised to rank and office in the service of the bey. When Theophanes had become acquainted with their history, he sent them with letters to the late Michael, father of the present emperor, who was delighted with them, raised them to the highest dignity, and gave them the title of kniazes. One of them was named kniaz Anastási, the other kniaz Theodore. They frequently came to the residence of our master; and we observed in them a religiousness, a devotion, and an ability to read the Russian language, superior to that of others who had been bred up from the first orthodox believers. They took us to their palaces many times, and gave us information on many subjects; but they would not speak Turkish, nor read anything in that language; for the late patriarch Philaret had made them swear on the gospel not to speak the Turkish,

nor to read it, lest they should become defiled as before. When we asked them about the number of the streltses employed as guards of the palace, they told us they were 600, and were relieved every day. They informed us that within and without the palace there are about seventy prikazes, or courts, for all affairs and causes, *e.g.* for inheritances, for the monks and monasteries, for the spahis, for the streltses, for the different offices of the government and of the army, as the military prikaz, &c., for the receipt of the imperial revenue, for the expenditure, for the grant of pensions, for ambassadors, and all foreigners coming to Moscow; and so on. Every person who has any matter goes to the appointed prikaz. . . .

They told us that the emperor employs twelve vizirs or ministers; also that under the emperor there are seven provinces or principalities, to each of which he sends two vizirs called voivodes, viz. 1. Kieff, *i.e.* the whole country of the Kozaks, for from ancient times it depended on Moscow, and having of late come under the direct command of the emperor, *has been named by him Little Russia*, and the patriarch has confirmed it in this appellation; 2. Novgorod, 3. Astrachan, 4. Kazan, 5. Siberia, 6. Pskoff, and 7. Archangel. The names of the inferior departments we know not; but the inferior voivodes . . . are upwards of 1500 in number; . . each of these exercises jurisdiction at the most over something more than 2000 villages, and at the least over 1000. Thus we were informed. Also that all the peasants of each district are entered upon registers, and that not one of them can travel without permission from the voivode. These districts are the property of the emperor: those which from ancient times stand in the names and are the property of the grandees are without number. . . . We were informed by the Greeks that the annual income of the Turkish emperor is twenty-four millions of gold pieces, obtained by countless tyrannies and oppressions. The income of this empire, according to law, justice, and good government, is said to be thirty-six millions; the whole arising from the trade in wheat and rye, and from the coinage of the kopecks of commerce from fractions of the Spanish dollar. We found every dollar to weigh as much as sixty-two or sixty-four kopecks; and the price of the dollar is fifty. This difference therefore is in favour of the government. A third source of revenue is the distillation of spirits; for all the dis-

tilleries belong to the sovereign. Every vedro (eight okas of C.P.) stands the government in thirty kopecks, and is sold for one hundred or one hundred and twenty. The custom-house at Archangel also is a source of vast wealth. . . . This is the information which we obtained from those brothers. Besides them, no single person related to us anything of the secrets of the empire, neither of the Muscovites nor of the interpreters; for all were sworn on the cross and the gospel not to communicate to any person any of their secrets.

§ v. *Calculation of time. The princess Irene. Process of admission to holy orders.* Of the variation in the length of the day in the province of Moscow during the year we copied from their Synaxaria as follows: On the 8th Sept. the day and night are equal; on the 24th the day has 11 hours, the night 13. On the 10th Oct. day 10, night 14; on the 26th, day 9, night 15. In Nov. no change. On the 11th Dec. day 8, night 16; on the 27th, day 7, night 17. On the 1st Jan. day 8, night 16; on the 17th, day 9, night 15. On the 2d Feb. day 10, night 14; on the 18th, day 11, night 13. On the 6th March the night and the day are equal; on the 22d, day 13, night 11. On the 7th April, day 14, night 10; on the 23d, day 15, night 9. On the 9th May, day 16, night 8; on the 25th, day 17, night 7. In June there is no change. On the 6th July, day 16, night 8; on the 22d, day 15, night 9. On the 7th August, day 14, night 10; and on the 23d, day 13, and night 11.

To return: Our lord the patriarch of Antioch said mass on Easter Monday in the large summer church of the monastery, named after SS. Athanasius and Cyril, and ordained. So also he did on the T., W., and Th. On the F. the patriarch of Moscow invited him, and they concelebrated [now, instead of 3d March?] in commemoration of St. Jonah, who was the third metropolitan, after SS. Peter and Alexis, of Moscow. After the mass, they made for him a *μνημόσυνον*; and we went up with the patriarch to the banquet which he gives on all such anniversaries. He set also a table in the midst for the poor, the crippled, and the blind. He ceased not to distribute to all present dishes of meat and cups of drink, till the end of the dinner; when they stood up, and elevated the *panagia;* and we returned to the convent.

On the Sat. in Easter week, and on Low Sunday, and on the M. and T., he said mass in the same church again, and or-

dained. On T., the eve before the 2d of May, they rang the bells of the patriarchate at the fourth hour of the night; afterwards those of the other convents and churches in gradation; and they performed the great vigil in commemoration of St. Athanasius patriarch of Alexandria (the patron of the chief church of the convent). When we had entered it, and after they had recited the nocturn [*μεσονυκτικὸν*], they read a portion of the saint's history. Then they began the matins; and after each cathism of the *psalms* they sat down, and read a portion of his life. At the time of the *πολυέλαιον* they brought to our lord the patriarch a quantity of tapers, which he distributed to those present. After the gospel, at the beginning of the kanons, the deacon went out with his taper, and the priest with the censer to throw incense; and at the ninth hymn they lighted the tapers. At the time of the *Ἄξιον ἐστὶν*, at the end of the kanons, the choristers assembled in the middle; and all chanted together, according to their custom, *Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ*. We did not leave the church till break of day. Afterwards we went in again, after the third hour of the day, for mass; and, having robed our master, we performed the *παράκλησις* for the emperor; then the *ἁγιασμὸς* (blessing of water), at the end of which the superior brought vessels, like glass wine-bottles, made of wax, and our master filled them for him with this water, that he might distribute them, together with loaves and icons, first to the emperor and to all his household by name, and then to the patriarch and the grandees. Such is their custom. In every convent and church which is the cathedral of a bishop they always do thus. We finished the mass, in which there was an ordination. So also on the following day he said mass and ordained.

On Saturday the 5th of May, the commemoration of St. Irene, they rang the great bell, and assembled in crowds in the churches, not in this city only, but in every town of Muscovy. This was the name's day of the emperor's eldest sister, Irene. . . . She was represented to us as a reading, philosophical, learned, and sensible lady. It was she who governed the emperor till he came of age; for at his accession he was only twelve [really seventeen] years old. She has often sought to take the veil in a convent; but he will not let her go: he pays her great respect, and listens to her prudent counsels. They sang for her a *παράκλησις*; and if the emperor had been

present, he would have given a banquet. In her honour the patriarch Nicon, with the bishops, celebrated mass in the cathedral.

As for our lord the patriarch of Antioch, he said mass in the convent, and ordained. For in consequence of the deaths among the clergy during the plague, candidates for ordination were so numerous that it was impossible for the patriarch of Moscow to ordain them all himself. Nor were the bishops about him, with the aid of the archbishop of Servia, sufficient: but he was obliged often to send candidates to our lord the patriarch of Antioch. With us there was no difficulty. For among the seventy prikazes there is one for ordinations. When therefore twenty or thirty candidates are assembled, they give their papers to the patriarch's treasurer (kaznachey), who is over this prikaz; and he presents them to the patriarch, who puts into the hands of each of the candidates a book; and for each of them who reads it fluently he makes a note on his paper, rejecting those who cannot read [well enough]. What he writes on the papers with his own hand is as follows: 'At such a date I send the bearer to my brother Kyr Macarius patriarch of Antioch, to be ordained.' When they had come, and had been ordained, our master gave them a certificate. With this they went to the patriarch's treasurer to have their names entered in his register. Each priest pays, according to his condition, to this treasurer first, then to his bedels and secretaries, and lastly to the attendants of the bishop who has ordained him. When we saw the attendants and deacons of the other bishops receiving money openly from these newly-ordained priests, we also accepted of it. Many of these priests paid more than ten dinars, some less.

To return: On the Sunday of the Paralytic, the 6th of May, and on the M. and T., our master said mass again, and ordained. On the W. of mid-pentecost they rang the great bell from an early hour, together with the rest of the bells, to assemble all the clergy of the district with their icons in the cathedral: for this is a very great festival with them. The patriarch robed, as did all the bishops and all the clergy. Then they went out in great procession, while all the bells rang, to the outside of the Kremlin; and when they had arrived at the usual station, they went up to it and performed a *παράκλησις* for the emperor. As it chanced that this day, 9th May (Iyar), there was also the Translation of

St. Nicholas of Lycia from Myra to Bari, which is *in Germany*, the concourse was greatly increased. The commemoration of this translation is found only in their books, and in those of the Kozaks. The patriarch, having returned from the procession, celebrated the liturgy in the cathedral. On the evening of this day also, and on the morrow, they assembled again in great multitudes to commemorate St. Christopher the dogfaced; and one of the bishops celebrated mass in a new church named from him near the cathedral. As for our master, he said mass every day from the Sunday of the Samaritan woman till the Sunday of the Blind Man (13th to 20th May), and ordained.

On M. 21st of May they again assembled in great congregation and procession for the festival of our Lady of Vladimir, so called from Vladimir, one of their cities, where this icon of her was concealed. She herself revealed it, and wrought many miracles. They set apart therefore this day for her festival. The patriarch went with the bishops and all the heads of convents, the clergy of the district, and all the men and women, in procession to the convent dedicated in her name, and there celebrated mass. Nor did they return till the afternoon. It is the custom on such days as this for the shops of the city not to be opened till after the procession and the mass. On the W. before the Ascension (23d May), our lord the patriarch of Antioch said mass, and ordained. He [also] reconciled four priests from the country of the Poles; and having anointed them with the chrism, delivered them in charge to one of the priests of the convent, to be taught the order of the mass for a certain number of days.

On Th. of the Ascension the patriarch of Moscow invited our master, and they concelebrated in the convent of the nuns opposite to us, where are the tombs of the empresses; for it is named from the Ascension. After mass the abbess presented to them icons of the Ascension, inlaid with gold, and sent some of them in like manner to the empress and to all the emperor's household. On the F., Sat., and Sunday after the Ascension our master said mass, and ordained. On the Th. before Pentecost (31st May) the patriarch of Moscow celebrated mass in the church of the nuns, as before; and in the evening, after the mass, they performed a commemoration for all the faithful empresses buried in that church. In like manner also on Sat. the eve of Pentecost they celebrated in the church of the Arch-

angel, and in the evening performed a commemoration for all the princes and emperors buried in it from the time they became Christians.

§ vi. *Spreading leaves in the churches at Whitsuntide. Order of consecrating bishops. Their fees and expenses. Eulogium on the Russian government.* On Whitsunday, 3d June, they assembled in vast congregations at the ringing of the great bell; and after the mass they rang all the bells for the prayers to be said kneeling which they say at that time. Every one present had brought with him a bundle of green boughs to spread on the floor, in order to kneel upon them. [This custom is really an allusion to the *tree* under which Abraham received the three men, symbolising the B. Trinity.]

On this day the patriarch Nicon consecrated a new bishop for Kolomna, in the room of the [deposed and] banished bishop, *who was still living.* The custom in the consecration of the bishops is this: if the patriarch pleases, he *chooses whom he likes;* and, if he pleases, *he* selects twelve persons, and writing their names on small leaves, sticks them on a taper, which he places on the altar. After the liturgy has been celebrated for three successive days, they call a child; and whichever leaf he takes off, he whose name it bears is elected. After his election, they proclaim him, with the attendance of four men in red coats with large sleeves, wearing high caps on their heads, and carrying staves in their hands. These they call 'Chaldees,' who represent the servants of Nebuchadnezzar, when he wished to burn the three young men of the Hebrews at Babylon. We did not learn the reason of this. These men go round with him, before his consecration, during three days, that all may know that he is to be consecrated a bishop. On the day of the consecration, when the emperor is present, they say there takes place a very great meeting in the church, because the bishop-elect goes to a very great expense. For they set a high chair for the emperor over against the patriarch's chair, at the west end; and the bishop-elect presents, at his own cost, a quantity of red cloth to cover it all over down to the ground. He spreads also with thick brocade the passage of the emperor from the two chairs to the south door of the sanctuary. He spreads also on the two sides of it other carpets for the passage of the grandees. Again he spreads the floor from the patriarch's chair to the royal doors

of the sanctuary with black or purple velvet; and the passage for the bishops on both sides of it with green cloth. At the time of the introit, when the patriarch goes up into the sanctuary, they all walk upon these carpets; and the emperor descends from the one chair, wearing his crown and imperial robes, and walking upon the brocade, comes and stands at his throne. When the consecration is over, the brocade and the red cloths are taken for the emperor, the other side carpets for the grandees of the empire, the velvet for the patriarch, and the green cloth for the protopope and the ministers of the church. If the bishop-elect finds these carpets in the shops, it is well; but if he cannot, he takes them from the emperor's treasury, and the church is security for the payment. After the consecration, the four Chaldees in the same way go round with him three more days, accompanied by three archons on the part of the emperor. They mount him on a horse, with the cross in his hand, and carry him the first day all round the interior of the palace-fortress (*i. e.* the Kremlin), that he may bless it. The second day they take him round the second line of the city walls, the third day round the third line; for, as he is newly consecrated, they wish the whole city to receive a blessing from him. Afterwards he goes, first, to make the emperor presents, as follows: first, an icon of the dedication of his cathedral; secondly, a large silver-gilt cup. When, as in this present case, the see is small, he *makes the emperor a present*, inside the cup, of 100 gold dinars; of a sorok of sables, worth 100 dinars; and of dresses of brocade, velvet, satin, damask, silk, &c. But if he be a metropolitan or archbishop, he makes a larger present than this, in proportion to the value of his see. In like manner he makes *a present to the empress* of an icon of half the size; a smaller cup, of fifty dinars; a sorok of sables worth fifty dinars; and of a suit of embroidered clothes. He presents *also to the tsarevich*, Alexis Alexievich, certain presents. In this tsarevich's name at the present time were all the offices and dignities; so that even the letters which the emperor sent to his lieutenant were written as to his august son, and not to his ministers by name. So also each voivode and each governor of a province used to send his letters addressed 'To his August Highness,' &c.

To return: In like manner the bishop made presents to the emperor's three sisters, and to his three daughters, to each

severally; for each of them, though in her infancy, has her own separate treasury. After he had done with them, he went to present similar gifts to the patriarch and to all his suite, to all the bishops present, to the archimandrites, the priests, and the deacons. So also he went round to all the great officers of state, and made presents to them in proportion to their rank; then to the three archons who went round the city with him during the three days, to each according to his station, in dinars, sables, and dresses; and to the meanest, marten. All this expense is incurred by the bishops in this country. To a bishop like this of Kolomna 3000 dinars do not suffice; to others not 6000, as we were informed. It is true that a bishop in this country is a great dignitary, before whom the voivode humbles himself, and that the wealth and treasures of the church are in his hands; *but he has guards and inspectors over him*, who are ever in a line of observation around him. Every year he comes three times to make his presents; on the feasts of the Nativity and the Baptism (the Theophany), at Easter, and at the festival of his own cathedral. For this a great income and a great expense are required. Besides, every bishop, like the one we have mentioned, has priests, deacons, monks, anagnosts, subdeacons, choristers, grandees, stewards, servants, and soldiers, to the number of more than a hundred, who eat and drink from his table every day, and have salaries, and new clothes twice a year. Only calculate what an expense is required for them! When too the emperor has decided on any expedition, as this year, he lays on the bishop contributions of men, troops, treasure, and so forth, in proportion to his ability. Such are the regulations in this country. *The name and appearance belong to the bishop or head of a monastery, but the wealth and effects belong to the emperor.*

§ vii. *Presents of new radishes. Midnight prayer, and absence of darkness in the summer season. Pilgrimage to the convent of the Holy Trinity.* To return: On F. the 1st of June the clock had struck eighteen hours and a half, and the sun was not yet off the cupolas of the cathedral nor the high cupola of the belfry. (The day remained of this length only till the 6th of the same month, when it began to shorten a little.) On this day the empress instead of the emperor [in the name of the tsarevich Alexis] sent to our master some small new radishes.

As regards the bells: From Easter through the whole sum-

mer, on account of the length of the day, they rang them for vespers at the twelfth hour or sooner; at night at the fourth hour; and on the [eves for vigils] and festivals a little before or after the first hour of the night. Observe these circumstances, and their hastening to prayers every day during the fifty days of Pentecost, and their rising at midnight in the summer to prayer. As for us, we were in great bitterness, affliction, and oppression from fatigue on this account, not being able to sleep during the night; for the Muscovites are accustomed to sleep before sunset, that they may rise in the night; but as we had not been in the habit of doing so, we could not sleep to take our rest, as they did, till night; and then we could not in decency neglect rising for prayer. After prayers our ability to sleep was gone beyond recall. As to the sun, during the summer it rises from the east *as usual*, but it does not set in the west, but in the north. Thus we saw it go round to our astonishment, not departing altogether, and scarcely setting; but its circuit was manifest in the heavens the whole length of the night. For after the clock had struck the twelfth hour and a half, there was no longer any nocturnal obscurity, but aurora, and much light, which we could not but account as day. We purposely went out to the platform in the courtyard of the convent to read in our Greek books, which we did with ease. Within the house the light of the sun came in upon us, and we perceived it going round from the N.W. to the N. clearer than the light of the full moon, till it came in the morning to the east, and rose to make the day. . . . In these months of June and July we sat till the eighteenth hour or the seventeenth, three hours more than in our own country, before the evening closed in, actively conversing and amusing ourselves, while our countrymen [in Syria] were sleeping peacefully, it being here day when it was there night! . .

On Th. after Pt. (7th June) our master celebrated mass, and ordained. It is customary here on this day to go forth all together to the outside of the town, with the emperor and empress and the patriarch, and to give alms and celebrate masses and commemorations for those dead who have been drowned or murdered, and for all deceased strangers, with a great celebration, as if of a joyful holiday; all the merchants of the city and of the market transferring then their stalls to the outside.

Our master had asked of the patriarch and of the emperor

and his deputies permission to visit the famous monastery of Troitsa (the H. Trinity), according to the practice of the patriarchs of passing there the feast of Pentecost, that being the festival of the monastery. If the emperor had been present, he would have gone with the empress and the patriarch to pass the festival there, accompanied by the grandees, and by all the population of Moscow. . . . For a visit to this holy monastery holds with them the place of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. . . . But as the usual celebration of the festival had not given us an opportunity, and no news had yet arrived of the emperor, they sent us to-day notice to go thither on the morrow. They first sent advice to the monastery. Then they appointed an interpreter, a great sotnik, and ten streltses to go with us. Then they brought us podvods; and the patriarch sent to our master a coach; but the horses were from the emperor's stables, that the merit might be shared between them; two led horses chosen from the emperor's own, and with them two outriders: in all there were six horses. We set out on the morning of Friday after Pentecost, the ten streltses carrying their arms before us. The monastery is sixty versts from the city. When we had passed out from the earthen rampart to the open country, we observed that the suburb and the country houses continued all the way from the city to the monastery. We went fifty versts, stopping twice on the rivers to take refreshment, and arrived at a bazaar or town, belonging to the emperor, called Zadvigensky [from the cross there set up by Nicon, when he halted there with the relics of St. Philip, A.D. 1652], in which is a large palace with gardens, and a lake. In it is a wooden church, which he built, of St. Alexis. In this palace we slept. Most of the bazaars on this road belong to the emperor. In every bazaar or town is a vast palace of wood for the emperor, which is in consequence of the honour in which this monastery is held by them. It is related that the emperor's late father with his mother went several times on foot to the monastery; the emperor walking with all the grandees, and the empress with all their wives. Such also is the custom of this emperor and his empress. For this reason they gradually, long ago, constructed these inns and numerous palaces along the road, that they might walk a little way, and then rest awhile. . . . They used to arrive on foot in three or four days at the soonest. . . . To every one who has

performed a pilgrimage hither [as to the holy places of Jerusalem] his sins are forgiven. This saying we heard often in our own country.

§ viii. *Reception within and without the convent. Its description, and church ceremonies and ornaments.* On the morning of Sat. we went slowly eight versts, till the cupolas of the monastery were within our view. [Here they were met and greeted by the deputy archimandrite, and the deputies of the steward and the treasurer, who came in their coaches, attended by all their streltses, and alighting, presented a large cake of black bread, a large salted fish, and a barrel of mead. Then they took leave of us]; and we, having completed the two remaining versts, arrived at a large bazaar belonging to the monastery, named Clemensky; in the church of which we attended mass, for they were waiting for us. They made us alight at an hospice; and a dreadful place it was, for they had heated the stoves in this month of June, out of respect to us! . . . After a little while they that had met us on the road again made their appearance, bringing with them an immense banquet of fifty or sixty dishes, and a vast variety of drinks, plain and iced. . . . After having presented these to the patriarch, the treasurer bowed to him, and presented a small quantity of the same sort to the archimandrite in his own name, and to me the archdeacon in my own name. Then he presented large brass pitchers of mead, quass, and beer to the servants; and having taken leave of us, he departed, leaving us to dine; and there we remained until the evening. For the custom is, when a foreign patriarch visits this convent, that he shall not leave the city till Friday, that he may arrive on Saturday; towards the evening of which day they invite him forward; and after the short vespers they give him a banquet. Then, as night begins, they ring the bells for the vigil service; and towards morning they give him a lodging. The next day, if he pleases, he celebrates mass; or, if not, he assists at it. Afterwards they invite him to table, and make him sundry presents. Then, towards evening, they bid him farewell, and set him out on his departure. More than one night they do not let him sleep in the convent. . . . We at first requested permission to stay a longer time; but we soon perceived that it was impossible. This is certainly the most blamable of their ancient regulations; but old customs must be observed with reverence.

After the clock had struck the 13th hour of the day, they rang the great bell of the monastery, and we heard it as a signal to invite the approach of the patriarch of Antioch. He moved on therefore in the coach, with us around it on foot, and the streltses in front, till we arrived at the convent. [So they arrived for the octave of the festival, which was the Sunday of All Saints, 10th June.]

[Then the author describes how they were received at the gates, and were taken first to the church of the H. Trinity, where, after doing their reverence to the icons and to the relics of St. Sergius, they assisted at the lesser vespers. After that, he continues] they led us out and made us enter a beautiful church near the other named from St. Nicon, a disciple of St. Sergius, in which is his body in its shrine. We blessed ourselves before it; and they led us out and conducted us to our lodging in a stone building where the empress is wont to alight; and they laid tables of meat before us. Nor did the steward cease bringing us dishes . . . fit for princes, till evening came on. So also he placed before us silver cups of cherry-water, cider, and mead, of various kinds and colours, and of astonishing flavour and coolness, all set in jars and pitchers of lead, in the middle of a brass box filled with ice. We could not, however, satiate ourselves with these delicious liquors; for besides their extreme sweetness, the intensity of the cold was such as to crack the teeth and blister the gums.

At length we finished our repast, and arose in order to sleep a little and rest. But sleep for us there was none; for the gnats, bugs, and fleas were more numerous than the grains of dust on the ground; and the mosquito or sand-fly in this country, in these three months of May, June, and July, suffers no one to rest night or day. . . While we were thus sleepless, they tolled the bells for the vigil service, at the second hour of the night. We got up therefore, saying, 'Thanks be to God;' and as we entered the church they began the great vespers, chanting the psalm for sunset responsively in the two choirs at great length . . . [afterwards] they said the litcia, and blessed the five cakes of bread and the wine. . . . and having ended, they read the first lection of the history of the saint. . . . Then they arose, and having rung the bells, one and all, they began the matins. Nor did they cease chanting the matins, and reading lections, till the rising of

the sun. We found we had been standing on our legs six hours complete; and all this was done out of respect for us. But of what benefit was now such respect to us, who for a whole day and night had not known a wink of sleep; who at last were to stumble out of church in a state of stupefaction, wholly overcome with fatigue? It being now morning, we went to rest a little till the third hour of the day; when they rang the bells again for mass, and we entered the above-mentioned church, where they all put on their albs (podrizniks) and girdles loaded with gold gems and pearls, as were also their phenolia. Then we robed our lord the patriarch; and first performed a *παράκλησις* for the emperor, then an *ἁγιασμός*. The archimandrite of the convent robed also. He is a holy man, learned, zealous for religion, and no curtailer of masses. He is old, 77 years of age; and yet he reads without spectacles. Then we began the mass, and our master ordained in it a deacon. On this day they brought out the chalice with its disk, and the arch (*ἀστὴρ*) to go over it, all of pure gold, studded with jewels. As for the thurible, there was not one person who could carry it, it being of pure gold of the weight of fourteen poods: it was also set with gems of great value. As for the book of the gospels, we never saw its equal, nor anything like it, for the quantity of gold upon it; . . . and its jewels and its fashion were wonderful. Neither could any one carry this, for its great weight of pure gold. [Then follows a description of the jewelled icons of the sanctuary, its doors, and iconostase, of the silver-gilt shrine of St. Sergius, and other riches of the church, and of the treasury or sacristy.] In it we saw robes and ornaments, and loads of gold, silver, pearls, and gems in astonishing quantities; moreover memorials of the emperors from ancient times in succession. Every year increases its stores in phenolia, veils, censers, chalices, patens of gold, and so forth. Here also are the coverings for the tombs of those emperors and empresses who are buried in this convent, most of them with inscriptions in letters composed of large pearls, and with designs, and suns or stars of gold arranged into large crosses. These coverings are very numerous, for they are changed on the tombs every Sunday; and for every great festival there is a peculiar one, according to the custom at the imperial cemeteries.

§ ix. *History of St. Sergius the founder; revenue of the convent; banquet and presents.* Then we blessed ourselves with the

crosier of St. Sergius, and paid our devotions to his cells in which he used to live and eat, and to his phenolion, which is of linen of the colour of aloes-wood. [And then, after some account of him, and mention of St. Cyril of Bieloozero, SS. Sabbatius and Zosimus of Solovka, and St. Barlaam the founder of the Khoutinsk monastery at Novgorod, he continues:]

In this convent are many treasures of the period of those [ancient] princes, and since them of the emperors, down to the present time; for before their deaths they were in the habit of bequeathing all their treasures to this convent. . . . through the great devotion they had for it. For this reason it has no equal in Muscovy, nor yet in the whole world. The revenue of the emperor of Muscovy, from his whole territory, is to the revenue of this convent from the same as two dinars to one dinar. The emperor has in every district a custom-house, and the convent of the Holy Trinity has one also. The emperor's collector takes for him, out of every ten dinars, twenty kopecks; the convent's collector takes ten; and both give *teskerehs*, *i.e.* permits or memoranda. Finally, however, *all the treasures of the convent and its acquisitions are in the seizure of the emperor;* for they now told us that they were taxed this year at more than 100,000 dinars, as a *contribution* and *gift* to the emperor at Smolensk.

To return: After we had gone out from the treasury, they took us into the church of St. Nicon, wherein is his body in a silver shrine. It is a small church, with only one sanctuary. Afterwards they took us into the great church, the sobor, or catholicon. It is higher, broader, and longer than the cathedral at Moscow, but otherwise precisely like it, as they were both built in the reign of the tsar Ivan. . . . In its porch outside the west door are the tombs of several emperors and empresses. This church also has its five magnificent cupolas. Near this church is a beautiful church dedicated to the Holy Ghost, where the emperor attends the service of the festival on Whitmonday. Also near the sobor there is the *ἁγίασμα*, or holy well, which the saint by his prayers caused to spring forth. . . . In the convent there are in all seven churches.

Then they took us up to the banqueting-room [the trapeza], which they never open but in the presence of the emperor; for they did much honour towards our lord the patriarch, in obedience to the command of the emperor and of the patriarch of

Moscow (for they never do the most trifling thing without deliberate orders), the latter of whom had enjoined them to do *more* honour to him than they had done to the patriarch [Paisius] of Jerusalem. And so it was done. For the patriarch of Jerusalem they had taken only to the small refectory of the fathers; but our lord the patriarch of Antioch they introduced to the large imperial banqueting-hall. We knew nothing of this; but so the interpreters informed us. . . . After the reader had begun to read a lection from the history of St. Sergius, they commenced serving up dishes of various kinds of splendid and princely meats. . . . They presented also an infinite variety of royal liquors, of a different colour for every different round, and in an equal diversity of cups. All the vessels were cooled in brazen boxes filled with ice. We could not satiate ourselves with drinking these liquors. Not the Cretan wine nor any other equalled them in colour or taste or freshness.

Then they arose, and elevated the panagia as usual, and began the presentation of the gifts, that is, the alms of the convent, which they give to every person who visits them, according to ancient custom, *and by injunction of the emperor and the patriarch* on the present occasion. They presented first to our lord the patriarch a valuable icon of our Lady, covered with silver and gold, and with a crown of jewels and pearls. Next an icon of St. Sergius and his disciple Nicon, when the holy Mother of God appeared to them, together with the Apostles St. Peter and St. John; and above them an icon of the Trinity—I mean of the Three Angels—inlaid with silver and gold. Next a cup of silver-gilt, with fifty dinars, a sorok of sables worth forty dinars, four dresses of satin and blue damask, two black cloaks, and various kinds of wooden dishes and cups of admirable workmanship, carved and gilt, with the name of the convent on them, and resembling the vessels belonging to the saint with which he ate and drank. Next a knife and spoon, like those used by him, with a crosier of wood dyed black, having the crook covered with gold-leaf like the saint's crosier, the originals of all which we had paid our devotions to. Then they began to make presents to us also, and gave first to the archimandrite a gilt icon of our Lady, a garment of damask silk, plates, cups, spoons, ten dinars in a fold of paper, and a black cloak. Two archimandrites accompanied us as travellers; and to each of them they gave an icon,

some damask silk, plates, cups, and six dinars. To me, the archdeacon, they gave an icon of our Lady, some damask silk, plates, cups, ten dinars, and a black cloak. To my colleague the second deacon, and the treasurer, they gave an icon, some damask silk (yarn), plates, cups, five dinars, and a black cloak. The same presents they made also to our steward precisely, and likewise to the ἀνεψιὸς of the patriarch. Then they presented to our original interpreter a plain icon, without silver, and two dinars; and to each of the servants a similar icon and one dinar. Afterwards they presented to the archon who came with us an icon covered with gold, a silver cup, and damask silk; but he would receive nothing from them except the icon. Next they presented to the imperial interpreters each an icon and some dinars; to the translator more than to the simple interpreter. These are the presents which they made us, and which we wrote down one by one, the whole being noted on their side in registers kept from ancient times, according to a strict rule, which they cannot exceed or fall short of except by the emperor's command. For they afterwards reckon up the account distinctly, and deduct its amount from the emperor's receipts. The case is not as we used to hear it stated in our country, that according to what is given by the emperor, so much does the convent of Troitsa give; for whether what is given be from the emperor or from the convent of Troitsa, *the whole of it is part of the treasure and property of the emperor.*

§ x. *Waterworks and armoury; walls and fortifications.* To return: Our friend and patron the steward [kellar] Arsenius, whom we mentioned above as having visited our country, paid great attention to us here, coming to wait upon us, to show us about every part of the convent, and explaining to us everything [viz. the original wooden cells of St. Sergius, the deep well and the water-wheel for raising the water, the three large fish-ponds, the gardens, of which] within this convent there are many. The extent of its enclosure is about equal to that of Emessa. In it are also apartments for the emperor and empress, where they lodge. The cells are innumerable; for the monks are here to the number of from 500 to 600.

Next he showed us the different rooms of the armoury; some furnished with cannon, some with large and small muskets, others with vast numbers of bows and arrows, swords,

axes, spears, coats of mail, and steel breastplates, such as are nowhere to be seen in Turkey. . . . He assured us that there are here laid up arms and accoutrements sufficient for more than 30,000 men. The powder is stored in numberless barrels; and innumerable are the balls and cartridges for the iron guns, their carriages, levers, &c. Then he took us up to the top of the vast walls of the convent, and went with us all round them. They are of immense size, and were built by the steward whom the present patriarch sent into banishment. They are superior to the fortifications of any of the cities of Muscovy for their height and the multitude of their vaults and bastions. They consist of four stories: the lowest, on a level with the ground, is divided into cells filled with cannon; those above are the stations for the troops. The breadth of the wall is about equal to that of the vault, near ten braces; and the embrasures are spread all around without number, and of various sizes and forms. In every embrasure are guns upon iron wheels, some large and some small, round the whole circuit. As for its towers, each of them is unequalled even in the fortifications of Antioch for its size and height, the exactness of its octagonal form, the beauty of its structure, &c. They are four, besides two over the gate. . . . They told us that, by command of the emperor, the steward expended on these works, out of the treasury of the convent, upwards of 350,000 dinars. After all, one side remained unfinished; for the walls were originally low, and had become ruinous. . . .

As we were making the circuit of it, the steward brought us chairs, and we sat down in front of the emperor's apartments and gardens. Here he made us drink many cups of Cretan and other wines, reminding us of Aleppo, of the benefits we conferred upon him and the respect we paid him. Then he took us up to one of the towers, whence we descended to the place where are the caves or cellars of the convent with wax-lights. And he showed us the carriages laid up there, and the barrels of all kinds of liquors stowed upon ice. . . . Then we went out to see the bell-tower. Here is a bell like the great bell in the city. They say that one of their emperors made them both. . . .

We saw in this convent a new wooden cell or cabin, with no inlet besides a door, in which were three persons confined. We were told that they were deacons; and that when their

wives had died of the plague, they quitted their ministry and remarried. As soon as the patriarch heard of this, he immediately bound them in fetters and sent them hither, commanding that they should be confined in this cell, *and left without food*, till they died of misery. When we saw them they were weeping and uttering such doleful cries, that our hearts were moved at their distress. They gave our master a petition, entreating that they might be allowed to become monks, hoping so to be delivered from the miserable death which was approaching them: and afterwards, by his intercession for them, our master actually obtained their liberation.

Next we went to see the gates of the convent. . . . When we had finished looking over all, they rang the bells for the parting, and presented to our lord the patriarch, for his journey, a large cake of black bread, some salt fish, and some barrels of wine, mead, &c. Thus also they gave to each of us, &c. After we had loaded our baggage, they conducted our master to the church to vespers, and then took leave of him. He gave his blessing to them all; and they came out and bade us farewell at the gate, and returned. As for us, we sighed, and felt grief at not being permitted to stay in the convent a few days.

§ xi. *Return to Moscow. New cucumbers. Service for the dead.* We went then ten versts to the bank of a river, and there slept, or rather tried in vain to sleep; and on the evening of Monday, the first day of the fast of the Apostles, we were again at Moscow in our convent. The next day, T. 12th June, the patriarch and the empress sent us in a dish some new cucumbers, the second of their new fruits after the radishes. . . . It is usual to make a handsome present to the archon who brings the offering, and also to his attendants. We gave them sacred relics, Aleppo soap, &c.

To return: On the second Sat. after Pt., 16th June, the patriarch of Moscow invited our master to the church of the Archangel, in which are tombs of the emperors; and they concelebrated in commemoration of the tsar Ivan and his two sons, buried in the right-hand apse. . . . After the mass they drew up in a line at the west end of the church, where they had robed; and they placed boiled grains on a dish, &c., as usual, and performed a *μνημόσυνον*. Then they went all together to the chapel where those tombs are; and having incensed them, and

made the dismissal, they unrobed. We went out to the steps of the church of the Annunciation, and, passing within its portico, mounted the steps of the divan [of the palace], where we had been up before. They made us enter a large hall built of stone [the Granovitaia Palata], which is the banqueting-hall. The benches were already set; and the vessels of silver, such as cups, bowls, &c., were ranged upon stands rising high, with shelves one above another, in the middle of the room, as is the custom. All, both high and low, sat down on the benches; and the emperor's deputy, advancing, presented to the two patriarchs, to the bishops, and to the archimandrites only, with his own hands, instead of the emperor, three cups of admirable wine. The stolniks in the mean time, going round, presented many cups and bowls to all the rest of us, before we had eaten anything, so that our insides were inflated. Afterwards they presented the bread; next plates of fish to each, one by one, as an alms on the part of the souls of the dead. They all, from the patriarchs to the monks and priests, sent their portions home. Most of them had jars and vessels with them, which they filled with the liquors served to them; for they did not drink their cups, but emptied them into their vessels, wine upon mead, and these upon other liquors, but all inebriating, till they arose, after we had broken our fast upon the bread only. The choristers stood at some distance, while the patriarch elevated the *παναγία*, which he cut into small pieces, and the archdeacon carried to distribute to all present. Then the patriarch took the censer, resembling a crown, in his hand, and incensed over the plate of boiled grains with honey, and over the vessel of wine, saying, 'Have mercy on us, O God,' &c., naming the deceased; and the choristers at every petition chanted, 'Lord, have mercy!' Then they sang 'Everlasting remembrance,' with the recital of the names, in a loud voice, all bowing towards the icons. Afterwards they gave them to drink another round of cups; and we went out, and went down to the church of the Annunciation, where the patriarch made the dismissal; and we came out; and, the two patriarchs having taken leave of each other, we returned to our convent.

On the second Sunday after Pt. (17th June) they tolled the great bell and the rest, to assemble the heads of the convents and the bishops, &c., after they had celebrated the mass in their

own churches; and they came to the sobor, whence the patriarch proceeded in procession by the back of the palace to the outside of the second and White walls, close to the earthen rampart, to a church of St. Elias, where *he* performed *mass*, and returned. One of the metropolitans went in procession all round the White wall, on the outside, and returned to the cathedral, where he celebrated mass. Our master celebrated in the monastery, and ordained a deacon, as he did also on the morrow.

On the eve before Sat. 23d June they rang the great bell for the commemoration of the translation of the icon of our Lady from the city of Vladimir to Moscow. In the morning they rang it again, with its fellows, to assemble the heads of convents and the bishops, &c., and they came with their icons to the cathedral. Our lord the patriarch, having repaired thither, robed in company with the patriarch of Moscow; and they began with the kanon of the παράκλησις; and then he went in procession from the western door to the outside of the gate of the Kremlin, whence they went up to the circle of the oratory, and read the gospel, &c. Then we descended, and having passed through the middle of the public place to near the gate of St. Nicholas, proceeded eastwards, the streltsi marching on each side of us, till we came out by the gate of the second line of wall, and arrived at the back of the White wall. Every time we came upon a church they rang its bells, and its clergy came out with the icons of their church, that the two patriarchs might take a blessing from them, while they were incensed by the deacons; till at length we entered a convent in which was a beautiful church. . . . Then they set the vessels of the ἁγιασμὸς in the court of the convent before the church, and began singing the kanon over them. And [in the liturgy which followed inside this church] there was an ordination of a priest and a deacon. Then we came out [from the sanctuary], and did our reverence to the icon [of our Lady of Vladimir, the titular icon of this church and convent] placed on the right-hand side of the holy doors. Nothing of it is seen but the face and hands, all the rest being gold and pearls with precious stones . . . . Its countenance is dazzling; and it works miracles continually. In every church in Muscovy there is sure to be found an icon of our Lady of this ancient type, which works miracles according to their great faith. Then we returned by the same way that we came, till we entered

the cathedral amid the ringing of bells, where they made the dismissal. And the two patriarchs, having gone out from the church, reconducted the icons, most of which were from the church of the Annunciation and the churches of the emperor. After they had incensed them they took a blessing from them. Then we reëntered; and they passed by with them while all the bells incessantly rang, till they disappeared from sight as the streltses escorted them to their respective churches. We did not leave the cathedral till after the eighth hour of the day.

On the eve of the third Sunday after Pt. they rang the bells at night for the vigil service, and on the morrow (24th June) our lord the patriarch said mass in the church of the convent, and ordained, as he did again on the Monday. In the evening the patriarch of Moscow invited our master to the sobor, and we assisted there at the vespers. Then they robed in the sanctuary, and came out to the west end, where was set a dish of boiled grains, &c.; and they made a μνημόσυνον for the troops killed last year at Smolensk. This was on the 21st June [now in 1655 we are at M. 25th June]. The archdeacon recited the names of all the soldiers killed one by one, with the name of his father, and his rank, &c., from a list held in his hand; and at every pause the choirs chanted *Kyrie eléison.* When he had finished, he incensed the patriarch; and having said, 'Let us pray unto the Lord,' &c. delivered to him the list. Then the patriarch said the prayer with the words, 'For thou art the resurrection and the life, and the rest of thy servants who died for the love of thy holy religion at the siege of Smolensk, N. N.' (reciting their names one by one from the first to the last), &c. On the morrow after celebrating the mass they performed the pannychid for them, as usual; and, having unrobed, we went out with the patriarch of Moscow to the hall of the emperor, where precisely the same ceremony took place, as we have described before on a like occasion.

On Th. 28th June, our lord the patriarch performed mass in the convent, and ordained. In the evening, it being the vigil of the Apostles, they rang the great bell from the beginning of the night; and in the morning (29th June), our master said mass, and ordained. In the evening, that is on the eve before Saturday, they invited us to the church of the Archangel, where they all performed a commemoration for the prince Basil, son of the

tsar Ivan, who built the White wall. On the morrow (Sat. 30th June) mass was performed in the same church, and they went up after it to the banqueting-hall of the emperor, as on former like occasions.

On the night of Sunday, 1st July, they rang the bells for the Deposition of the girdle of the Mother of God at Blachernæ, and performed the vigil service. On the morrow (2d July) there was a great festival, and they celebrated mass in the church which is before the cathedral, in the imperial street, it being named from this festival. On the eve before Sat., *i. e.* on F. 6th July, they invited us to the *μνημόσυνον* for the patriarch Joseph, the predecessor of the present patriarch, who had now been dead three years, and was buried in the cathedral. On the morrow (Saturday, 7th July), they all concelebrated; and we went up with the patriarch of Moscow to the banquet at his residence.

§ xii. *Festivals of icons and relics. Great skill of the Russian painters. Remarkable death of the emperor Michael.* On Sun. 8th July (5th after Pt.), they rang the great bell from daybreak, with its fellows, to assemble the heads of the convents and the bishops, with their icons, to the cathedral, to celebrate the manifestation of the icon of our Lady, which had long lain buried in the earth at Kazan, and which was brought on this day to Moscow, where they built for it a large church at the extremity of the plain, opposite to the gate of St. Nicholas, on the east side of the Kremlin. . . . . They went out, therefore, in great procession from the cathedral to this church, amidst the ringing of the bells. The patriarch performed mass, and made the *ἁγιασμὸς* there; and they returned in the afternoon.

On the eve before T., 10th July, they rang the great bell, and performed vigil service from the evening through the whole length of the night, for the translation of the holy tunic of our Lord from Persia thirty years ago. For it was in A.M. 7133 (for the Muscovites reckon only from the year of the world, as we do), in A.D. 1625, in the thirteenth year of the emperor Michael. On the morrow they made a great assembly, amid the ringing of all the bells; and the patriarch celebrated the liturgy, and put on his large sakkos and his rich mitre which he wears at Easter; and he had the casket containing the tunic brought into the middle of the church. All took a blessing from it, and they

returned it to its place, while all the bells, small and great, were ringing at once.

On W., the 11th of July, they rang the bells for a procession; and the clergy assembled with their icons to the cathedral; and one of the bishops went out with them to a church behind the palace dedicated to our Lady, surnamed Rjevskaia, because she wrought a miracle at that place. The patriarch, however, does not go thither in person, but sends one of the bishops in procession, who there makes the *ἁγιασμὸς*, and celebrates the liturgy.

On the eve before Th., the 12th of July, they invited us to the church of the Archangel; and they performed a commemoration for the tsar Michael, the father of the reigning emperor [this having been his name's-day]. On the morrow there was a liturgy and a pannychid at his tomb, which was covered with an imperial pall, studded with pearls and jewels; and afterwards they took us up to the banquet-hall above. It was now just ten years since his decease: and note the coincidence, that his birth also was on this same day of the year on which is the commemoration of St. Michael of Malea [of the tenth century], from whom he was named. He used every year to give on this day a great banquet; and after reigning thirty-six years, he died on this very day of the gout, a disease to which the Muscovites are all very subject.

Note that in this church of the Archangel and around it are twelve sanctuaries, in which as many masses are performed every day. In like manner also there are said in the church of the Annunciation near it nine masses every day, in its nine sanctuaries; and in the Choudoff monastery, which is opposite to them, seven masses are performed daily. Many of the grandees of the city, with their wives, come in their coaches every morning to assist at mass in the chapel of St. Alexis, metropolitan of Moscow, the Thaumaturge, where his body lies, from the great devotion they bear to him, and their faith in him.

§ xiii. *Manufacture and supply of arms. Success of the emperor against the Poles. Russian manner of celebrating victories. St. Vladimir.* After we had risen from the banquet, the patriarch of Moscow showed our master, from one of the windows of the palace looking over the country, many wagons filled with muskets, which he was sending to the emperor. He said they

were 50,000, and were just come, packed in boxes, from the queen and king of Sweden. . . .

As for the emperor, it was reported that he remained stationary in Smolensk till the 21st of May, the festival of the emperor Constantine, when he marched into the country of the Poles, after dividing his troops into three parts. He went himself with the middle division, and advanced towards Vilna, which was under the command of Radzivil. They were delayed much by the thawing of the rivers, and the inundations, and mud and rain. . . . . This year no one appeared to oppose them . . . . nor was there any mention of a Polish army; for the Poles, from the first until now, had hoped for succour from the Turks and Tatars . . . . but not one came to their help. From their great pride, however, they would not make peace, though they were perplexed against whom to turn to maintain the war, whether against the emperor, or against his archons, or against the army of Novgorod, or that of the king of Sweden, or against Khmielnitsky. God had sent a curse upon them for their annihilation. Their counsels were confounded.

Whenever there came from the emperor any news to Moscow that his armies had taken any place, or defeated their enemies, immediately they rang the bells of the patriarchate, one and all, in joy and triumph; and the patriarch came down to robe, after the liturgy, with all the bishops present, and the archimandrites, and the priests, in the cathedral; and they performed a *παράκλησις* for the emperor, and gave thanks to God for his assistance and for the victory. It was not guns, or drums, or fifes, or anything of that kind, but bells and *παρακλήσεις*. We were astonished at this their religiousness and faith; but they acted on these occasions only according to their constant custom.

At this time there began to arrive in wagons numbers of Polish prisoners of war, loaded with irons. Having presented them to the patriarch and the deputy, they threw them into the different prisons, and dispersed others of them, by command of the emperor, over all the country.

On F., 13th July, our master performed mass in the convent, as he did also on Sunday the sixth after Pentecost (15th July), and on the following Monday. On the afternoon and evening of this day they rang the great bell, as also they did on

the morrow, and held a great solemnity in commemoration of St. Vladimir,* king of Kieff and of all the Russian countries, who was like to an apostle; for when he embraced the faith, and at the same time married the sister of the emperor Basil the Macedonian, he took the name of Basil; and having baptised the inhabitants of all Little Russia—that is, of the country of the Kozaks—he afterwards came *with St. Peter, the first metropolitan of Moscow*, and making himself master of this country, *drove the Tatars from it*, and divided it among his twelve sons. He baptised during his time most of the inhabitants of these countries; and having built a large city, he called it after his own name, Vladimir. It is this place of which history records that, when Tamerlane came into this region, he built its castle, and therein deposited his treasures.

§ xiv. *The forty chiefs of the dogfaced tribe. Ceremony at the Novodivichy convent. Golden cross of the Annunciation.* On the evening of Th. 19th July the patriarch of Moscow invited our master, and they robed together in the church of the Archangel, and performed a commemoration for the late emperor Michael, as they had done before; and on the morrow a mass; and after it they went up to the banquet-hall. As we came down, we met some of the tribe of the martyr St. Christopher (the dogfaced tribe), of whom we have spoken before, standing in the way of the patriarch, to show themselves to him. Their figures were more disgusting, meaner, blacker, and more diminutive than those of the people of the same tribe whom we had seen in the Cheese-week, before Lent. They were forty persons, each commanding 1000 of their countrymen. Their garments were skirted coats of coloured cloth. They had hanging from their breasts stars of yellow brass, indicating them to be chiefs. The patriarch asked them their numbers. They replied: 'We are come to the number of 40,000 at the call of the emperor; and we are the chiefs.' Then he asked them the distance of their country. They replied: 'It is 5000 versts; and we have been above four months in coming here.' He asked them their ages, and discovered many that were above 100 years old. He said to them, 'With what do you fight?' They answered: 'With these bows

* His commemoration is 15th July; but it may have been deferred owing to the 15th being this year Sunday, and the commemoration of the holy Fathers of Nice.

and arrows.' . . . When the patriarch perceived that I was instigating our master to question him, and that we were amazed at their appearance, he came forward, and, taking me by the hand, called the savages, as if to eat me; *that he might have his laugh and jest with me*, while I was quaking for fear. So he did also with others as well as myself. Of all those that he jested with, he actually delivered one, a deacon belonging to the archbishop of Servia, into their hands. As soon as they laid hold of him, they tore his clothes to tatters in scrambling for him; and it was with difficulty that he was rescued out of their hands by redeeming him with fish and money, which the patriarch gave them instead. The poor deacon, from fright and horror, lay ill for a long time afterwards.

This being the eve of the festival of St. Elias, they performed at night the vigil service overnight. In the morning (F. 20th July) were completed three years since our departure from Aleppo, and a year since we had come into Muscovy. They rang the bells for a procession; and one of the bishops went in procession to the outside of the city, into the [Voronzoff] plain, to an ancient church of St. Elias, where he performed mass, and then returned. The patriarch too went out in procession by the imperial gate of the Kremlin to the station [in the public place], and made there a *παράκλησις* for the emperor. Then he passed on to a new church of St. Elias in the midst of the markets, near to the residence of the metropolitan of Novgorod, where they performed the *ἁγιασμὸς* and the mass; and he returned.

On the evening of the following Friday the patriarch Nicon invited our master, and we went with him . . to the Novodivichy convent outside the city, the morrow, Sat. 28th July, being the festival of the translation of the icon of our Lady of Smolensk from Smolensk to that convent. We alighted outside; but the patriarch alighted in his great pavilion, composed of tent within tent, and surrounded by a numerous guard of streltses. All the wives of the grandees came in their coaches; and multitudes of the citizens. There was a vast assembly; buyers and sellers, and market-stalls in abundance: for it is a very great festival with them. . . . We assisted at the lesser vespers; and performed a *παράκλησις* for the emperor; and went away to sleep in one of the hospices outside. The patriarch of Moscow lodged in his own tent; the rest of the people in the houses of the village:

for they allow no one to sleep in the convent, neither man nor woman.

After the convent clock had struck the third hour of the night, they rang the bells; and arising for the vigil service we entered the church. They chanted Psalm ciii. (Εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν Κύριον) as usual; and at the 'Glory' &c. all the archimandrites, the priests, and the deacons took permission, and went in and robed; and came out at the introit, and went up into the sanctuary during the singing of the hymn Φῶς ἱλαρὸν κ.τ.λ. Then they came out again for the liteia (after the end of the great vespers), and stood with the patriarch, to his right and to his left, with the chief archimandrites at their head. When the deacon had bidden the prayers, as usual at vigils, over five large cakes of black bread, the patriarch recited the prayer for blessing them. Then the hegoumena advanced, and presented to each patriarch one; afterwards, cutting the others into pieces, she distributed them to all the grandees. After the vespers and the liteia were ended, they sat down; and there was a reading from the history of the Mother of God. Then they rose up again, and the bells sounded for the matins. All the service this night was performed in full chant. After the matins we went out from the church and convent to our several abodes.

This night the patriarch Nicon conversed much with our master; and among other things, he told him about the golden cross on the church of the Annunciation in the Kremlin, that it was worth 100 millions of gold. Not only is the cross itself of such great value; but the roof also of the church with the nine cupolas, their vanes, and chains, are entirely covered with pure gold of the thickness of a digit. We could not believe this. He did not, however, say anything false. For when he saw that we were astonished and confused, he said: 'All the treasure that the grand prince Vasili, son of the tsar Ivan, expended in building the White wall of the city amounted to no more than the value and expense of this cross, the roof, and the cupolas.' . . . The cross is not gold inlaid upon wood, like the other crosses of the other churches, but it is all of pure gold. . . . At its base, above the ball, there is a crescent, with the horns turned upwards. . . . I asked the grandees, the interpreters, my companions, the secretaries of the emperor, and many others, how many quintals it was, or how many poods; but not one of them knew.

Similar to the wonder we have mentioned, and one indeed of the wonders of the world, is the new imperial treasury in Moscow, for its splendour. Then the patriarch informed us that in the last week he had sent to the emperor 40,000 poods of gunpowder.

§ xv. *Convent of St. Sabba. Festival of the Cross. Origin of the name Saracen. Blessing of the waters.* To return: After the clock had struck the third hour of the day, the patriarch of Moscow invited our master to his pavilion; and having both mounted into his coach, they went to a convent of St. Sabba, midway between the city and the other convent. The empress had recently founded it, and had settled in it Russian, that is, Kozak nuns, whom the emperor had brought from Smolensk and from Mohileff. It was said that Radzivil had been used to treat them with much kindness and liberality, because his wife Mary, daughter of Vasili bey of Moldavia, being of the orthodox faith, loved them much. When the emperor conquered that country, he feared the malice of Radzivil and the Poles against them, and brought them hither. They were about seventy nuns, mostly noble and rich. They wore long veils over their faces, and trailed their mantles on the ground, possessing the utmost neatness of person and nobility of deportment. Afterwards the emperor cleared the convents of them there, through his fear for their safety; and brought them all together to this place, till at last they were about three hundred. Then he removed all the Muscovite nuns, distributing them among the convents in the city, and settled here all these Kozak nuns in one body. He was moved to do this by his own love for them, as well as by that of his empress and of the patriarch, and by the delight they all took in hearing their chants and prayers. When we arrived, they came out to meet the patriarchs with chanting, and walked before them to the church, where they robed. Meanwhile there came from the city one of the metropolitans, with the icons, and banners, and wax-lights, in great procession. The two patriarchs came down to meet them, and they all went together to the convent, and up into the church, where they made the ἁγιασμὸς, and celebrated the mass, &c. . . .

Then the patriarch mounted into his coach; and having seated our master in another, he invited him to one of his villas, seven versts from the city and three from this convent, across

the Moskva. Here he gave a banquet to all the grandees, the bishops, the archimandrites, and the priests and deacons, great and small. Afterwards he set out on his return, with his attendants around him, and the streltses before him. On our approach to the city they rang the bells, and he went in to vespers in the cathedral. What surprising perseverance and activity!

On the morrow, 29th July, the eighth Sunday after Pt., our master performed mass, and ordained; as he did also on T. the 31st July. In the evening of this day they rang the large bells, and at night performed the vigil service; for with them it is a great festival in commemoration of the ven. cross; and because on this day in one and the same year Andrew the prince of Muscovy defeated the Tatars, and Manuel Comnenus emperor of Greece defeated the Saracens, that is the Occidentals, by the help of God and by the power of the cross. Whereupon, as soon as they heard of one another's victories, they by agreement instituted this festival. . . .

On the morning of W. 1st Aug. (the first day of the fast of our Lady), they rang all the bells round for the archimandrites and bishops and clergy, in their robes and with their icons, to meet at the cathedral. When they were assembled as usual, all the great bells were rung three times; and we went to the cathedral, where the two patriarchs robed, with the rest of the bishops. Then the archdeacon, with the censer in his hand, said, 'Bless, my lord,' &c., and they went out in procession. The path had been strewn by the streltses with yellow sand all the way from the cathedral to the river; and they stood in rows on each side, while we descended towards the Water-gate, which has painted over it Christ and the woman of Samaria at the well. When we had come to the bank, we went up on to a large platform constructed by the streltses the day before over the river. Around it were palings, and in the middle, towards the east, a pool, with steps down to it. The grandees stood behind; the rest of the people looked on from the walls. While the choristers chanted, the patriarch went down to incense the water, the icons, and the assistants, and then returned to his place. After he had read the gospel, and the archdeacon had said the bidding, he recited the prayers bareheaded, praying, at the third clause, for the emperor, the empress, and their son, and for the emperor's sisters and daughters by name. Then he went down, and first

washed his hands in a ewer and basin of silver. Next he took the cross, and advanced near to the water; and having signed over it the sign of the cross, he dipped the cross, and then raised it with its head downwards, chanting all the time, 'Save, O God, thy people!' and adding the name of the emperor. The choristers still answered him with the same chant, while he held the cross over a vessel of silver held by the archdeacon. Thus he did a second and a third time. Immediately after this the servants of the emperor and the empress, and of all the imperial family, took of the water in silver pitchers. Then he stood up, and, taking the three large twisted tapers from the hands of those who stood with them over the water, dipped them in, and extinguished them. Immediately all the persons present took of the water in their hands, and sprinkled themselves with it, over their heads and faces. Many of the children and of the men went down and worshipped, on their faces, in the river. The grandees, who stood near to the patriarch's throne on the platform, he sprinkled with the water for a blessing; and many horsemen for this purpose plunged into the river. Then we returned to the cathedral, &c.

§ xvi. *Buildings of the patriarch Nicon. Icon of our Lady Portáissa. New convent.* The patriarch Nicon is a great lover of buildings, monuments, and collections. When he was archimandrite of the Spassky outside the city, he rebuilt it from the ground; and on its chief church, and on every part of it, he bestowed much labour. So too, when he became metropolitan of Novgorod, he erected there some very handsome buildings. On becoming patriarch he built a patriarchal palace, which, except the imperial palaces, has no equal in Muscovy. Afterwards he was active in founding a new convent, not far from Novgorod, on an island in a large lake. This was because, when he was archimandrite, he was a great lover of the Greeks, and of the monks of the Holy Mountain; and he had heard that among its convents was one named *Iviron* (τῶν Ἰβήρων, *i.e.* the convent of the Georgians), surnamed from a miraculous icon of our Lady called Πορτάϊσσα (*i.e.* the portress).

This icon was in the house of a rich and noble widow at Nice, when the emperor Leo warred upon the icons. When his troops came to her house, she received them [with a prudent hospitality, and gave them money]. Then, through fear, she made

a hole behind the cheek of the icon; and placing in it three dinars, and covering them up, she prayed with tears; and having thrown the icon into the sea, she said to her son, 'Arise, begone hence, lest the troops seize thee.' He arose therefore, and fled with her. Then the icon—O the miracle!—passed from the city of Nice over the sea, and after some time was espied on the coast of the Holy Mountain, in front of the convent of the Georgians. The monks saw for three nights and days a column of light shining from the sea up to the heaven, and, wondering, they sent to examine what it was. There they found an icon of our Lady standing upright on the water, with light issuing from it like the rays of the sun. They went and told the archimandrite, and he assembled the brethren, with censers and tapers. When they came to the spot, the icon went up of itself on to the head of the archimandrite, and stood there. Having carried it with all reverence into the convent, they placed it in the sanctuary. When morning came, they no longer found it, and were stupefied with amazement. After a search, they discovered it in one of the courts of the convent. They replaced it. The same thing happened again, and it was again found in a vineyard. Again a third time. On the following night it appeared to the archimandrite and the rest of the fathers, saying, 'I did not come to your convent that you should guard me, but I came to guard you. . . . place me therefore on the convent gate.' Awaking in trepidation and amazement, they built for the icon over the gate of the convent a handsome chapel (παρεκκλησίαν), such as the Russians are used to build over the gates of their convents; and there they placed it. After fifteen years the son of that widow came to visit the Holy Mountain, and entered this convent. He immediately recognised the icon, and wept, and exclaimed aloud. The monks flocked round him, and asked what it was. He related to them how this icon had been in the house of his parents. When they cross-examined him, he told them of the three dinars in the back of the icon. On seeing these they were much amazed; and the young man forthwith became a monk of that convent. This icon has wrought, and still works, numberless miracles, is celebrated over all the world, and is visited from all quarters. Over it are said to be suspended votive offerings without number. The kings of Georgia afterwards, from their devotion to this convent, and their faith in

this icon, enlarged and beautified the building; and thence it was called the convent of the Portress, and of the Georgians. At present there are in it more than 500 monks.

Our brethren the Russians and Muscovites love this convent much; and in general all the convents of the H. Mountain; because some of their great saints [as St. Antony, who introduced the monastic life at Kieff] visited it, and followed its rule and ritual. On this account the present patriarch Nicon, when he was archimandrite of the Spassky, asked the delegates of this convent of Iviron, who came regularly with others to beg the alms of the emperor (according to a chrysobulla of his father and his ancestors, permitting them to come every three years), to get painted for him a copy of this their icon, and bring it to him; and so they did. . . . When the empress heard of this copy, she took it away from Nicon; and he ordered another, which they brought to him lately. Its cheek is wounded, and blood is flowing from it. For it is supposed that the Westerns [the Catalans], when they overran the H. Mountain, struck this icon with a knife, and the blood has flowed from the wound ever since. The patriarch Nicon has been very munificent to the monks of his newly-founded convent, and has given them another lesser convent, opposite the imperial palace, called St. Nicholas of the Great Cupola. Next he gave them this icon; into the gold sheathing covering which, as I was told by persons of credibility, his goldsmiths put about forty pounds, *i.e.* a pood and a half, or twenty okas of gold. He adorned it besides with a pood of pearls, and with thirty diamonds, worth above 12,000 dinars, besides emeralds, jacinths, and rubies. On the head of our Lady, and on her shoulders and breast, he set four stars of diamonds, which had belonged to the crests or pennaches of the sultan Ibrahim; for all these treasures have recently been brought hither by Greek merchants. The value of each star is above 1000 dinars. All this was displayed before us. On the neck of our Lady he had hung a necklace of emeralds of surprising beauty, reaching half round, in the form of a crescent; which had cost him, as we verified with our own eyes, above 60,000 dinars. The icon itself is very large and imposing, and the blood is flowing from its cheek. The back is entirely covered with satin and velvet. It is thus an object above all admiration; and has no equal, not

even in the treasures of the emperor, or in his churches: for we have seen them all. . . .

About the time of the capture of Smolensk and Mohileff, when the emperor, fearing for the monks and for the nuns in the convents there, lest they should be exposed to the malice of the Poles, removed all the nuns, as has been said above, to the convent of our Lady Ὁδηγητρία, outside the city of Moscow, the patriarch Nicon removed also the Russian (*i. e.* Lithuanian) monks with their hegoumen, being about seventy in number, and sent them to this island [in the Valdai lake, where he was founding his new convent], where he built for them dwellings of wood, with a handsome church for a temporary abode, until the construction of the convent should be completed. From his love for the rites and forms of the Greeks, he conceived the idea of making them wear caps such as are worn by Greek monks; but at that time there was nobody who had any such caps and latias in his possession. He made himself therefore some caps of black velvet and latias of black silk, with the intention that there should be a difference between the monks of this convent and those of Moscow: and as he knew that our master was much wearied with his long detention at Moscow, caused by the absence of the emperor, he proposed to him to go and recreate himself in this new convent, and to consecrate it. Our master took occasion to request him that he might go by the same opportunity to the city of Novgorod, to view it also. And thus it came to pass. From Moscow to this monastery is 400 versts, and from thence to Novgorod 150. So he dispatched with us a coach, an order for podvods, ten streltses, an archon on the part of the emperor, and an archon from himself, with led horses belonging to the emperor; and taking leave of us, sent before us a *feuille de route*, or list of our stations.

Book XII. *Novgorod.*

§ i. *Description of the city of Tver. Torjok. Convent of St. Barlaam.* Thus we set out from Moscow on Sat. 4th Aug., accompanied by the archbishop of Servia; and on the morning of M. the 6th (the Transfiguration) reached a convent of the As-

sumption near the village of Klin, ninety versts from Moscow, where we assisted at mass. Thence we went on to a castle-like convent of the Nativity; and, crossing the Volga, after ninety versts more, reached Tver, which is a bishop's see. Here there came out to meet us the heads of the convents, the *vicar-bishop*, the voivode, and the magistrates, with the clergy, bringing bread and salt; and they took us to their cathedral of the Transfiguration, where is the body of one of their kniazes, a new saint; and around it are four other churches. . . . They did us great honour, according to the orders which the emperor and the patriarch had issued all along this road. They told us that under this archbishop there are four bazaars or market-towns, residences of voivodes, and about 150 village churches; yet he says that his see is very small. Last year the metropolitan of Kazan was with the emperor to perform mass for him in his tent-church. This year he has taken with him the archbishop of Tver. We met on our road the protopope carrying an *ἁγιασμὸς* (in tubes of wax), with cakes of blessed bread of this anniversary festival of their cathedral, to present to the empress, &c. On this occasion they had strewed the floor with greens, in imitation of the Greeks, who so strew their churches on festivals.

On Th. 9th Aug., crossing the Volga in boats, we went with fresh podvods thirty versts through a vast forest to a pretty village belonging to the patriarch, and leased by him to his convent of Miadno on the river Tvera. On F. thirty more versts to Torjok, a market-town, with a church of the Transfiguration. Outside the town there is a convent of the Nativity belonging to the patriarch, and another of the Entrance of our Lady into the Temple. Hence we had fresh podvods, and we arrived on Sunday 12th Aug. at Vishni Volochok, near the river Sena, by which they pass in boats to Novgorod. Hence, with fresh podvods, twenty-five versts to a pretty village named Kolomna. By it is a vast lake containing several islands, with much wood, all belonging to the convent of St. Barlaam. On M. 13th Aug. forty-five versts to a village, also with a large lake, which the patriarch has recently leased to his new convent. T. 14th Aug. twenty versts more, over a vast tract of stony ground, till we approached the lake of the said monastery. We were thus making all haste, in order to arrive in time for the festival of the convent, which is the Assumption. The road from Moscow

to this convent is more difficult than the Poutivl road, or any other road in Muscovy; for it is all forests, valleys, mud, clay, and roots of trees; in short it is a road not to be travelled except in winter, during the frost. Here let me express my astonishment at all the clergy of this country and the poor; for they came regularly to ask alms of us, to our great vexation, who came hither to ask of them; and they come to ask of us! The patriarch indeed, knowing its state, had sent and widened and repaired it, especially by cutting down trees and laying their trunks across it; but this improvement made it in some respects, for horsemen and carriages, even worse than before. The truth is that our hair turned grey with the horrors and difficulties of this road, which were beyond all description. In the midst of all this we could not but admire the wisdom of the Creator (blessed be his name!), who has bestowed on this country three things in abundance; viz. forests of timber for firewood against the cold; springs, rivers, and lakes for fish; and grain of every kind.

When we drew near to the lake of the convent, there came out to meet us the archimandrite and the rest of the monks, with their attendants, on horseback; and we passed by two villages on the margin of the lake, which the patriarch had peopled with Russian Kozaks from the Polish territories, to assist the monks their countrymen, attaching them to the aforesaid convent. Then they made us embark in a large boat with twelve oars, and rowed us on the lake, or rather sea, swelling with waves. Its depth is above ninety fathoms. They call it in their language Sviatoe Ozero (*i.e.* the Holy Lake), because our Lady appeared to a devout hermit in that one of its three islands on which they lately determined to found the convent. Its circumference is fifty versts; and between the middle island, in which is the monastery, and the mainland is three versts. This island they have cleared of the wood; and they are now cutting down the timber on the other two smaller islands, in order to lay them out for gardens. We were delighted at the happiness of the site, and its cheerful aspect. They have the lake abounding with excellent fish, their woods close at hand for fuel, and their insular position to give them perfect security.

To return: After an hour's time, we landed, and approached the gate of the new wooden wall. At this moment the archi-

mandrite came out with the rest of the clergy and the deacons, in their phenolia of the richest materials, and drew up before our master in front of the gate, which they had adorned, with its arch, with tapestry. They had also strewed the ground all over with fine sand. The archimandrite then made a long address in their tongue. . . . At the end he bowed to our master, and received his blessing, as they did all; and so, preceding us to the court of the convent, they took us up into their wooden church of the Assumption, where we assisted at the liturgy, and did not leave it till near the evening, being all the time fasting. This is the height of courtesy with them. Then we went out to the great refectory, which they had entirely hung and covered, both the seats and the walls, with vestments of the Armenian and Polish clergy, of the richest brocades and velvets; for the emperor had sent to the patriarch above one hundred vestments and tunicles, which had belonged to the Armenians and Jesuits, saying, 'Do with them what you will,' as he considered them to be unclean. Such is the faith of the Muscovites! The patriarch thought he could not use them better than as tapestry for the refectory in this convent, and as coverings to the seats in the church; and what is surprising, they had not even taken off them the silver buttons and clasps. We were quite angry with them on this subject; for even the idolaters are sanctified by baptism. And would not these fine stuffs, when sprinkled with holy water, become purified for the clothing of the priesthood? But, in truth, this their practice arises from the abundance of their riches; whereas we, in our country, take clothes of brocade that have been worn even by Jews, and make them into phenolia for the priesthood. Would to God they would give these to our master, to make them into phenolia, and distribute them to the bishops and priests in our country, who so much need them! But if he were to ask for them, he would lower himself in their eyes, and they would say, 'Behold how little is their religion!' May it please God, however, to let them be inflamed with anger against us, *provided only he enrich us* by their means.

To return: Then they began presenting dishes of those Russian preparations which are filled with royal spices, and of those fine fish which are cooked in sweet sauces, *i.e.* in honey and sugar, and milk of almonds, &c. &c. This their superior cookery

is not to be wondered at, since they had learned it from the rich Poles, so famous for their sumptuous kitchens and for the great skill of their cooks.

To return: In the evening (*i. e.* on the eve of the Assumption) they performed the short vespers; and rose for the vigil service at the second hour of the night, at the striking of that splendid new clock; which has six small bells around it, and when it is the quarter strikes six times, once on each bell, at the half-hour twelve times, at the three-quarters eighteen times, and at the hour twenty-four times. We could have wished it never to be silent, for the beauty of its chimes. After them it strikes the hour. So they went through the whole service of the vigil (*ἀγρυπνία*), with their delightfully sweet chants, to the end of the matins. At the fourth hour of the day we went in to the liturgy, which our master celebrated, and with him the archbishop of Servia. First they made an *ἁγιασμὸς*; and after the liturgy they sang a *παράκλησις*. Afterwards we went forth to the refectory. (On the evening of this day they sang vigil service for the festival of the icon of the Holy Face, called *ἀχειροποιητός*.)

Later in the day we went to look round this island, and admired the neatness of the convent walls. We saw the large stone church which they have built this summer, and upon which more than 500 workmen have been employed. It is handsomer, larger, and loftier than the cathedral at Moscow. After putting on the roof, they dug round it (in the precinct) vast foundations for cellars and caves, to contain eatables and liquors, and for cells, &c. They had at this time, piled up, more than 500,000 bricks, for the continuation of the walls. At present the convent treasury is of wood; and the emperor has given them 200 streltses for its protection. The patriarch has sent also of late, for the use of the monastery, several pieces of cannon, muskets, gunpowder, and a quantity of coats-of-mail. He has had brought for it from the country of the Franks a large chandelier, or *πολυέλαιον*, of fine brass, of the size of a large tree, ornamented with flowers, birds, and other wonders; its price 900 dinars. He has also lately *purchased for it* about sixty villages, with their inhabitants, for 60,000 dinars, besides *many estates which belonged to the patriarchal see*, religious houses, messuages, and eighty salt-pans. It is said that he is laying out

in the building of this convent more than a million of money. He has attached to it 180 lakes for fish. The archimandrite computed that the annual surplus income of the convent is upwards of 10,000 dinars.

To return: On the eve of the eleventh Sunday after Pt., they performed the vigil service; and in the morning (19th Aug.) we celebrated the liturgy, and went out afterwards in procession, singing the *παράκλησις*, and continuing it till we arrived at the aforementioned new church, where many prayers were to be said at the planting of the cross under the table, &c. So they went and dug in each of the three apses or sanctuaries a hole, as the place for the holy table, and covered the screens with veils and icons. When we entered them, the patriarch went round the hole dug for the table of the great sanctuary, and named it from the Assumption of our Lady; while we chanted her troparion. Then he took some mortar, and laid it in the form of a cross, and placed one stone. After that he took the wooden cross newly made, and planted it in the hole—I mean the cross upon which was written the name and date, and the names of the patriarch and the emperor, as it is appointed in the *εὐχολόγιον*. Then he passed to the second apse, and did in like manner, calling it by the name of St. Philip the later, metropolitan of Moscow. Thus also he did in the third apse, calling it by the name of St. James the later, whose relics now lie in a silver-gilt shrine in the said church. Then he sprinkled the altars with the *ἁγιασμὸς*, and read the gospel of our Lady; and we left the church to return to the other; whence we went forth to the refectory; and there taking leave of them, we left the convent to enter our boat, to which they all attended us with the streltses, while the choristers chanted, &c. The streltses continually fired their muskets till we had landed and mounted into our carriage.

§ ii. *Road to Novgorod. Capture of Vilna. River Msta. Lake of Novgorod.* We were still escorted by horse-soldiers, and having travelled seven versts, we stopped for the night. To say the truth, this road is the road to hell itself. It is impossible to convey any idea of its difficulties. . . . The metropolitan of Novgorod, as soon as he had received intelligence of our arrival at the Iversky convent, had sent to do us honour by inviting us to his residence.

On M. 20th Aug. we travelled thirty-three versts. The road from Moscow to Novgorod is a great descent, and the return an ascent; like the roads from Poutivl and the other provinces; for the metropolis is on higher ground than any other part of the empire, and the cold and frost there are consequently very severe. While we were on our way, there came to us a courier from the patriarch and the emperor, bringing a letter from each; to inform our master that the emperor, by the blessing of his prayers, had taken by assault the city of Vilna, the residence of Radzivil. Radzivil came to succour it with 40,000 men; but his army was routed, so that not more than 2000 of his troops, together with himself, saved themselves by flight... The emperor's troops stormed the ramparts of the city the same day. They made a great slaughter. The archimandrite of the new convent (*i.e.* of the Iversky) told us that there are in that city of orthodox Russians more than 40,000; and that around it there are above twenty villages of Tatars. As soon as the troops made their entrance, they plundered it of wealth in gold, silver, jewels, and stores, surpassing all description; as our own eyes afterwards witnessed in the shops and markets: for this city was very rich, and from ancient times had not been taken by an enemy until now. We were astonished to see the plates of silver, and the silver locks and nails on their chests, and the silver plates on their coaches. The price of the dollar is fallen, and also of the dinar (ruble) in Moscow, from the abundance of them in circulation, so that the value of a Spanish dollar has become less than that of a Venetian; and the dinar is worth only a dollar and a half, or two basids. As to the copper and brass, and the bells of the Polish churches, God knows they remained a whole year on sale in the shops of Moscow: and then all kinds of clocks, watches, trinkets, and arms ornamented with jewels abounded beyond computation. The captives were above all price. The emperor broke down seven cupolas of Radzivil's palace, all covered with gold, and had them transported to Moscow; with many columns of red and variegated marble, many floors or pavements, and tables for the banquet-room; such rarities as the Muscovites had never seen till now. Then the emperor fortified the city, digging round it an immense ditch, raising an earthen wall on the outside of the other stone walls, and a wooden one inside, and setting over it a

voivode with a strong body of troops. Afterwards he turned his face towards Warsaw, the capital of the crâl of Poland, between which and Vilna is five days' journey; and reduced many towns and forts, till he had left nothing that could be named of Radzivil's possessions. When this wretch had fled, he went to the king of Sweden; and, having asked his protection, remained with him. The city of Vilna was taken on the 31st July; and the news reached us in fifteen days, the distance to Moscow being 1000 versts, the same distance as from Moscow to Jassy in Moldavia.

To return: On T. 21st Aug. we went thirty-five versts, on rough roads, through mud, clay, rain, woods without end, and over numberless wooden bridges; and on W. twenty-seven or thirty. After we had passed a river called Nisha in a boat, six archimandrites came to meet us, with the icons, and with bread and drink. Then they conducted us to the bank of a river called Msta, flowing out of a large lake of the same name, and embarked us in an imperial barge sent by the metropolitan of Novgorod and the voivode, while our suite was put on board another; and thus they rowed us five versts till the evening, when they landed us, and lodged us in a tent. The metropolitan sent us a boat-load of fish, bread, and barrels of drink, wine, cherry-water, mead, and quass, to supply our wants for that night, in the course of which there came on such heavy rain, with such high winds, that there could be no thought of sleep.

In the morning they rowed us twelve versts, and took us up to a very ancient stone convent of St. Nicholas, situated on an island entirely surrounded by rivers and lakes. Then they rowed us on a little; and we now entered the lake called Volchoff. After that we came to a large river flowing out of a large lake, and thence into a much larger lake (the Ilmen), the length and breadth of which are forty versts, like a sea; but it is not deep all over, and the boats sometimes grounded, and the streltses and rowers were obliged to get out and drag them into deep water. Now the city of Novgorod appeared in the distance, while all round the lake we saw many convents and churches of stone, of ancient structure. Many of the convents (said to have been once 400) are now ruinous and deserted.

§ iii. *Description of the city of Novgorod. Life of St. Andrew.*

Reception. Church of St. Sophia. The city of Novgorod is, by its etymology, the New City; and it is said to have been founded by Japhet, the son of Noah. It is the first city that embraced the faith in this country, after Kieff, at the hands of the Apostle St. Andrew. . . . . As the princes of Moscow were unbelievers, they constantly came to make war upon them. There is here an exceedingly ancient church of St. Sophia, exactly on the model of the church of St. Sophia at C.P., more ancient than the church of St. Sophia at Kieff. . . . St. Andrew, after he had baptised them all, went to Pskoff, which is 150 versts distant; and there also they believed. For Novgorod he consecrated a metropolitan; and for Pskoff an archbishop. The people of Moscow are said to have embraced the faith subsequently; but they quickly returned to their infidelity. . . . Then the Apostle returned to Kieff; and thence he went to Sinope, where he died a martyr.

To return: The length of our passage on this vast lake was three versts; at the end of it is a large wide river (the Volchoff), on the two banks of which the city is built. They say that this river passes on and enters a lake (the Ladoga), the circumference of which is 1000 miles; thence it passes to the ocean, which is distant from this city four days' journey. Many European ships come thence to this city, which with Pskoff makes the boundary of the empire on the side of Sweden. To this latter kingdom, by leave of the emperor, they export provisions; for the land of Sweden is all rock, and it draws its subsistence from these two cities. Then we arrived at a large monastery of St. George (the Yurieff), three versts distant from the city. Here the metropolitan came out to meet our master, attended by all the heads of monasteries, the priests, and deacons, in their robes, together with the voivode and his nobles, the grandees of the city, and the troops. They met him in procession on the bank of the river, where they lifted him out of the boat, and took us into the convent and to the church. After the patriarch had saluted the icons and given the people his blessing, they conducted us down again to the boat, and rowed us on to the city; for they were waiting for us to celebrate mass; and this with them is the greatest token of respect. During this magnificent journey on the river, which is so beautiful, our hearts expanded with delight

at the view of the convents on the right and left, and of the fisheries on both sides of the lake and river. . . .

To return: When we came near to the city, the boats took us under the large wooden bridge which crosses the river (and connects the two opposite sides of the city, the one on the left being of stone, and that on the right of wood). Then they helped us out of the boat, the troops stationing themselves on the right and on the left, and the whole population assembling, while we mounted upon the bridge, the metropolitan holding the right arm of our master, and the voivode his left. Thus we proceeded till we had entered the city gate and arrived at the cathedral of St. Sophia, where they were waiting for us to celebrate the liturgy. After the patriarch had bowed to the icons and kissed them, he took his place at the metropolitan's chair. At this moment the metropolitan came in, and, taking leave of the patriarch, entered the sanctuary and robed there, with four heads of convents in their mitres and other ornaments, and with many priests and deacons. He then came out and stood at the west end, and began a παράκλησις for the emperor. At the end of it the archdeacon mounted the ambon to read a letter from the emperor, announcing the defeat of Radzivil and the capture of Wilna, and requesting their prayers. Then they began the liturgy, from which we did not get out till near evening, fasting, as we were, and nearly dead with fatigue. By the mercy of God they at length took us to the refectory, where the metropolitan had a large company, attended by the voivode and his nobles. Here much wine was drunk, and we had fresh lemons, imported from Sweden. They afterwards lodged us in large and princely apartments, built by the patriarch Nicon, when he was metropolitan of this city.

There was a rising to prayer in the middle of the night; and in the morning early they performed a παράκλησις for the emperor, as before, before the mass. Every day they stayed in the church at mass till the afternoon, in token of their vast respect for us.

On the morning of Sat. 25th Aug. we went with the metropolitan to perform our devotions in the cathedral of St. Sophia. Its description is precisely similar to that of St. Sophia at Kieff; and, like it, it has galleries above; but it is vastly old, and worn by length of age. It has a great door with two leaves of fine

brass, covered all over with figures and representations of the festivals of our Lord, and other beautiful specimens of art (called Chersounskia). Some say that the kniaz of this city, about 700 years ago, used to be at war with Servia and Greece; others say that it was a khagan of the Tatars, who marched to the siege of Constantinople with a vast army, and then to Kaffa, which in their tongue, as in Greek, is Chersoun; and, having taken and ruined it, he carried away from it these doors, with other things, and large and magnificent Greek icons, which still remain. [But these doors are really of Latin style and workmanship.]

To return: Within, this church is very dark. In it there are six sanctuaries, most of them named after Russian saints. It has five cupolas, the central one gilt with gold. Its doors are many; and in the corner on the right-hand side, there is a chapel, in the form of the sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem, adorned with veils, and well lighted with wax-lights. Within the south door is a beautiful tomb of fine white marble with streaks of red, like fat and lean meat. . . . We paid our reverence to the uncorrupted relics of the saint within it. He was one of the sons of the apostle-like emperor Vladimir. . . . In the south chapel is another shrine, with the body of John, an ancient metropolitan of this city, in whose honour they keep a great festival. So also in the north corner of the church there is a beautiful chapel and shrine, containing the relics of the metropolitan St. Nicetas, who is without a beard. Their legendaries relate of him that he shut up Satan in a jar, and set a seal upon him; and when the devil asked to be released, he refused to let him go but upon one condition, viz. that he should mount him upon his shoulders and carry him to Jerusalem. In this way he visited the holy places in one night, and was brought back by the next morning. This is a thing well known, and celebrated. All these saints work miracles up to the present day.

The pavement of the sanctuaries is all of white marble. . . The broad stone slabs, hard and thin, flooring the rest of the church, are from a quarry in the city. The cathedra, with its steps, is of beautiful and costly mosaic of stone of mina (niello?) or enamel; which is also to be seen before the royal doors of the sanctuary under the great dome, at the place of the ambon, and all up the steps to the pulpit and the desk for reading the gospel

and the epistle, where the metropolitan makes the dismissal. The icons of this church are very large; one of them is a representation of our Lord the Messiah on a throne covered with silver, with the book of the gospels in Greek lying open; also there is an icon of Peter and Paul of a very large size, richly adorned with silver and gold. These are the icons said to have been brought from Cherson. Here also are large newly-painted icons, much esteemed, which the patriarch Nicon caused to be painted when he was metropolitan. They are of surprising beauty and execution. . . .

§ iv. *The palace of the metropolitan. Episcopal jurisdiction and revenue. History of St. Antony and his convent.* The palace of the metropolitan is also very large and ancient; most of it is of stone; and there still remain the old apartments of the sainted metropolitan whom we have mentioned. The patriarch Nicon added to it many buildings, together with a new clock.

The voivode here is the first of all the voivodes, and when he is at court he takes precedence of all.

With regard to the metropolitan, he told us that his jurisdiction extends over more than 2000 versts. The city of Archangel and the Solovetsky monastery are under him; as are also above 400 convents and 2000 priests, from the poorest of whom he receives yearly one ruble. He is possessed of seventy lakes with the fish in them; and this is over and above his landed estates, his villages, lordships, and possessions, held of the sovereign. In his palace there are of servants, scribes, soldiers, deacons, and inferior clerks, priests, monks, and tailors, 300 persons, whose maintenance and expenses both in food and clothing are found by him. He has deputies and judges in his court; and to him they carry up the principal matters. He has also a treasurer for his exchequer; and, in short, he is a greater man than the voivode. This present year he has sent 300 soldiers as a contribution to the emperor.

To return: This day, Sat. 25th Aug., the metropolitan took us to visit the large convents around the city. We got into a boat, and, having gone about two versts, disembarked, and went up to a convent named from St. Antony the Roman [who came in A.D. 1106]. This saint, at the time when the persecution began against the holy icons, was an inhabitant of Rome, and of one of the richest houses. He became a monk, and after-

wards head of a convent in the city of Rome. After the death of his parents, he collected the whole of their succession in gold, silver, and jewels, and placed them in the convent. When the troops of the iconoclasts were on their way to his convent, to carry off the holy icons, he was inspired by a vision, and placed the whole furniture of the convent in a barrel, which he sealed up and threw into the ocean. Himself he mounted upon a rock of hard stone, resembling a boat; and going forth into the midst of the sea, was thence, by the guidance of the Almighty, brought into this river of Novgorod, which we mentioned before as flowing into the ocean. Thus he continued advancing upon this stone, as if it were a boat of wood, till he came to the spot where this convent stands. At that time the kniaz of the city was a Christian; and, as soon as he was informed of the circumstance, he came to him, and spoke to him; but was unable to come to an understanding with him, through the saint's ignorance of the Russian tongue; for the language of the people of Rome is the Frank or Greek. By signs, therefore, the saint endeavoured to communicate his history. Thereupon they sent for the saint Nicetas, then metropolitan of this city, and he came to him; and not being able to understand him, he joined him in prayer to God, as St. Basil the Great had done with St. Ephraim; and the Almighty granted to each of them the knowledge of the other's language. Then they gave him this site to build his convent upon; and he came, and began the structure. Afterwards he asked some fishermen to fish the above-mentioned barrel for him out of the river; and they brought it up in their net, among the fish. They refused, however, to give it up to him; and he went, therefore, to the governor of the city, and told him all his story. The governor summoned the fishermen; and the saint told them of everything the barrel contained, one by one. On opening it, they found all as he had said, and were much amazed. Afterwards he finished the building of this convent with his own hand.

To return: After landing, we assisted at the liturgy which was celebrated by the archimandrite, who, after the trisagion, went up and sat in the cathedra, after the manner of a bishop. (The church is named after the Nativity of our Lady.) After the mass, he came out with them to the west end of the church, and they performed a παράκλησις for the emperor. Then they

said the none. After this we went round the church, and did our reverence to the icons, among which is a magnificent one of our Lady, ancient and Greek, one of those which the prince of Novgorod brought from Cherson, together with the doors of the church, which are like those of St. Sophia, of fine brass, with saints and the festivals of our Lord figured upon them. For this reason they are smaller than the old door, because they set them up afterwards. The body of St. Antony is in a gilt shrine. Above it is his portrait, of a large size, adorned with gold and silver. In the triple chandelier above it are the remains of some *βαΐα* [*i. e.* palms or substitute for palms], with the lower end covered with silver, which he is said to have brought with him from Rome, and which have remained green ever since. . . After doing our reverence to his relics, we went to the outside of the church, behind his tomb, and entered a cell where was the very stone on which he came from Rome. It exactly resembles a small boat, rounded and long, with a rudder behind, such as boats have, and a projecting beak or prow. On it is his portrait, which we kissed; and then we returned to the church, and took a blessing from some of the articles which were in the barrel. They are a chalice, disk and aster, and a suspensoir, studded with precious jewels. On the suspensoir is inscribed the era in western characters, by which it is shown to be above 500 years old. In this convent there are four other churches.

We left the church for the refectory at the eighth hour; and after cups had been quaffed, &c., they brought to our master their presents, viz. an icon of St. Antony inlaid with gold, with a gratuity in money; and to each of us they presented a sum of money folded up in a leaf of paper. . . They reconducted us to the boat, and we crossed the river to the other side, where we landed, and [they seated us in coaches].

§ v. *Convent of our Lady Hodigitria* (Ὁδηγητρία). *Ancient victory over Tamerlane. St. Euthymius.* At the distance of one verst we came to the convent of the Assumption, and after six versts more to that of our Lady surnamed Ὁδηγητρία, [where they assisted at short vespers, it being the eve of the festival of this church, and most of the people living in this part were assembled at the convent]. For we were told that at the coming of Tamerlane, with an army like the sands of the desert, to make war on the princes of Muscovy, who were then very weak,

the prince of Moscow with much exertion got together an army of 100,000 men, and by the intercession of this holy Mother of God surnamed Ὁδηγητρία, and of St. Nicholas, he obtained a victory over the Tatars, and utterly destroyed them: for among the infidels there fell a darkness and black dust, and they began to slay one another, while on the side of the Christians there was the light of day, and they slew their enemies with a great slaughter. On this account the prince of Moscow sent and built this convent of our Lady Ὁδηγητρία and its dependencies, and they keep annually the 26th of August in her honour. From the city of Novgorod there come forth the metropolitan, the heads of convents, and all the priests and deacons, after celebrating mass in their own churches, and all the townspeople, from the grandees to the women and children, in great procession, and assist in this convent at the mass with the ἁγιασμὸς and the παράκλησις. Many of them come overnight for the vigil.

They rose for the vigil service this night at midnight, and, as they rang the bells, we entered the church, &c. We did not go out till dawn of day. At the fourth hour they began to ring for the meeting of the procession coming from the city, a distance of four versts. [It was met first by the metropolitan of Novgorod with the priests without the convent, then by the patriarch of Antioch and the archbishop of Servia, and afterwards they celebrated the mass with an ἁγιασμὸς and the παράκλησις.] This convent is a dependency on another larger convent of St. Nicholas, five versts distant.

As soon as we came out from mass on this Sunday, see what befell us! They took us to that other convent, to *dine* there, not to *sup!* We did not get there till the evening, after a very heavy rain. On meeting us, they led us first to the church of St. Nicholas, which is very high. Near it is another, of the Annunciation; and again a third, of St. Euthymius the Great, wherein is a shrine with the body of St. Euthymius the younger, metropolitan of Novgorod. He founded this monastery, and lived here a life of mortification, after resigning his see. We did our reverence to his relics, which are preserved incorrupt, and to the girdle of iron chain which he used to wear. At length we sat down to table, but not till it was past the tenth hour, having fasted since the eighth hour of the preceding day. After the repast they made us their presents. On M. 27th Aug., after

mass and the repast in the refectory, they dismissed us; and returning we passed again by the convent of the Ὁδηγητρία, and went on thence ten other versts: and so, in the evening, we came to a palace belonging to the metropolitan, built by the patriarch Nicon when he was metropolitan, with a handsome wooden church, very lofty. Here the metropolitan gave us a princely banquet.

§ vi. *Convents of St. Barlaam, of the Resurrection, and of the Holy Ghost. Miracle of our Lady* Πλατυτέρα. On Tuesd. 28th Aug. we went in a boat on the river four versts, to the monastery of St. Barlaam, called Khoutinsk. It is a magnificent convent, beautiful, pleasant, and lofty, situated in a delightful retirement on an elevation, with the river—broader than the Nile in Egypt, and deeper—flowing before it. The great church is of the Transfiguration. In it is the body of St. Barlaam the younger, who founded this monastery in the time of St. Sergius, the founder of the great convent of Troitsa. There is not on this river a convent that can be compared with it for wealth, or for the number of its estates. It has more than 2000 farm-houses, with their peasants; and it has around it a large town with a vast district, of its own property, far and wide. The building itself is very spacious, and contains above 100 monks, most of whom are men of superior worth and holiness. We saw on several of them girdles of iron chain, which they had worn on their bodies forty years. Their shirts and their other body garments they never change till they are entirely worn out upon them. They never wash them at all; and the odour and unction of devotion and sanctity are manifest on their persons. Yet, wonder of wonders! for all this, their smell was, to us, as that of musk! O, their sleekness, blessedness, and felicity! God set our portion with them! We thank Almighty God that he vouchsafed us, in our time, a sight of these saints.

In this convent there is a hospital for the feeble and old monks when sick. The body of St. Barlaam is in a silver-gilt shrine, to which, after assisting at mass in the church, we did our reverence, and they conducted us to the refectory. In this manner our life was spent every day during our visits to these monasteries; that is to say, except once, about sunset, we never ate at all: and this was the height of their veneration for us. [After the repast they made us their presents.]

On this eve before W. 29th Aug., the Decollation of the Baptist, they performed the vigil service at midnight. We did not leave the church [*i. e.* after the liturgy] till after the ninth hour. After the repast in the refectory, we took leave of them, and went in the boat three versts, in the direction of the city. In the evening we came to a handsome convent of the Resurrection. Here we slept. On the 30th Aug. we went other three versts on the river, and arrived at the city; for, from the convent of St. Barlaam to the city there are seven versts by the river.

As soon as we approached the earthen rampart, they took us out of the boat and mounted the patriarch in a coach, which they had ready. We got on horseback, and rode to a convent near the walls, named from the Holy Ghost, in which are three churches. In one of them we assisted at mass. The head of this convent is the fourth archimandrite in rank. After the mass they took us to the refectory, &c., and [after receiving their presents as usual] we took leave of them, and went to our lodgings in the metropolitan's palace.

On F. 31st Aug. they took us to a church named from the icon of our Lady Πλατυτέρα, resembling the icon of Blachernæ. It is the same that delivered this city from the tyranny of the princes of Moscow; and it is called in Russ the Znamenskaia Bogoroditsa. For, when the people of this city were orthodox believers, and the inhabitants of the whole province of Moscow were infidels, the latter continually warred upon the former; till at length all the princes of Muscovy, leagued together, came with an immense army to besiege them; in which siege the metropolitan of this city did here as the patriarch of C.P. had done with the icon of Blachernæ: he carried this icon of our Lady, in procession, round the walls; and, O the miracle! she turned her face to the city, with her back to the besiegers; and immediately there fell on them a loud burst of thunder; and they returned the way they came in confusion, in disgrace, and flight. And now they make a commemoration in honour of this icon every year on the 27th November; and not they only, but all the people throughout all Muscovy. Then we attended mass in this church, wherein the pavement from the holy doors to the middle of the nave is one single flag, and thence to the church-door is another like it.

PART VII. *Novgorod, Moscow, and the Kozak Country.*

BOOK XIII. *Novgorod.*

§ i. *Celebration of the new year. Convent of St. George.* On the eve of 1st Sept., the beginning of A.M. 7164 (in A.D. 1655), they rang the bells for St. Simeon the Stylite, for the new year, and to sing a polychronion for the emperor; and they sang the lesser vespers. In the middle of the night they arose [for the vigil service]. At the introit (in the great vespers) the heads of convents put on their phenolia as usual, the first being the archimandrite of St. Barlaam, the second of St. Nicholas, the third of St. Antony, and the fourth of the Holy Ghost. These four are they who, even in presence of the patriarch and the metropolitan, put on mitres, and give their blessing like bishops. Each of them has two deacons to support his arms at all times, as a bishop has; and, when they came out at the introit, the archimandrite of St. Barlaam stood in the centre, with the rest around him. Then they placed the five cakes of bread (which were very small) on a silver stand or epergne of great beauty around which they set vessels of wine and oil. At the πολυέλαιον the metropolitan, with the archimandrites, put on their phenolia as above, and they set the icon of the new year in the midst. Then he came down and incensed it, and the church. After this our lord the patriarch came and blessed himself before it first; and the rest followed.

At the third hour of the day they rang the great bells; and on our entering the church the choristers chanted Πολλὰ ἔτη to our lord the patriarch, and he robed [as did also the archbishop of Servia, and the metropolitan], and having come out from the sanctuary they stood on three circular carpets with the eagle on them, facing eastwards. After our lord the patriarch had said aloud Εὐλογητὸς &c., we went out to an area in front of the church where they had placed benches and chairs in rows, and the streltses were standing round in a wide circle. In the middle they had set a stand on which they placed the gospels and the cross. The clergy took their stations around it, carrying the icons, with their faces turned to the west; near them they placed another stand with the bowl for the ἁγιασμός. Our lord the patriarch they stationed at a high chair opposite to their circle,

with his face to the east, with the voivode on his right hand. The archbishop of Servia with one half of the archimandrites and clergy stood on his right, while the metropolitan with the rest of the archimandrites and clergy were on his left. And now they spread the whole of this area with carpets. At the end of the kanon (sung at the blessing of the holy water) they gave to our master the cross, and he signed with it three times, towards the four sides; whilst I incensed him, saying, 'Let us pray unto the Lord,' &c. Then, having first washed his hands, he went down to the *ἁγιασμὸς*, and incensed it. The priests meanwhile stood round him, and recited the kanon of the *ἁγιασμὸς*, the epistle and gospel, and the prayers. Then he plunged the cross in the water, chanting, 'Save, O God, thy people,' &c., thrice; and the choristers responded. As the water dropped from the cross, we caught it in a silver vessel. Then he added to it water from the large vessel; and when they had given him a sponge, he dipped it, and went and wiped the faces of the icons and the cross, and came and squeezed it into the water. Then he returned to his chair. Afterwards they brought before the archbishop of Servia a book containing a prayer for the emperor and his ministers, with a recital of his full titles, which is the *πολυχρόνιον*; also a prayer for the empress and their son, and for the daughters and sisters by name.

And now the voivode came forward, clothed in a beautiful brocade dress, with a collar turned back over the shoulders, ornamented with large pearls and gems of various colours, and wearing a breastplate of the most costly workmanship. Approaching our lord the patriarch, he bent down, and prayed for the emperor, saying: 'I am the servant of our glorious emperor;' dilating on his praises, and enumerating his titles; and 'I am the servant of the empress,' he continued, and glorified her by name; and 'I am the servant of their son, the tsarevich Alexis;' and he glorified him in like manner; and 'servant to the emperor's sisters;' and he glorified them by their several names; together with the emperor's daughters. All these speeches and praises issued from his mouth in the likeness of an encomium. Afterwards he prayed for them, that they might enjoy a long life and a multitude of years; and wished them for this present a happy new year; and thus he expatiated much in his praises and prayers. Then he prayed for our master in like manner, and

wished him a happy new year, bowing to him. Thus he did also to the archbishop of Servia, and to the metropolitan.

Afterwards the archbishop of Servia advanced, and performed a *πολυχρόνιον* for our master, together with the metropolitan, in like manner as above. After them came forward the archimandrites, and did in like manner. Then all the people present began to wish each other a happy new year. . . . They had all put on their best clothes, particularly the women, for this beginning of the year, and for their love of St. Simeon. When the emperor is present in Moscow, he does in like manner as the voivode does here.

To return: Then they brought to our master the cross and the *ἁγιασμὸς*, and he sprinkled the voivode, and the other grandees. We then returned to the church; and they began the hours and the mass. The metropolitan at this time put on his star (his *ἐγκόλπιον* or *παναγία*). For the metropolitans in this country are not used to put on their star over their phenolia or sakkoses at all times, but they never remove it from their ordinary clothes. After our master had sat down on the cathedra, there came before him three archimandrites, and he gave them *ἄδεια* for that which they were to do. . . . During the mass the deacons went round with a representation of the church of Mount Sion, and a silver dome like that of the Resurrection, and the priests, two and two, with the *ἐπιτάφιος* on their heads. . . . It is not usual with the bishops in this country to hold their crosiers at their seats; but one of the anagnosts holds it beside them from the beginning of the service to the end. We did not go out from the church till the ninth hour. . . . Undoubtedly all these Russians are saints, surpassing in devotion the hermits of the deserts! As for us, we left the church almost dead.

After the repast they rang the bells, and went in again to the church for the vespers.

In like manner on the morrow (13th Sund. after Pt.) the metropolitan celebrated mass, with all the priests of the city, and performed a *παράκλησις* for the emperor; so that, as usual, we did not sit down to table till the ninth hour.

On M. 3d Sept. we took leave of the church of St. Sophia, and of the metropolitan and of the voivode, and returned in the boats to the convent of St. George, where they had first met us;

the metropolitan and the voivode having previously made their presents to the patriarch and to each one of us, as is usual. After mass in their church they took us to the refectory. . . .

§ ii. *Visit to a Russian merchant. Return to Vishni Volochok and Torjok. Convent of St. Arsenius of Tver. Village of Shosha.* In the evening we were invited by a rich merchant (mentioned before as having contributed to the emperor 200,000 dinars) to one of his country houses on the other side of the river, and we went down to the boat, accompanied by the metropolitan and the voivode. . . . Afterwards we returned to the convent; and on the morrow, after assisting at mass, and breakfasting, we bade farewell to the people here, and went, accompanied by the metropolitan and the grandees, about twenty versts on the river, sighing for our separation from this blessed land. . . .

They brought us in the evening to a place where the metropolitan owned a mill, on the bank of the river. He had built here, of wood, a large house for us in the space of fifteen days, that he might now take leave of us here this night. He set before us a great feast; and on the morning of W. 5th Sept. having bidden him farewell, we went six versts more on the river, and then landed where before we had embarked, and went on in carriages fifteen versts. On Th. 6th Sept we went sixty-five versts, and changing horses (on F. the 7th) fifty versts. We arrived on Sat., the nativity of our Lady, at the village of the Iversky convent; and the archimandrite came in the boat, and conveyed us to it. We assisted there at the mass on Sunday. On M. 10th Sept. we were unable to leave, owing to a storm on the lake. Its waves were like those of the sea. On the morning of Tuesday it calmed a little, and we departed, and travelled ninety versts to Vishni Volochok, where we changed our horses. Then seventy versts, till we came, on F. 14th Sept., to Torjok, and again changed horses. We then went on sixty versts, and arrived before the morning of Sunday 16th Sept. at Tver (that night we had slept at a convent built of wood in the forest). We assisted at mass in the cathedral; and after breakfasting went to visit a convent four versts off, named after St. Arsenius, an archbishop of Tver, to whose relics we did our reverence there, and returned to the city, and thence departed on the morning of Monday. In the evening we crossed the Volga a second time, and slept in a village on its bank called Shosha.

We now went ninety versts, to the patriarch's convent, which we passed by, and went on seventy other versts. The patriarch had come out to meet us at one of his country houses, distant twenty versts from the city; and he sent twice to inform us of it, during this day's route. He had been waiting for us three days; and when we came near, he sent to meet us first his archons, afterwards his metropolitans and heads of convents; and they conducted us to his mansion. . . . Then he took leave of us and returned to the city. As for us, we slept there.

§ iii. *Return to Moscow. Farther conquests of the emperor over the Poles. Reception given to ambassadors. Treatment of Polish captives.* Early on Th. 20th Sept. we reëntered Moscow, having been absent forty-seven days.

On the eve of Sat. (*i. e.* on the 21st) we assisted at a commemoration in the convent of the nuns opposite for the tsar Ivan; and on the morrow, after the mass, at the banquet in the hall (the granovitaa palata) of the palace, above the steps. On F. 28th Sept. our master celebrated, and ordained, in our convent. In the evening we attended another commemoration in the convent of the nuns for the emperor Michael and his two sons; and on the morrow, after mass, the banquet, in the usual place.

On the eve before M. 1st Oct. and on the morning of that day itself it was a great festival with them for the veil (pokrov) of the B. Virgin, which was seen by Andrew Salos with St. Romanus. . . . One of the metropolitans went out in procession from the Kremlin to the station on the public place, and having performed a παράκλησις for the emperor, celebrated mass there in the great church of the Trinity (called Vasili Blajenni).

On the eve before M. 8th Oct. we assisted at a commemoration in the church of the Archangel for the prince Dmitri Alexievich, who died an infant eight years ago. On the morrow they rang all the bells from an early hour; and we went to the cathedral, where the patriarch, attended by all his clergy, having robed, performed a παράκλησις for the emperor, because there had come a letter from him informing them that he had taken nine fortresses of the Poles, his archons five, and Bontourlin in conjunction with Khmielnitsky four. They had also taken prisoner a great hetman, Paul Pototski (one of the four), with all his household and with his children. After the παράκλησις

the patriarch, having mounted the ambon, read the emperor's letter, &c. Afterwards they made the dismissal, and unrobed.

On Sunday 14th Oct. the people all went forth to meet two ambassadors, one from Ferdinand, Cesar and emperor of the Allemans, the other from the king of Sweden. We had already seen them in Novgorod; for they came by sea, and up the river Volchoff to that city. The Russians observed great solemnity in their reception, and lavished upon them every civility.

A report was now spread that the emperor was preparing to come back: for there had been a great mortality among the horses, so that the service was interrupted. On this account he granted the men a furlough, and sent about 80,000 of them, who were poor and without horses, to their homes till the 1st of March. We saw them coming in, and bringing with them countless thousands of captives: and yet, in consequence of the mud caused by the rains of late, and the death of their horses, they had abandoned the greater part of their prisoners on the roads, to die of cold and hunger.

Afterwards the patriarch told our master that the emperor had taken 300,000 prisoners, and that he intended to fill with them the houses in the city and the farms in the country depopulated by the plague. And so it was done. And happy were the prisoners whom the emperor took as his own; for he settled on each, even on the children and infants, four copecks a day, besides an allowance of mead and beer, and wood for fuel, and placed them in the untenanted houses and farms. All his endeavour was to lay waste his enemy's country, and to people his own; for so the Poles had done when they formerly obtained possession of these provinces by fraud. When, therefore, the wheel turned round, and the time of justice and vengeance came upon them, they suffered even worse than they had inflicted. The grandees and the military, and holders of estates, in like manner filled up their farms with captives, and made them cultivate the land. For if anywhere the people ever lived despised and abject slaves, it was the hereditary cultivators of the soil for the Poles, who now became cultivators for the Muscovites. Our hearts were truly afflicted for these poor wretches, seeing the sales of their little children, five or six, seven or eight, for a dollar; and even the interested spectators were moved to tears. All this befell them through the wickedness of their

superiors; and the whole sin rests on the shoulders of the accursed Radzivil. [From the 14th October to the 6th December the journal is intermitted, or, it may be, the MS. has been damaged.]

§ iv. *Feast of St. Nicholas. Founding of the great bell.* To return: At the festival of St. Nicholas, the 6th December, they keep three days holiday; but they close the wine-shops from the eve of the festival till the end of it. The patriarch invited our master to celebrate with him. It was an exceedingly cold day. After the mass he took us up to his palace, where he gave a great banquet to all the assistants, instead of the emperor, who, if he had been here, would have assisted at mass in the church of St. Nicholas near the cathedral, and would afterwards have given a banquet. After the banquet, they elevated the *παναγία*, and the patriarch incensed the icons and all present; and then performed a *πολυχρόνιον* for the emperor and the empress, and for their son, and for his sisters and daughters, by name. Then he poured out with his own hand for all present a round of cups of mead to the health of the emperor, and we went out.

We learned from him that the emperor had remained on at Smolensk, on account of the mud and rain, which are usual at the beginning of autumn, to the ruin of the roads. The worst of this was experienced at Moscow, where the wagons and horses were utterly unable to pass along the streets; and as for us, we could not go out of the house to market, on account of the deep mud and clay—deep enough to sink in overhead. For this reason, the price of provisions then rose very high, there being but little importation of them from the country. All the people, and most of all ourselves, prayed to God that He would cause the earth to be frozen. The emperor therefore had remained at Smolensk for the sake of his baggage, till the ground should be frozen. A report had been spread that he would come this day; but the patriarch told us that on this day he had gone to assist at the liturgy in a convent on his road, named after St. Nicholas of Mojaisk. The icon of this saint they always paint with a drawn sword in his right hand, and in his left the city of Moscow, as he appeared in a vision to the prince of Moscow at the time of the invasion of Tamerlane. The convent is about ninety versts from the city. We were much rejoiced at this news. Afterwards he passed from that

convent to another, which he had recently built in the name of St. Sabba the younger; and there he assisted at mass on the Saturday, 8th December.

On the Sunday afternoon 9th Dec. they rang the great new bell to announce the coming of the emperor, and all prepared to meet him on the morrow. This bell is the one which we gave some account of before, observing on the nature of the works, and the machines and engines which they had been busy about during the summer; that is, a great number of streltses, under their able and ingenious master. They had been incessantly employed about this bell from the month of February till this feast of St. Nicholas. Our principal amusement during the summer was going to watch them. Before we set out for Novgorod, their labour had been very great in transporting the large pieces of copper, weighing them, and placing them in the five furnaces. Each piece was with difficulty moved by forty or fifty streltses, assisted by machinery, and placed in the scales, and then in the furnace. Thus they were employed till we returned from Novgorod; and then they luted up the doors of the furnaces, and burned the fires for three days, till the whole of the copper melted. They stirred it with long iron rods through holes in the doors of the furnaces; and from the violence of the heat its surface had become red hot. Then a number of streltses came and took away the covering (of mats made of the bark of the lime-tree) which had been erected to keep the place from sun and rain. . . . And one of the bishops came and performed here over the pit an ἁγιασμὸς, and blessed the work. And now they let go the issues of the five furnaces from under them; and the copper ran all into the channels leading to above the ears of the bell. This was at night; and they would not permit any person to look on. Till the end of this day they had been continually scumming the metal. From the great weight of the copper, *it made a hole in the bottom of one of the furnaces, and ran away among the bricks;* and so there was lost a part of what had been prepared by the master; but *they immediately brought him much brass and silver, and put it into one of the furnaces, where it soon melted; and they let it flow over the other, till the whole was filled up.* They had to wait three days for this new bell to cool; and then they began to take away the bricks and earth which were around it; an operation which took some

time. As soon as the report was spread of the coming of the emperor, they worked day and night; and *the patriarch continually overlooked them*, accompanied by the emperor's lieutenants, stimulating their exertions to the utmost. Most times he used to invite our master also to accompany him in viewing the work. And now was perfected a bell which must rank among the wonders of the age. After this, for a long time they were employed in cutting away the furnaces and the mounds raised for the purpose of confining the copper within the mould, and in cleaning the surface of the bell, until the 1st of December, when they resolved to remove it from the pit and to hang it up.

On this occasion there came one of the bishops, with all the priests and deacons of the church in their robes, and performed an *ἁγιασμὸς* a second time, . . . sprinkling the bell, and the place around. In the mean time the engines, with large ropes fastened to them, were made ready before us, and a crowd of people collected to look on. Each of the engines, sixteen in number, was worked by seventy or eighty streltses; and on the rope of each engine sat a man, to direct them from it, and to make them pull all together. Many of the ropes broke, and were replaced by others. After immense labour for three days, they at length so far raised it as to suspend it about its own height over the pit. They then placed a bridge of huge timbers over the mouth of the pit, and covered it all over. Above this again they placed another bridge, so that this wonderful bell rested upon it. Afterwards they began to hang to it the iron clapper, the weight of which is 250 poods, the thickness such that we could with difficulty embrace it with our arms, and the length more than a stature and a half. They now began to clean the bell inside and out, and to polish it. And now appeared the exact effigy of the emperor, and that of the empress opposite to him, with Christ over them giving them his blessing, as they, on the face of the bell, turn themselves towards the church on the east side. On the back of the bell is the image of the patriarch Nicon, in his sakkos and mitre, holding his crosier in his hand—an exact likeness. Under the shoulders, at the top of the bell, are figures of cherubim and seraphim, with six wings, spreading all round. Over them is a circular inscription in very large characters, as there is also on the rim below. The thickness of the rim of this bell is more than an ell, as appeared to me. When we went in

and stood under it, we seemed to be under a great tent; but no one knew how many braces its circumference was; nor could any one measure it, as it was guarded by a strelits. For my part, I ceased not to scheme and to pay my court, till I made acquaintance with the artist himself, and prevailed on him to tell me its circumference. It is eleven braces, which I found, by measuring with my hand, to be just ninety-three spans. I inquired of him what it had cost. He said 50,000 dinars; and so the patriarch of Moscow also told our master. I asked him the weight: he told me it was only a few poods short of 12,500. The like of this bell there is not in the world, nor has there ever been, nor is likely to be. To our good fortune, the work was completed in our presence. . . .

To return: On this day, which was Sunday Dec. 9, the third from the festival of St. Nicholas, the emperor slept at one of his palaces only three versts from Moscow. On this account, after mass . . . they began to toll the new bell, tying four long ropes to the clapper, which about a hundred streltses began to pull on the four sides, so as to bring the clapper to the sides of the bell, which gave out a sound like thunder, and the huge beams upon which it was suspended quivered violently. Thus they continued to toll it till the evening, to announce the emperor's arrival on the morrow. As for the patriarch, he went this same evening with his higher clergy to meet the emperor on the road by night. Having made his salutations to him, and blessed him, he returned in the morning early.

§ v. *Reception of the emperor on his return to Moscow.* On Monday the 10th of December they tolled the new bell, with all the other bells, the whole day; and going to the cathedral we assisted at the liturgy with the patriarch. Afterwards we went up with him to his palace; and after the fifth hour had struck, we went down to put on our robes; and the patriarchs put on theirs at the west end of the church. The patriarch of Moscow robed our master in one of his own sakkoses and omophoria, braided with pearls, and placed on his head his Constantinople mitre. Then they went out in procession to meet the emperor, with banners and waxlights, attended by all the clergy of the city, both priests and deacons. The icon of our Lady *Ηοδηγήτρια*, mentioned above, the patriarch gave with all its jewels and gold to be carried by the monks from Mount Athos who

happened to be present, and the monks of the Kozak monasteries, who chanted to her a *παράκλησις* in Greek. When we came near to the gate of the Kremlin we observed that they had adorned the rails and the steps on both sides of the gate with green baize. We then went forth to the open place, to the stone oratory; and after they had said a prayer and incensed, the patriarch blessed with the cross to the four sides. As we went down from thence the troops and the people were standing in rows on both sides; and we proceeded towards the river on the Kalouga road. The rails also on both sides of the two gates in the second wall were adorned with red cloth. When we had passed the bridge over the ice, and were come to the famous *meidan* or hippodrome (*i.e.* the Divichy plain), we found that they had also in the middle of it set up two rows of rails with high steps, and had covered them with green baize. The day was excessively cold, and the snow very deep; yet the people were all bareheaded. Every moment there came from the emperor an archon to the patriarch to beseech him to stop where he was, for fear he should be fatigued with walking along the road. But he would not; and we moved on at a quick pace, the choristers chanting all the while, in order to meet the emperor at the earthen rampart. And now advanced the military, and the grandees, and the troops of horse on the two sides of the road, while we proceeded in the middle on foot; every time that we came near a church being received with the ringing of bells, which the young men plied with great alacrity; and by the priests and the whole clergy coming out with the icons of the church, the cross, and incense, to meet the patriarchs. Thus having walked for a whole hour, we at length approached the earthen wall, where the emperor came up, and we joined him. He had been sitting in his sledge, which was ornamented with the banner of the cathedral of the Assumption beautifully painted and adorned. As soon as he saw us at a distance, he alighted, and advanced on foot, attended by his grandees, bareheaded. He came and stood opposite to the patriarch, at a little distance, having his grandees on his left; and the archbishop of Tver, carrying the cross of Constantine [sent to him at his request during the last spring from Mount Athos] in a sort of tabernacle or case, such as is used for icons, with folding-doors of silver-gilt to shut over it, which the emperor

had lately had made; one of the archimandrites carrying the head of St. Chrysostom in a silver reliquary; another the icon of our Lady of Blachernæ; and others carrying other icons, on his right hand. Thus the banners and icons were ranged close to each other all around him. Then the archdeacon took the censer, all being silent, and said Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα. The patriarch said Εὐλόγητος κ.τ.λ.: and he read a gospel from St. Luke: 'Which of you having a son, if he ask his father for bread, will he give him a stone?' &c. At the end of the gospel the archdeacon went and presented the book to the emperor to kiss, &c. Then the patriarch, having made the dismissal, blessed with the cross to the four sides; and advancing near to the emperor, began to praise him and thank him, strengthening his good intentions by encomiums and examples, as of Moses against Pharaoh &c., and as of Gideon and Abraham, and by other like examples from ancient histories; speaking also of Constantine and Maxentius, and saying such words as guide to wisdom distinctly and at length. Then he blessed him with the cross, and sprinkled him with the holy water, as did also our master, and the archbishop of Servia. Then the emperor, having passed with his archons before all the icons, returned to his place; and the archons went near to the patriarch that he might bless them. Reciting their praises, and thanking them, he gave them his blessing, saying, 'I thank God for your good success and your victory over your enemies,' &c. At this moment the emperor advanced towards him and said to him: 'Father, you have laboured enough for it. This victory which God has given us over our enemies *was not gained by our sceptre, nor by our sword, nor by our alms, nor by our troops, but by the abundance of your holy prayers in our behalf*: these produced the effect of what we have done, beyond our hopes.' When we heard these words, we were astonished at the emperor's great humility and trust in God. Then the patriarch advanced, and presented to him a gilt icon of our Lady, and, in a silver dish, a cake of bread, with a beautiful salt-cellar upon it, full of salt; then a pitcher of wine; making many parables upon them. The emperor took them in his hand, and, kissing them, delivered them to his pages. Then the emperor took the cross of Constantine, with the head of St. Chrysostom, and the rest of the icons, and delivered them to the patriarch; as much as saying, 'Let them henceforth remain in

your keeping.' The patriarch, having kissed them, delivered them to the chief of the deacons; and the deacons carried them among the other icons. Then they returned in procession: and when we had departed to some distance, the emperor resumed his seat in his sledge, with the banner of the church over his head. When he came to the *meidan* (the Divichy plain) the archimandrites and deacons went on before, and standing upon the railed scaffolds sprinkled the *ἁγιασμὸς* they carried with them on all passing by on either side; the scaffolds having been erected for this express purpose. In like manner did others of them at the scaffold by the gate of the city, and at that by the gate of the Kremlin. When we had ascended to the circular oratory, we took our station around it; and the emperor came and stood there, while the archdeacon incensed him. Then we descended, and entered the place before the cathedral church (in the Kremlin) amid the ringing of all the bells. Out of the church came an assembly of many persons, carrying a multitude of waxlights, for the hour of night was come. We entered the church by the west door, and the patriarch went up to his seat, the rest placing themselves as usual before him. The emperor, then entering, kissed all the holy icons of the church, as also the relics of the saints. Then he did his reverence to the icons carried by the clergy. Afterwards the patriarch came down and presented to him the casket containing our Lord's tunic; then, having waited a long time till the key was brought, the patriarch broke the seal; and taking out the garment, gave it to the emperor, who opened it and kissed it. After the box had been again shut up and sealed, it was carried back to its place. Then the patriarch went out to give a parting reverence to the icons carried by the clergy of the district, and incensed them without the church (after which they carried them back to their places). Then he returned; and having made the dismissal, he went out with the emperor and his suite: then having blessed him and wished him happiness, together with our master, he passed on to his palace. As for us, we disrobed with the others, and returned to our convent an hour after nightfall, almost perished and dead with the fatigue of walking, the excessive cold, and extreme hunger. Nor do we know how long this constancy must endure. God help us to the end! . . . . From the greatness of our joy at the emperor's arrival, we forgot all

our troubles and sufferings on this day, when we beheld the beaming light of his countenance; for it shone and beamed wonderfully, and was exceeding full, from the abundance of his joy for his victory and conquest of provinces, and the defeat of his enemies.

§ vi. *Treatment of ambassadors. Reception of the Cesar's envoy. Secession of the Swedes from the Russian alliance.* On Sat. 15th December, the sixth day after his arrival, the emperor gave audience to the ambassador of the Cesar. . . . This ambassador brought from his master a small casket full of gems, and in a rich case some of the miraculous relics of St. Nicholas of Myra. . . This present they knew would be highly esteemed by the emperor, who treated the said ambassador with great respect. . . . We succeeded afterwards in learning the cause of his coming. It was to say on the part of his sovereign: 'I praise God, and thank him, for having given you victory over your enemies, and that we are thus become neighbours.' . . . For he does not love the Poles; and between him and Sweden there exists great enmity, they having been engaged in wars for fifteen years, in which the Swedes were victorious (for they are extremely valiant), and had taken from him fifteen fortresses. On this account he had made peace with them, in spite of himself, and, as it was said, paid them tribute.

These Swedes had been hitherto carrying on war in conjunction with the emperor; and they had retaken their towns which were in the hands of the Poles, which had been the main object of their wishes; when on a sudden the accursed Radzivil repaired to them, with his brother, and doing them homage, surrendered to them what remained of his territory, and, with the consent of the Poles, the two Polish capitals, Warsaw and Cracow, which the Swedes thereupon occupied and garrisoned. Thus they broke the ancient friendship which existed between themselves and the emperor; and brought about that mutual antagonism of which we shall speak hereafter, by *joining the Poles* in their war against the emperor at this time. *The Cesar therefore,* having learned this, sent his present ambassador *to inform the emperor of the treachery of the Swedes, and to ask him to unite with him in word and deed in warring against them;* for the occasion now presented itself.

It was said that the Cesar's ambassador was accompanied

by two others sent by the Pope to the emperor with proposals of friendship, and to entreat him as to certain religious matters best known to himself, of which we are unable to give any account. The emperor therefore leagued himself in the closest amity with the Cesar, *to the infinite satisfaction of the latter*, as we observed and knew from his sending afterwards by estafette a letter to the emperor, to thank him for his wonderful kindness to his ambassador, and for the policy of his conduct, entitling him [Cesar] in his letter, and saying, 'As I am the Cesar of the empire of the Franks, so have you now shown yourself worthy that I name you the new Cesar of the empire of orthodoxy.' The emperor was delighted in his heart *with this new title* to an infinite degree; and his friendship and kindness to the ambassador increased greatly.

Afterwards, on the passage of the Cesar's ambassador [from the palace to his own lodgings] the troops turned their muskets back, out of respect to him; but on the contrary they whirled them in the face of the Swedish ambassador on account of his hostility and treachery. As for the latter, when he was sent *in the summer* by the king of Sweden, he came on terms of friendship, as formerly, and brought to the emperor, at his presentation, very splendid presents, which we saw carried before him by fifty or sixty streltses in trays of silver-gilt. For when the king sent these presents, there existed not as yet between him and the emperor any hostility; and the latter had hitherto treated his ambassador with great respect, and daily caressed him. But as soon as the emperor ascertained the truth of the king's hostility towards him, he fell into a great rage with the ambassador, as we shall detail hereafter; and now he sent to cut off the supplies of provisions which had been usually carried and imported into Sweden, so as to prevent their receiving any provisions from Muscovy, issuing a strict prohibition to all the ports and frontiers not to sell them anything of their products.

§ vii. *Appearance of a Venetian ambassador at Smolensk. Perfidious conduct of the Poles to the Venetians. Visit of the emperor and the empress to the cathedral.* When the emperor was lately at Smolensk, there came to him a special ambassador from Venice, who had gone by sea to Archangel; and thence to Smolensk. . . . I learned that he was sent with letters to congratulate the emperor on his victories, and to request his as-

sistance [against the Turks]. With great joy the emperor now hastened to give them a favourable answer, writing to them that they should be *patient*, and persevering, till God should grant them their desires.

At the beginning of the war between Venice and the Turks the Venetians feared much, and sent an ambassador to the king of the Poles first, and with him 400,000 dinars. The king answered them as they wished, in concert with the grandees. But the treacherous Polish grandees afterwards flew from their word, saying, 'We must think of our own country, which the Turks now do not molest;' and the king, having no control over them, was forced to appear in the most despicable light to the Venetians. The worst was, that the same persons expended the money shamelessly, while the ambassador continued among them till he died; and the king on this account, being much enraged against them, formed a plan to punish them. Sending the hetman Khmielnitsky to the Kozaks, he brought his design to bear . . till they [the grandees] contrived to poison him. As his successor they appointed his brother; and it is he who is still king. For these reasons the state of Venice was most amicably disposed towards the emperor of Muscovy, while the Franks in general do not love him because he is orthodox. . . . He afterwards sent to them an ambassador in company with the above-mentioned envoy of the Cesar.

To return: On the morning of Sunday 16 Dec. (*τῶν ἁγίων προπατόρων*) our master concelebrated with the patriarch of Moscow in the cathedral in presence of the emperor and the empress. The latter, from the time of the emperor's departure last year [in Lent A.D. 1655] had not come down into the church. It was the patriarch Nicon who first *enjoined the empress to come down, and made her a particular place and seat for herself.* Formerly the empresses were not in the habit of resorting to the church by day, but only by night. When the empress descended from her palace, the streltses kept off the people on both sides, while all the wives of the grandees walked before her in the same manner as the grandees before the emperor; every two dressed in a different way, but most of them in dark or violet-coloured velvets, having on their heads, above the calpack, a small white veil hanging loose; above it a kind of lappet of sables or costly

black fox slit in two, to the shape of their heads, and mantles on their backs. The empress entered after them, with her mother [the wife of Elia Miloslafsky] leaning on her right arm, and attended by her sister, who is the wife of [Boris Iv. Morozoff] the prime minister, on her left. The rest of the women and maids of her service followed behind; the married women wearing on their heads a large white veil, the maids a kind of *shimaz* made of sables. On the present occasion the choristers chanted for her the πολυχρόνιον. After she had made her adorations, she stood by her chair; and they let down her veil on the right side, that the people might not look at her. Her parents and the *uncle* stood near her; and all the wives of the grandees, with her maids, stood on her left hand, near the door of the church, on the north side. They let down a curtain from the central pillar to the wall, to keep people from seeing them, so that they were as in a house, enclosed on every side. Then the patriarch went down to her, and having blessed her with the cross, and sprinkled her with the holy water, returned to his place. After the empress came the emperor; who having kissed the icons and the relics of the saints, approached the two patriarchs; and they blessed him with the cross, and sprinkled him, and he passed on to stand by his chair: and then they began the hours: for it is usual with them for the patriarch to robe, and to sit waiting till the arrival of the emperor. After the gifts had been carried round at the introit, the patriarch came out and blessed the emperor and empress with the cross; and after the mass he ascended the ambon, and read the homily for the day. Then he gave to the emperor and the empress the ἀντίδωρον, and to most of the grandees, the priests, and the monks. The two patriarchs then entered the sanctuary to unrobe; and coming out again in their mandyas, blessed the empress as before. At this moment the emperor stood in his place; while the *priests, deacons, and choristers all came and kissed his right hand*, as performing their salutations. After the patriarchs had accompanied the emperor out, and he had departed, the whole congregation left the church; and after they had closed the doors, the patriarch went round before the empress, who paid her reverence to the icons one by one, to the relics of the saints, and to the casket containing the tunic of our Lord. Then they conducted her out, and she departed. When

we came to our lodging, they set before us a repast furnished by the emperor and the patriarch.

§ viii. *The patriarchal palace. Festival of St. Peter. Perseverance of the Russians in prayer. Dress of the monks and clergy.* The patriarchal palace here was first begun to be built by St. Peter, the first metropolitan of Moscow, but on a very confined scale, without any court, and overhung by the buildings inhabited by the empress. But after that this patriarch was raised to his station, he, being a man fond of building and of ever renewing, asked of the emperor *the grant of an enclosure near to him* on the north of the cathedral; and having obtained it, he began some large and handsome buildings, on which he employed German architects. Under these buildings he constructed seven halls [for his prikazes, *i. e.* courts and offices], a bakehouse, and a large kitchen; so that the heat should ascend to the rooms above. The steps to this building he ordered admirably, placing them opposite to the old road to the cathedral; so that he always stands here to give his blessing to the empress's court. On the top of it he has erected a divan looking over the country; and thence he has made a passage leading to the empress's part of the palace, for the convenience of private communication. He has also made another way leading to the ancient apartments. In the centre of the divân he has made a beautiful church, dedicated to their metropolitans, the saints Peter, Alexis, Jonah, and Philip; and he has painted these saints upon the doors. On the inside he has painted the portraits of the six patriarchs who have been from the time the patriarchate was erected, viz. Job, [Hermogenes], Philaret, Joasaph, and Joseph, *and his own portrait after them.* This church he has ornamented greatly; and the greater part of his time he used to be performing his devotions here. This divân has on the outside immense balconies, commanding a view of all the empress's part of the palace. From this you enter into another large divân, wherein those persons who wish to see the patriarch stand waiting, until he has given them leave to enter. Thence you pass to the great divân, the architecture of which surprises the mind, from its extraordinary height, length, and breadth. Its greatest beauty is an exceeding wide cupola, without any pillars in the centre; all around which he has made rows of steps. The pavement remains in the middle, shining like a

lake, to which nothing but water is wanting. . . . He has also adorned this hall with beautiful tapestry, of a variety of colours. This apartment has its immense windows (glazed with panes of beautiful crystal, prettily ornamented with various flowers, which might be mistaken for real), looking on the one side towards the cathedral, and on the other side towards the court of the patriarchal palace. He has furnished it with a large stove of handsome glazed tiles, standing near the door. The whole of this building is joined with iron, from side to side. This divân he has named the krestóvaia [the room or hall of the cross]. Within this palace is another room, which he has placed as a narthex or porch to a large, beautiful, and very lofty church built by him, and dedicated to the Trinity; which commands a view of the open ground before the Choudoff convent. At the top of it he has made galleries (κατηχούμενα), which go all round. From the narthex of this church he has carried out three passages with stairs. One begins the descent from it to the cathedral, as it is in front of its north door; another descends to the new palace-yard; and the third, going up, leads by steps to the highest part of the building; where he has made two other churches, and rooms for his deacons towering over all the city. At the corner of the krestóvaia there is a door leading to the new wooden structures, with rooms within rooms, to a great number, for his habitation during the winter: since all the inhabitants of these countries are averse to living in stone houses; for when their stoves are heated they strike the head and cause severe headaches: on this account they are obliged to have all their buildings with close passages. All the doors of these apartments of the palace are covered with cloth; and the wooden apartments, for winter, are close to those of stone. All round these buildings are close passages, and the doors of all the rooms are covered with green baize. In a word, these buildings are an object of wonder to every one; for scarcely in the royal palaces is there anything to equal them. The ablest workmasters of the age, from every country, were employed *three years* upon them. I was informed by the archdeacon and the treasurer that the patriarch spent upon this edifice more than 50,000 dinars, without counting the value of the stone, tiles, &c., which the emperor gave him; besides the contributions of all the ministers of state; and remembering

also that the greatest part of the workmen were his own serfs. It might appear that the building was just now completed, and furnished this last week, for he had kept it shut up until now. The reason was, that the commemoration of St. Peter, the first metropolitan of Moscow (whose relics are in the cathedral), fell on F. of this week, 21st Dec. It is the custom for the patriarch on this day after the mass to give a banquet to the emperor, and to the grandees, and to all orders of the clergy. Fortunately it happened that his new palace was just now completed. As, however, the saint's anniversary fell on a Friday, on which day fish is not allowed [to the monks], and no feast can be perfect for them without fish, they put off the festivity to the next day, that is, to Saturday the 22d. The patriarch sent word to our master to rise at night, to attend the vigil service with him in the cathedral. On the morrow, after the liturgy, was to be the banquet in the patriarch's new palace. In the evening they performed [the lesser] vespers; and after the eighth hour of the night they tolled the great bell for the vigil service, at which the emperor attended. (This night our master presented to the emperor a petition that he would allow him to depart. His majesty replied, 'Have patience till after the Theophany.') After the patriarchs had given their blessing to the emperor and the empress, we at length left the church, not till after the sun had risen, and nearly dead with the fatigue of standing from the ninth hour of the night to the sixteenth.

We suffered during this night from the severe cold and frost enough to kill us, especially as we had to stand upon the iron pavement. As for my poor self, I actually attempted to go out and run away from the sacristy; but it was impossible; for the emperor was standing before the south door, and the empress before the north door; so that patience became a necessity. When I arrived at our abode, God knows that I remained three days without any power of standing on my feet. Though they should be cut with a knife, or if I plunged them into boiling water, there was no feeling in them, either for heat or cold. In this disorder they continued for nearly two months. Now what, in the name of God, is the meaning of all these prayers and vigils? But what surprised us most was to see the boys and little children, not those of the common people, but the sons and daughters of the great officers of state, standing bareheaded and

motionless, without betraying the smallest gesture of impatience. About an hour after our departure from the cathedral they tolled the bells, and we returned to it again, though we were perishing, and dying with fatigue, want of sleep, and cold. The two patriarchs robed; and on this day there robed with them three bishops, ten mitred archimandrites, twelve regular and secular priests, twenty deacons, and upwards of twenty-five subdeacons, readers, and clerks. These, with the two patriarchs and the archbishop of Servia, made in all more than seventy ecclesiastics within the sanctuary. After we had come out from the liturgy, and had unrobed, the two patriarchs went to the emperor's palace to give their blessing to his majesty.

The patriarch Nicon, of his love for the caps and latias of the Greeks, had just now made for himself a new white latia after the fashion of those of the Greek monks; only over his eyes were cherubim in brocade and pearls; for the latias of the Russian monks and bishops and patriarchs are very ugly. None of them have caps of knitted wool; but all have them small and stitched, without border or fringe: the monks, in particular, wear very large latias, which cover their eyes, with ears flapping down upon their shoulders. With difficulty can their faces be discerned, especially when they look on the ground. As for the rest of their clothes, the filth of their dress is very great; for they never wash their shirts, but wear them continually, till they drop off; and the garments under their cassocks are mostly of green woollen cloth, such as their vests and their hose, which are made of the green baize which the Persians bring them. In a similar way are dressed the nuns and hegoumenas, having their faces always covered with latias instead of veils. Behind their necks the monks wear a round cowl of wood covered with cloth, and marked with the figure of a cross. This habit, they say, has been passed down to them by tradition from ancient times, that they may be distinguished from the Greek monks. The patriarch and the bishops wear stitched caps, like theirs, with fringes; but their latias are very small, close upon their heads, like the dresses of the Syrian nobles. The present patriarch had seen no suitable opportunity till this day, when, sensible of the advantage afforded him by the presence of our master, one of the œcumenical patriarchs, he mentioned the subject first to him, and then deposited his new latia, together with the cap,

in the sacristy secretly. Then he asked our master to propose to the emperor, that he should wear them; for he much feared the people, lest they should say that he did away with their ancient customs, and the habit of their bishops, worn by their earliest saints. *And so indeed it happened to him afterwards.* Our master, therefore, now approached his majesty, and thus addressed him: 'We are four œcumenical patriarchs (*i.e.* in the habitable world), and the dress of us all is alike. By our consent and permission, this our brother has been made patriarch of Moscow, *in the place of the Pope of Rome;* and one mark of the Pope is, that he is distinguished from us by his white dress. If it please your majesty, I should wish your patriarch to wear, like us, this cap and this latia, which I have had made new for him.' The emperor, of his love for the patriarch, was delighted, and answered, 'Yes, Batushka! that will please me well.' Then, taking the cap and latia from our master, he kissed them, and desired the patriarch of Moscow to lay aside what he had hitherto worn, and put on these. The patriarch put them on; and the Greek head-dress became him splendidly; for his former cap shaded his countenance too much, and had a mean appearance, being without border; and his latia was small, and docked too short. With this new latia the patriarch was greatly pleased. But when the bishops and the heads of convents and the priests and the laity there present saw his new dress, they murmured, saying among themselves, 'See how he has changed the *dress* of our bishops *which they received by inspiration of the Holy Ghost* from the time we became Christians! and does not the earth tremble at this his act, who, having hitherto dressed as a Muscovite, has made himself a Greek? The people murmured against him violently for a long time afterwards; but in secret, for fear of the emperor. Subsequently *all the bishops* and *the entire body of the monks desired* to change their ancient dress; . . and they began [thenceforth] to make to themselves caps of black cloth after the fashion of ours, and latias of black silk. When our master was at Novgorod two of the principal archimandrites there, of the convents of St. Barlaam and St. George, begged of him (and the voivode interceded for them) that he would give them our caps and latias to wear; which he did. So our lord the patriarch of Antioch introduced this improvement among the Muscovites on the present occasion.

§ ix. *Opening of the new patriarchal palace. Christmas festivities.* The emperor then took the hand of our master, and conducted him to the empress, to bless her: and after the emperor was gone out, they closed the doors of the church till the empress had paid her reverence to the icons, as is usual on such a day as this; and she departed. Then all the deacons went forth with waxlights, chanting, before their patriarch; till they had conducted him to his new palace; which he on this day opened for his habitation. As soon as he entered, first of all advanced towards him our lord the patriarch of Antioch, presenting to him a gilt icon of the Three Hierarchs [St. Basil, St. Gregory Theologus, and St. J. Chrysostom] and a large cake of bread, with a salt-cellar full of salt set upon it; and blessing him, he wished him joy. After him entered the bishops, presenting to the patriarch gilt icons of the titles of their cathedrals, cakes of bread, and salt, large gilt cups, pieces of brocade and velvet, &c., and making their salutations. After them entered the heads of convents, and the stewards residing in the city in the lodges of convents at a distance: and in the same way presents were made to him by the sin-boyars. Then the priests of the district, the merchants of the city, the grandees and officers of state, and the tradesmen, presented to him cups, soroks of sables, &c. He accepted nothing from any one but the icons, and the bread and salt; with the exception of the presents made to him by the bishops and the convents. There was great bustle and confusion; till at length the patriarch sent to invite the emperor to his banquet. As soon as the emperor was come, he bowed, and presented to the patriarch, first, a cake of his own bread, some salt, some soroks of costly sables; and similar presents from his son, and from the empress: then three cakes of bread, and three soroks of sables from his sisters; and the like from his daughters; in all twelve cakes, and twelve soroks of sables. The patriarch was standing at the top of the room; and the emperor went each time to the door to bring in the presents with his own hands, with great fatigue; calling to the archons, who carried them, to deliver them to him quickly; and he was like a waiting slave, wonderful as it is to relate! As he presented each gift, he bowed to the patriarch, saying, 'Your son the tsar Alexis bows to your holiness, and presents to you so and so.' Thus, when he offered the presents from his

son and from the empress, from his sisters and his daughters, he mentioned their names. What surprising condescension is this, which we stood and witnessed on this day! Was it not allowable for you, O prince of the age, to stand in your place, and command your slaves to bring in the presents to you? but you must go and bring them in yourself! May God for your great humility, and for your faith in your patriarchs, vouchsafe to perpetuate your empire for endless ages! In his hand the emperor bore his black staff, with two small branches. Afterwards the patriarch bowed to him, and expatiated on his kindness. Then he seated him at a royal table, which one of his archons had previously set for him, with its gilt vessels, such as cups, salt-cellars, small cruets, &c., in a corner of the room between two windows, one looking towards the cathedral, the other commanding a view of the Choudoff convent. For the patriarch they set another table near it, on the left; and near that again another large table, reaching the whole length of that side of the room which is towards the cathedral, at which they seated all the boyars and grandees. Our master they seated on the right of the emperor, at a table by himself: next to him the archbishop of Servia; and near to them the prince of Georgia at the head of the room, at a table by himself: next to the prince were the three sons of kings (the two sons of the sultan of Siberia, and the son of the tsar of Kazimof) at a table by themselves. Each body of butlers and waiters was charged with the service of one table only. Then they seated the metropolitans and the rest of the bishops, the archimandrites, and the protopope and the clergy of the cathedral at a large table opposite the boyars. Near the beautiful large stove in this room they had set a table, like a high scaffold, with shelves, and covered with cloth, on which were arranged silver-gilt cups and other splendid vessels for the liquors. From the ceiling were suspended five handsome chandeliers; one of them, of silver, was near the emperor's table; and in the middle of its bulb was concealed a clock which struck the hours. Just at the moment they sat down to table and began to eat, it struck the sixth hour of the day, *so that there remained less than an hour till evening.* See what sufferings we underwent during the preceding night, and the greater part of this day; that is, during twenty-four hours, standing up, and fasting! Having entered

among the crowd in the hall, we [*i. e.* the archdeacon and his fellow-clerks] went thence to our own apartments to dine, and returned afterwards to the festivity. As they had begun to eat, one of the anagnosts began to read the history of the saint of the day, according to their custom, at a lectern in the middle of the room, with a loud, harmonious, and sweet voice. For a little while the singers came and chanted; but for the most part the patriarch and the emperor delighted only in the chanting of the *Kozak boys*, a great number of whom the emperor had brought from Poland, *and given to the patriarch*, who dressed them in fine clothes, *gave them pensions as his servants, and afterwards ordained them anagnosts.* They always took the lead in singing; and their music was greatly preferred to the harsh and gross intonation of the Muscovites. These chanted for some time, and then the Kozaks sang after them. When they had finished, the reader began again to read, till the completion of his history. From the beginning to the end of the repast, the emperor never ceased to offer to our master plates of meat from his table, and presented to him many cups of drink; talking to him, and showing him great friendship and familiarity. The interpreter between them was the archbishop of Servia. The emperor asked our master to pray for him, as St. Basil is said to have prayed for Ephrem Syrus, that he might be able to learn Greek. When it grew dark, the candles of the chandelier were lighted, and the room blazed with splendour. Then the patriarch took the emperor, with some of his great officers of state, the princes, our master, and the archbishop of Servia, into his new apartments of wood, where they caroused jovially with princely liquors. It was then that the archbishop of Servia informed our master of the presents which the emperor had made to Nicon; and of those which Nicon had made to the emperor; flowing like the Black into the White Sea, and the White into the Black. Afterwards the patriarch presented to the emperor a large piece of the venerable cross, a relic of some saint, twelve large gilt cups, a dozen pieces of brocade, &c. Then they came to the outer apartment, and continued the feast till the eighth hour of the night. In the mean time the emperor arose, and filled cups of wine for all present, to the health of the patriarch; which, as the company emptied them, they placed inverted on their heads, to show that they had drunk the health complete. In like

manner the patriarch filled cups for them all to the health of the emperor; and these, having emptied, they placed on their heads, bowing low before and after. After the healths of the empress, the young prince, &c., our master the patriarch of Antioch and the rest of the company arose and retired to their homes. The emperor remained with the patriarch of Moscow till the tenth hour, till the bells rang; when *they went down together* to the cathedral to the vigil service [for the Sunday before the Nativity], and they did not leave the church till daylight. See what patience and endurance!

In the forenoon of this Sunday (23d Dec.) our master went to the palace of the patriarch of Moscow, to thank him for his kindness, in company with all who had been present the day before at the banquet: and many who had not been able to offer their gifts the day before presented them now.

Early on Monday, the παραμονὴ of the Nativity, the bells rang, and they recited the great hours, with a polychronion for the emperor, &c., in his presence, in the cathedral. Having returned for the liturgy, they did not leave the church till evening. From this night onwards for several successive nights the deacons and clerks of the patriarch, with the singers, are used to go round to all the houses of the bishops and heads of convents and of the grandees in troops to sing Christmas hymns, and after them a polychronion, to obtain a gratuity. They used to come to our master the patriarch of Antioch: and the deacons and singers of the other bishops went round in the same way.

At the ninth hour of the eve of the Nativity, *i.e.* midnight, the bells rang, and the people flocked in haste to the churches. Between the two great bell-towers is a church dedicated by the title of this festival, and resembling the grotto at Bethlehem in its shape: for the late tsar Ivan sent a person to view that grotto, who on his return superintended the building of this church on its model. It is usual therefore for the emperor and his grandees to perform in it the vigil of this eve, in company with the patriarch; but as the machinery for erecting the bell, and for the construction of the tower, was in use around it, the patriarch and the emperor did not now go up to it, but sent thither one of the prelates, and the patriarch himself performed the service before the emperor and the empress in the cathedral. The new bell, and all the others, were tolled before it began;

then at the πολυέλαιον thrice; and as often at the gospel. The emperor had sent overnight one of his stolniks to our lord the patriarch of Antioch to invite him to the vigil service and liturgy, and to the banquet, as usual: but the patriarch Nicon, knowing what we had suffered from the intense cold and fatigue during the former night, did not send to summon us to the vigil service; and it was to us a blessed hour of repose. God reward him for his kindness!

In the morning early they rang the bells; and our lord the patriarch went to Nicon's palace, and was conducted by him to the emperor and empress, to whom they gave their blessing, and made their festive salutations. Then they went down to the cathedral, and robed together. (In the common churches the liturgy had been celebrated and finished at an early hour.) After robing, they sat down to wait for the emperor. The patriarch Nicon this day put on a new sakkos, said to have cost 7000 gold pieces. After the empress was come down, the emperor followed, wearing a beautiful new crown. His upper robe of heavy brocade was like a sakkos, only with sleeves of *chikpan;* and round it were hangings of fringe, studded with jewels, pearls, and gold spangles. His under-garment was similar; and on his shoulders was the purple or imperial mantle: he never wears it but on great festivals. Being round, it covers his shoulders, breast, and back. It is studded with gold, pearls, and gems beyond description, and is embroidered all round with the representation of the Dominical festivals, each about the size of the palm of one's hand, in emeralds and gold. The emeralds are admirably engraved with the festivals, each a palm in size; and between the emeralds are similar engravings in pure gold, with the lines blackened. On his neck hung a large cross of white bone, carved on both sides with the representation of the Dominical festivals, and suspended by large gold chains. His staff was of white bone, being one single horn, which made the whole staff smooth and beautiful: it was, as they said, sent to him by the Persians. One of his great officers held it near him; and two of his grandees stood by his chair, supporting his arms. After the liturgy, the patriarch read the homily of the festival from the ἄμβων, and distributed the blessed bread, as our master had instructed him.

After the departure of their majesties, our lord the patriarch of Antioch went up with Nicon to his new apartments,

preceded by all the deacons and clerks in their tunicles, bearing waxlights, and chanting. Having remained here a short time, we passed on to the emperor's banquet-room, where the feast was prolonged to the third hour of the night, when the emperor dismissed our master, sending with him some of his great officers with lights to accompany us to our lodgings. At this moment the bells rang for the vigil service, and they went for it into the cathedral.

§ x. *Siege of Kamenetz. Defeat and capture of Paul Pototski. Discomfiture and retreat of the Tatar khan.* On the morrow after the Nativity, news came from the army sent under Boutourlin to join Khmielnitsky. They had marched to Kamenetz, whence a letter was sent to them, by a little boy, saying, 'We are not your enemies: go against our crâl. When you have slain him, we will gladly submit to you.' And to this they engaged themselves by oath. Stefani, bey of Moldavia, sent to the emperor's commander his service, with many gifts of money and supplies of provisions. They raised then the siege of Kamenetz, and marched upon Lvoff (*i.e.* Leopol or Lemberg). Here they were offered a large sum of money and other presents to leave them at peace. On their road they took eighty-four castles and towns from the Poles, and among these Lublin, the city of their diets. Here there was preserved from ancient times a cross made from a piece of the true cross, which the emperor's commander demanded of them; and at length they brought it out to him, in lieu of a capitulation. The Muscovites then raised the siege, and returned to Kieff with an immense booty, and a great number of prisoners. The army had taken prisoner a great hetman of the Poles named Paul Pototski, whom they sent, with his son, to the emperor. The Poles had engaged the khan of the Tatars to come to help them; and he at length, out of anger against Khmielnitsky for having submitted himself to the emperor, invaded the Kozak country with fire, sword, and slaughter. But Khmielnitsky and Boutourlin, in a battle which lasted three days, defeated him; and he sued for peace, and made a convention with them, and departed, giving hostages, and being escorted by 1500 Kozaks, till he should have passed the Moldavian territory.

§ xi. *Death of Boutourlin. Kind treatment of the Polish grandees on their submission. Blessing of the waters. Defeat of the*

Poles before Vilna. When this affair came to the emperor's knowledge, he was much incensed against Boutourlin, and sent to have his head cut off for having traitorously taken bribes from those towns and fortresses, for having wasted and destroyed the places captured, and neglected to secure their government and possession, and for having made peace with the khan. As soon as Boutourlin heard of the emperor's indignation against him, he swallowed poison, and died at Kieff; of which the emperor was no sooner informed than he sent a person to commit his body to the flames. Afterwards the patriarch made much entreaty, and obtained from the emperor that his remains should be brought to Moscow, and buried there.

To the hetman Paul Pototski the emperor granted a pardon; and he was ordered to reside six weeks, or forty days, in the Choudoff monastery as a catechumen. At the end of that time the patriarch took him under his protection; the emperor's father-in-law became his godfather; and the emperor himself granted him rank, robes of honour, pensions, &c. He used to come every day to the palace in great pomp, according to the usual haughtiness and grandeur of the Poles. He was not the only one. There were also many other Polish grandees who had submitted to the emperor, and had been confirmed in their respective ranks. . . . The shops of the city were now filled with the treasures and rarities of Poland, which were sold for almost nothing. The captives were on sale in the slave-market.

When the emperor took Vilna, he sent to the patriarch twenty large buffalos [bisons?], an animal with which the Muscovites had been hitherto unacquainted.

On Sat. (Jan. 5, A.D. 1656), the eve of the Baptism of our Lord, we went to the cathedral, and performed the liturgy with the patriarch. The custom with them formerly was, *as it is with us*, to perform the prayers over the water twice; once on the eve, in the church, and again in the morning of the festival, over the river. The present patriarch has discovered in some book of Mount Athos a testimony of Euodius, patriarch of C.P., to the effect that the blessing is to be performed only once; and to this he now conformed by command of the emperor. After the vespers, &c. they went forth in grand procession, with banners and waxlights, as it was dusk; the emperor following the patriarchs, clothed in his imperial robes designed for the great

festivals, with the purple mantle, and his cross on his neck, and his crown on his head, &c. As soon as we had passed forth from the water-gate, we came to a large strong platform which they had erected the preceding day; and in the middle of which they had made a pool, with steps down to it. One of the streltses held in his hand a kind of spade pierced with holes, with a long handle, with which he cleared the ice from the water as fast as it formed upon it, and constantly stirred the water to prevent it as far as possible from freezing. As soon as the emperor came, he ascended his platform, and, bowing, was blessed by the two patriarchs. The priests, with their icons and crosses turned towards the east, stood round the water; and the great officers of state round the platform. On both banks of the river were stationed numerous streltses in close order, forming a large circle, at a distance; and on the walls and towers were crowded men and women, from all parts of the town and country. Three persons, with three triple-twisted waxlights in their hands, stood over the water. After the ceremony of the benediction, &c. had all been performed, they brought to the patriarch large and small vessels, which he filled with water; and then he went up to sprinkle the emperor, the grandees, and all the assistants. We then returned to the cathedral, the patriarch carrying the cross on his head. It was now night. When we entered the church, the patriarch ascended to his chair [on the platform at the west end]; the emperor stood [in his place at the north-west central pier] behind the pillar, and the clerks, having placed a table in the midst, set on it the vessels which had been filled with water, and three large bowls, one of which was taken up by the patriarch of Moscow, another by our master, and the third by one of the metropolitans: and the emperor, with his officers, came and received of the water from the two patriarchs, bowing. Then the patriarch finished the ceremony of giving the water to the metropolitans and the grandees, our master to the different orders of the clergy, and the metropolitans to the laity. The dismissal (ἀπόλυσις) having been made, we went forth; and returning to our convent, received a message from the emperor by one of his archons, for our master to attend the liturgy the next day, and dine with his majesty.

At midnight the bells rang, and we entered the cathedral;

and again in the forenoon; when the two patriarchs celebrated the liturgy together, before the emperor, who wore his imperial robes, with his purple mantle and crown. At the end of the liturgy the patriarch delivered to our master one of the bowls of water, which he carried to the emperor to drink of first, at his hand: and then the emperor went to receive the *ἀντίδωρα* from the patriarch of Moscow, as did all the grandees and assistants.

Then the patriarch went up to his chair [on the platform], while all the assisting clergy placed themselves in front of him [facing to one another], and the emperor stood behind the pillar, and they began a *παράκλησις* for the emperor. For just then news had arrived that a Polish army had returned on the traces of the emperor, to retake Vilna. The voivode had marched out against them, had defeated them, and had killed of them above 6000, taking twenty-eight of their standards. More than thirty of their archons and voivodes surrendered themselves to the emperor's voivode, who asked them why they had fled without fighting? They answered: 'At the moment we drew up for battle, we saw on a sudden in the sky the figure of the emperor Alexis on horseback, with his name written on him, and St. Michael with his drawn sword assailing our army. It was on this account that we fled.' These very words the patriarch read out from the letter which the above-mentioned voivode of Vilna wrote to the chiefs of the military council. At its recital the emperor shed tears of joy and humility. After the patriarch had finished reading it, he went down and stood before the emperor, offering up many prayers for him, accompanied with examples and proverbs. Then he prayed for the emperor's officers and grandees; and the singers began to chant for him the *πολυχρόνιον*. The emperor made his compliments in return to the patriarch, and ordered a *πολυχρόνιον* to be chanted for him. In chanting for the emperor they styled him '*Autocrat of the Great, Little, and White Russias:*' for Vilna is the capital of the country of Litva (Lithuania), which in their language is called Biclo-Russia, *i.e.* White Russia. . . . In like manner *the emperor styled the patriarch of Moscow*, '*Patriarch of Great, Little, and White Russia.*' Then the two patriarchs gave the emperor their benediction; and we passed to the banqueting-room, where the same festive ceremony took place as on the day of the Nativity. The banquet lasted

till after nightfall; and we returned to our convent of Saint Athanasius and Saint Cyril by torchlight.

On this night the patriarch Nicon set out to go and see his new convent, and to visit Novgorod.

Sat. 12th Jan. was the commemoration of St. Tatiana, the patroness of the emperor's youngest sister. The emperor gave a banquet, and sent dishes from his table to our master.

Note that patriarchs coming to this country are used to ask leave of the emperor to visit five monasteries, and to celebrate the liturgy in them, in order to obtain their alms and presents. These are, the Choudoff, the convent of the Ascension, the Spassky, the Simonoff, and the Novo-Divichy. They are used also to celebrate the liturgy to the same end in the [palace] church of the Annunciation.

§ xii. *New convent founded by the emperor. Conversation of the patriarch with his majesty. Account of the metropolitan Mira. Great interest taken by the emperor in the church services.* The emperor has recently built a new convent, forty versts to the north-west of the city, on the Moskva, in the name of St. Sabba the younger [a disciple of St. Sergius, who died 3d Dec. A.D. 1407]. He has taken the utmost pains in building it like the convent of Troitsa. On Th. 17th Jan. he went with his grandees to assist there at the festival of the saint, and at the anniversary of the foundation, on the 19th. Before he went, the patriarch of Antioch wrote him a *chelobitie*, asking permission to visit the five above-mentioned convents, and also to visit his convent of St. Sabba. The emperor granted the petition; and on arriving at his convent, on the Friday, he sent a courier to the minister [of the Posolsky prikaz], ordering him to expedite the departure of our master the same night, so that he might arrive in time for the mass of the festival on the Saturday. Having travelled . . . [the forty versts], we arrived at the village of the convent, distant from it three versts. Here the emperor sent one of his grandees, with his attendants, to make his compliments to our master. This grandee was voluntarily accompanied by many others. And now the streltses appointed to be the guard of the monastery drew up on both sides of the road for the space of a verst. In the mean time the emperor every moment sent one of his grandees after another to make his salutations to the patriarch, and to inquire after his health; until we arrived at

the convent, and our master was taken out of the sledge, outside the gate. Supporting him by the arms, they led him up, till he was met by the archimandrite, who came forth in his phelonion and his mitre, attended by all his priests and deacons. After our master had reverenced the icons over the gates, he bent in like manner to the cross which they bore with them; and having kissed it, and having blessed with it the archimandrite, he was taken by the latter by the arm, to mount the steps to the second gate; for the convent stands on the summit of a beautiful hill, and is surrounded by walls. At this moment the emperor came out in person to receive our master, bowing to him, and being blessed by him with the cross. Then the emperor took his right arm, and the archimandrite his left; and they led him up to the level of the convent, and into the church. In the mean time the bells had been ringing since our first approach; but we came too late for the mass, as it was now past midday. As soon as the patriarch entered the church, he paid his reverence to the icons, and to the relics of St. Sabba, which lie in a silver-gilt shrine in the right-hand corner of the church, in a chapel like that in which is kept the tunic of our Lord, with its cupola and brass railing all round, filled up with panes of talc. Then he blessed the emperor a second time; and they saluted one another through the interpreter. On retiring, the emperor conducted our master to the apartments of the empress, to the south of the church, his own being to the north; and in them we were lodged.

For his own part, the emperor went to the trapeza (the refectory) to entertain the fathers of the convent. See what strange things it pleased God that we should behold! And observe the transcendent humility of this monarch, who went round to serve with his own hands the monks of his convent, as they sat eating and drinking, till they were all satisfied! At the end of the repast, the emperor sent to invite our master by one of the boyars of his chamber. When we had ascended the steps to the refectory, the emperor came out to meet us to the very top, and, taking the right arm of our master, led him into the hall. Here the patriarch chanted first the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν before the icons, and then bowed to them; and the emperor, having received his blessing, seated him by his side at a table apart. His grandees and attendants sat at another table, by

themselves, on his left; and we, with the fathers of the convent, on his right. For the poor, the blind, the lame, &c., a table was set on the ground, in front of the emperor; and he continually served them with meat and drink, till the last. The priests then began to chant the prayers before meals; and the *παναγία* having been brought to our master, he elevated it in the name of the Trinity, and, cutting it in pieces, gave of them to the emperor. With the remainder, in a plate, I went round to make a distribution to all the grandees and clergy. After the patriarch had given his blessing to the table, they all sat down; and as the dishes of meat were brought in, the emperor gave of them to our master to distribute to the grandees as it pleased him, according to custom.

During this day the emperor held much conversation with our master, which discourse he had treasured up in his heart for a long time. . . . The most wonderful thing was his saying to the patriarch: 'I know that the chief cause of your quitting your see was the trouble brought on your holiness by that wretched metropolitan Mira, in return for the benefits you had conferred on him. . . . Why did you not send to tell me of him, and of his misconduct, when he was coming to us?' We had met that metropolitan in Moldavia; and there he showed towards us great friendliness and humility. When, therefore, he proceeded onwards to Muscovy, our master was not inclined to write any evil of him, nor to requite his injuries. On the other hand, the metropolitan requested our lord the patriarch to give him a letter of recommendation to the emperor; which, on our consulting the voivode Vasili, he would not allow us to do, knowing the impurity and wickedness of the metropolitan, and the injuries he had done to our master. By this excuse we satisfied him; and he departed in company with the patriarch Athanasius Patalaron before us. When they had resided in Moscow some time, the Muscovites observed the vices of the metropolitan's archimandrites, deacons, and relatives—their wicked actions, and their *smoking tobacco*. Instantly they sent them into banishment; but the metropolitan, by the intercession of Patalaron, escaped this punishment. Leaving Moscow, he returned to Poutivl; and then it came to the knowledge of the emperor and the patriarch of what infamous vices and actions he had been guilty. . . . Immediately they dispatched an inter-

preter with couriers in search of him. They overtook him in Krasna, the first town in the Kozak country. . . . Being quite conscious of his misdemeanours, he offered the messenger above 200 dinars to let him go his way, saying, 'Tell them that you could not overtake me.' The messenger, being thus prevailed on, returned to Moscow. . . . But the ministers soon discovered the truth, and immediately bound the culprit, lashed him all through the town, and banished him to the same place which was to have been the exile of the wretched Mira.

The emperor therefore said to our master, 'Yea, Batushka, make your heart easy, and be not impatient: for though I am here, the arm of God is long enough to enable me to reach him with vengeance, wherever he may be.' . . . Thus he ceased not to converse with our master, from the beginning of the banquet to the end. Lamenting the death of the monks of the convent during the plague, he said, 'Satan envied me the greatness of my happiness; whereas formerly there were more than 300 monks in my convent, he has destroyed most of them; for there are now left only 170.' . . .

Then they arose from table: and our master having elevated the panagia, the singers chanted a πολυχρόνιον; and the emperor distributed cups of wine to all the company, to the health of the patriarch of Moscow, standing in his place, and taking the goblets from the stolnik; and as each person received his cup he bowed to the emperor before and after. Then they chanted a πολυχρόνιον for their patriarch. Our master then offered prayers for the emperor; and after a πολυχρόνιον had been chanted for him, he first drank by himself to the health of the emperor, and then passed the cup to his majesty. Afterwards the stolniks began to bring cups of mead to our master, and he distributed them to all the company. The emperor called and invited the fathers of the convent, each by name, to take his cup and drink, saying, 'Soudar Joseph,' 'Soudar Simeon,' 'Soudar so and so;' and not only did he call to the fathers and elders, but even to the meanest of the monks and the cooks. It is usual for the archdeacon to hold up the patriarch's right arm while he distributes the cups, to prevent his being fatigued. But as the emperor was standing near him on his right, I was ashamed to place myself between them, and raised up his left instead. As soon as the emperor saw this, he

called me gently by my name, spoke to me kindly, and placed me between them, to hold the patriarch's right arm; for since we had been in Moscow he had learned who I was. Already at the beginning of the banquet, he had called me by my name; as he knew that I was bashful, and saw that I was withdrawn backwards at a distance; and he had made me take a seat above the fathers. Hither he continually sent me dishes of meat, and cups of drink, till the end of the repast. Each time I stood up and bowed to him to the ground twice at a distance, according to the custom; until I became totally abashed and confused, and melted away with heat.

After our master had finished the distribution, the singers chanted a πολυχρόνιον for the emperor, and then, by his majesty's command, for our patriarch. At the conclusion, the emperor began to distribute cups to all present to the health of our master with very great cheerfulness and alacrity. Then he called one to pour out drink for me; and I made the usual obeisance. Taking the cup of wine from his hand, which I kissed, I retired backward, and drank off the wine; then bowing to him again, I was called by him again, and he conversed with me for some time through the interpreter. During our stay in Moscow I had learned certain prayers in Russian, such as Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐιηθῶμεν· Εἴπωμεν πάντες· and the like: and I know not who had told him of it, but he said, 'I request you will do me the favour to bid the prayers and to read the gospel to-morrow in Russian.' During this dialogue I was melting away through shame and my great awe for the emperor; and sweating like a stone, I was only able to answer, 'Your majesty's pleasure is my law.'

As soon as the emperor had finished the distribution, a πολυχρόνιον was chanted for him, and for the patriarch of Antioch. Then one for the empress: and they drank to her health and to that of all the imperial family. One turn the emperor distributed, and another turn our master; till all the healths had been drunk standing, according to custom. Afterwards the patriarch made the dismissal, with the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν, &c., and gave his blessing to the emperor; who took him by the right arm and led him out, attended by all his grandees, to his apartment.

In the evening the bells were rung; and having assisted at

the lesser vespers with the emperor, we left the church. At the tenth hour of the night the bells were rung for the vigil service, and we again entered the church. When we had issued from the sacristy, the emperor came, and having paid his devotions to the icons, advanced towards our master, and meeting him, received his blessing, and came and stood near the shrine of the saint, without any chair. Under his feet they placed a mat of sables, which it is usual only for princes to stand on: and he commanded them to spread a carpet near him, and our master stood on it by his side, close to the door of the church. I stood on his left behind; and our companions stood, in their order, on the left of the church door. In the mean time they began to chant the vesper psalm and the rest that follows slowly, with a long intonation. At the end the reader opened his book to read the history of the saint, saying, 'Blagoslovi oteche' (Bless, father)! The emperor had sat down in a chair, and our master in another. Suddenly the emperor started up, and chiding the reader, said to him, 'Shto ti govorish, mujik bladin?' (Now the greatest reproach with them in this country, from the patriarch to the emperor and the rest of the grandees, is to have it said to them Mujik bladin!) 'Pochemou govorish, Blagoslovi oteche? i tout iest patriarch! Skaji, blagoslovi vladiko!' That is: 'What art thou saying, thou stupid clown [lit. thou whoreson mujik]? Why dost thou say, Bless, father, when here there is a patriarch? Say, Bless, my lord!' The reader was thunderstruck, and fell prostrate on the ground, saying, 'Hossoudar, prosti!' (Hossoudar, or sire, forgive me!) The emperor answered, 'Bog tebie prostit' (May God forgive thee!). Then the reader rose up, and did as he had been told; and our master answered, 'By the prayers of our holy fathers,' &c.

As soon as the reading began, the emperor commanded all present to be seated. From the beginning of the service to the end *he had been busy teaching them the order of the ritual*, saying to them, as he went round, 'Chant so;' repeating such a kanon, such a podoben, such an irmos, or such a troparion, in such a tone. If they went wrong, he scolded them, and made them go back, being particularly desirous, as I suppose, that they should not do amiss in the presence of our patriarch. In a word, *he was as it were the typicâri* [*i.e.* master of the τυπικὸν of the rubrics and ceremonies], going round to them and teach-

ing them. One might suppose too that he had undertaken the office of κανδηλάπτης (candle-lighter), *so attentive was he* to the lighting, extinguishing, and snuffing of the candles. At the time of the πολυέλαιον he requested our master to go in and put on all his pontifical robes, according to their practice. He did so; and, he having robed, and we likewise, we came forth after the Benedictus. Our master took his station on the platform which they had prepared for him at the west end of the church; and they brought him waxlights, one of which he gave to the emperor, and one to each of the archimandrites of the convent, and the grandees, and the rest of the assistants. Then they began to chant the πολυέλαιον; and our lord the patriarch went down to incense the sanctuary, &c. At the end they entered the sacristy to put off their phelonia; but the emperor requested our master not to put off his till he should have read the gospel of the matins. From the beginning to the end of this service the emperor ceased not to converse with our master: afterwards he passed to the sacristy, and asked me to show him the kontakion of the mass in our book. He was very much struck with its illuminations and writing, and kissed it leaf by leaf. Then he went to our master, and bowing to him said, 'Pardon me for having looked at your kontakion and kissed it, without first asking your permission.' Afterwards he called me to him, and I bowed to him twice, and kissed his hand. He said with great familiarity, and smiling, 'Govori, govori' (that is, Speak, speak). Melting away with heat and trepidation, I answered, 'Ne znaiou po Rouski' (I cannot speak in Russ). He was much pleased; and treated me with great condescension, asking me to read the gospel and say the ἐκτενὴς in Russian. I answered him, bowing to the ground, 'As soon as I have learned it, I will.' He replied, 'Dobro' (Very good); and I bowed to him, and retired, moving backwards, in a bath of perspiration.

We did not leave the church till the morning; and in the forenoon we returned to mass. The patriarch, having vested on the platform, went to meet the emperor as he came in; and, after he had done his reverence to the icons, approaching, he blessed him with the cross. After the hours, and the dismissal, I said the συναπτὴ [at the beginning of the liturgy] in Russ; and whereas the reading of the Muscovites is heavy and harsh, I said it in the light Greek tone, so that the emperor was both

surprised and delighted. It is usual for the singers at every bidding to chant Kyrie eleïson; but he would not suffer them to raise their voices, that he might hear distinctly what I said; and every now and then he nodded his head with delight, as I was afterwards told. When, after the apostle, I threw the incense at the royal doors, instead of throwing it towards the place where *the sacred body* (the ἐπιτάφιος) lies, I ignorantly threw it *towards the emperor first.* He instantly pointed to me with his fingers, from where he stood, to throw the incense first towards the sacred body. Confused as I was, I still did as he bade me, and incensed him afterwards. Then I went out, and said the Gospel for the Sunday of Zaccheus in Greek; and that for the saint (viz. St. Euthymius the Great) in Arabic. After reading the Gospel the archdeacon ought to present the book *first to the patriarch* to kiss, and *next to the emperor;* but I, in that moment of trepidation, *was directing myself first towards the emperor,* when he made a sign to me to go first to the patriarch. I did so, and then returned to his majesty, who kissed it; and I kissed his hand, bowing twice. I did not take to the emperor our book of the Gospels, but that of the convent, which they brought me, after I had finished reading, for the ceremony of kissing: and it was with difficulty that I could carry it, it was so large and heavy, being covered with gold and large jewels, emeralds, rubies, topazes, and diamonds, &c. It is said to have cost 3500 dinars. When I presented this book to his majesty to kiss, I trembled with dread, and could scarce move my legs under its weight. Then I said the συναπτὴ, Εἴπωμεν πάντες, &c., in Russian, so that they were all surprised, reciting in order the name of the emperor, with his several titles, the names of the empress, the prince, the three princesses daughters of the emperor, and the three princesses his sisters, freely and without any mistake. At the conclusion, I entered the sacristy. After one of the deacons had proclaimed, 'Catechumens, pray to the Lord!' and had entered, I went out, and proclaimed, 'Catechumens, go out,' &c. in Georgian, as I had learned it.

The chalice, the three patens, and the spoon used this day were all of pure gold, engraved with holy representations in black lines, and set with a great quantity of jewels. After the service the emperor took the right hand of our master and con-

ducting him to the shrine of the saint, opened it, and showed him the body to kiss, and said, 'See what a beautiful colour that is of the skull, which is of a really natural yellow and hardness.' He added, 'When I took up this holy body out of the ground, to place it in this shrine, I perceived there had been lost from it one of the teeth; and I ceased not my search after it till I had found it. During the interval I had the toothache; but when I found the lost tooth, I rubbed mine with it, and the pain instantly ceased.'

§ xiii. *Anecdote of the emperor. Description of the new convent: its infirmary.* On this Sunday a strange incident occurred, which was this. A deacon of the metropolitan Mira, whose exile has been mentioned above, was banished *by the emperor* to this convent, where he was living *in perfect comfort and respectability.* Something, however, I know not what, was observed in his conduct, and the patriarch Nicon *suspended him* from officiating. This night, in consequence (*i. e.* the night preceding this Sunday), he presented himself before the emperor, and throwing himself on the ground, entreated his majesty to grant him permission to officiate in the liturgy on the Sunday. The emperor, however, refused, and answered him thus: '*I fear the patriarch Nicon, who would perhaps give me his crosier; and say, Take it, and tend the monks and priests yourself. I do not contradict or oppose you in the command of your generals and troops: why, then, do you set yourself against me in the concerns of priests and monks?*' When we heard this of the emperor, we were seized with wonder at his manifesting such a degree of religious feeling, reverence, and veneration towards the bishops.[1]

After we had quitted the church for our apartments, the emperor sent to invite us to his table in his own lodgings; and coming out to the courtyard to meet our master, he took him by the arm, led him in, and seated him near himself. He came again in person to call me in, the archdeacon, by name, as, through fear and respect, I had stopped outside. His majesty took me by the hand, as, confused and trembling, I bowed to the ground and kissed his; and having led me in front of him, with the priests our companions, he set us at a table by ourselves, where

[1] And all this is written out and made up from his journals more than ten years later, without any allusion to what had taken place in the mean time.

he ceased not to supply us with meat and drink till the repast was over. We did not remain more than two hours at table. There were no flesh-meats served up; for, as mentioned before, it is the custom of the emperor, when he is in any convent, and sits down with the heads of the clergy, not so much as to taste flesh-meat before them, but he contents himself with fish and the usual food of the monks. Afterwards the princess of Georgia told us with her own mouth that when she was with the empress, to avoid the plague, in the convent of Troitsa, where they resided four months, during all that time no flesh-meat whatever was cooked there. She added: 'I expostulated with her majesty, saying, Do you not fear God? We indeed are of age, and are grown up; but what has this *βασιλόπουλος* (tsarevich) Alexis done, who is as yet a sucking infant, that he should have his heart tormented with fasting?' The empress paid no heed whatever to this discourse.

Then the emperor stood up, and distributed cups of wine, as usual. He called to me each time by name, as he gave me the goblet. Afterwards he went out, and bade adieu to our master in the courtyard, having led him by the arm. As he turned back, he deputed two of his archons to show us round the convent. It is smaller than the convent of Troitsa, but built precisely after the same plan. . . . Its walls have eight huge towers; and, from the number of embrasures in the walls and the outer bastions, it looks just like the strong forts in our country. It contains four churches. The great church of the Nativity of our Lady dates from the time of St. Sabba. It was small and of wood, and the emperor has rebuilt and enlarged it. All round it are handsome galleries glazed with tale. At the bottom of the same avenue, and opposite to it, there is another fine church of St. Sabba. The domes of both are gilt with pure gold. The third church, of St. Sergius, is in the tower over the gate. The fourth, of St. Vladimir, as yet unfinished, adjoins the upper end of the refectory. The cellars and kitchen and offices occupy the first and second floors, and the refectory the third; and over it again there is the treasury or store-room, in which the entire roof is grated with bars of wood and iron, that the clothes, carpets, and church-robes may be spread and aired upon them, and not perish through damp and mould. Afterwards they made us ascend a staircase of about 100 steps, to

three new belfries; . . . the place for the clock is at the top of all, apart, but near to the bells, which are to be hung one above another. None, however, are yet hung up.

Listen, brother, and admire: Over and above the buildings found in all other convents, the emperor has added in this another, having built in one corner of it a place like a convent by itself, with a private gate, containing many cells, one within the other, both for summer and winter. Inside there is a church, of St. John Climac. This place is a hospital, and the emperor has appointed them a superior of their own class, from among themselves, a steward, and servants; and priests, in like manner, to celebrate mass for them. . . The emperor was at that moment in the church, where the archimandrite was performing for him a παράκλησις. When we went out he sent to invite us to his apartments; and he asked the patriarch whether the convent, and the arrangement of its buildings, had pleased him; and he said: 'The best of it all, Batushka, is, that the whole was completed in two years.' The whole expense, as I was told afterwards, has been 378,000 dinars; and it is not yet finished. It is in truth a large fortress, and built so as to deserve admiration.

Then the emperor took our master by the arm, and went with him to the paralytic and sick brethren of the convent, that he might bless them and pray over them: they were lodged before the door of the church in old wooden houses, from which he had not yet removed them to their new infirmary. On entering the place some of us were unable to remain there, for the disagreeable putrid smell; nor could we endure to look upon the afflicted inmates: but the emperor thought of nothing but his wish that our master should pray over and bless them: and as the patriarch blessed each, the emperor came behind him, and kissed the patients' head, mouth, and hands, from the first to the last. And wonderful indeed appeared to us such holiness and humility, while we thought of nothing but escaping, if we could, from the place. Nor did this suffice the emperor; but he must needs take our master into an inner cell, where was a sick brother, who, we were told, had been knocked down and passed over by a sledge, and who was continually praying that death would end his sufferings. When the emperor went in and asked how he was, he answered by an exclamation of desire that death would take him. The emperor chid him for his impatience, and endea-

voured to console him; and he requested the patriarch to say a prayer over him. The patriarch recited several, weeping as he prayed. This circumstance augmented the emperor's esteem for our master, and he privately made signs to his archons with his hand, drawing their attention to the patriarch's sanctity and humility. Then the patriarch blessed and consoled the sick brother, saying to him, that 'he should be thankful to the Lord for this grace, for that He had melted him, and tried him like gold in the furnace,' &c. Again the pleasure and admiration of the emperor was increased towards our master, and he approached the afflicted monk to kiss his head, his mouth, and his hands, as he had done to the others. On leaving the place, we could hardly believe that we were so fortunate as to have escaped from its dreadful smells.

The emperor continued to hold our master by the arm till he had led him outside, thanking him much for the office he had performed; and, as we were afterwards assured by the grand vizir (Morozoff), the emperor conceived great faith in our lord the patriarch, and interest in his welfare. He himself said, 'I have a wish to write over the gate of the convent in gold letters the date of the visit of the patriarch of Antioch,' &c. The emperor having declared his intention to depart this night, all the monks had stationed themselves on his path near the gate. His majesty's treasurer had prepared parcels of copecks folded up in paper; and the emperor distributed them with his own hand, to the priests six dinars, to the deacons four, and to the lowest of the monks three. Then, after bidding them all farewell, he requested our master to say a prayer over his head, and bowed down before him. The patriarch recited several prayers; and the emperor arose to receive his blessing; which when he had given him, his majesty said, 'Bless me a second time;' and he blessed him a second time. Then he said, 'A third time;' and he blessed him a third time; after which he kissed him, and bidding him farewell, departed, saying, 'Whenever you please, go.' The archimandrite and the rest of the monks accompanied the emperor to the outside of the convent, where he mounted into his carriage and drove off, and travelled fifteen versts, to sleep that night in another of his convents. After vespers the archimandrite, steward, and treasurer came to present, on the part of the emperor, the alms of the convent to our master.

They were four soroks of sables, a gilt icon of the saint, a gilt cup, and a piece of satin; also a large loaf of bread, some barrels of liquor, and salt and fresh fish, for provisions. A similar distribution was made to each of us.

Early in the morning of M. Jan. 21, after the matins, having done our reverence once more to the relics of the saint, and having taken leave of the monks, we were escorted by their 200 streltses about thirty versts, being drawn [in sledges] along the river Moskva, which flows to the capital from the east side of the convent. We encountered severe cold, violent winds, and much snow; and we saw on the high road a man exposed on an eminence with his skin flayed off, as an example to beholders. Towards evening we arrived in the capital. The emperor did not arrive till Tuesday night, as he had gone to visit a third convent.

§ xiv. *Submission of Polish chiefs. Preparations against Sweden. Arrival of Mahometan Tatars from Siberia, with musk and rhubarb. Marriage of a Siberian prince.* During this week there came many of the Polish archons to submit themselves, and to implore the emperor's clemency. Among these was the great hetman Pototski, to whom, *on his being baptised*, the emperor's *uncle* stood godfather, and his majesty granted him the government of his own territory. But, besides the oath of allegiance, they took from him several of his family and relatives, to remain as hostages in the hands of the emperor.

On the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, 27th Jan., our master celebrated mass in our convent, and ordained as priest a candidate from a convent of the Assumption called Bachansko, situate on an island in the ocean 1000 versts distant from Solovka, and 3000 from Moscow. It has forty monks; and near it is a castle in an island called Kolosko, in the diocese of Novgorod, near to Danska, on the frontier of Germany. This man had set out on the 15th Aug., and had arrived at Moscow on the 25th Dec. last. Most of his way was by rivers.

On F. 1st Feb. the patriarch of Moscow arrived in the night from his convent, having been four days and a half on the road. The emperor had gone out to meet him twenty versts from the city the evening before. All the heads of convents waited on him with icons and loaves of bread, as usual.

During this interval the emperor was preparing for a cam-

paign against Sweden, and had begun to send pickaxes, stores, victuals, and the heavy baggage, in sledges to the cities of Novgorod and Pskoff.

. . . This year the emperor has ordered a levy of men over all the Tatar countries, distributing among them halberds and muskets, and an allowance of pay every three months. He has sent to order up the armies of Kazan, Astrachan, and Siberia; and has held an assembly of the bishops and of all the heads of convents, *requiring them to grant him a tenth of the treasure of their convents, and of the revenue of their lands and villages*, and saying to them: 'As the merchants have given me a tenth of their property, I ask the same of you; *because it is for you I make war, and out of zeal for our holy religion.* It is not my intention to open my own treasures at all, until I have completed this campaign, and brought the war to an end: on the accomplishment of which *I will restore to you all I have taken from you doubled.*' Moreover, he sent to collect *from every house* throughout the whole country twenty-five copecks as a subsidy for stores.

In the mean time, the patriarch Nicon sent to our lord the patriarch of Antioch, by his chief deacon, a present of a green mandya of European cloth; which he always wore afterwards, till our return to Wallachia.

On the eve of the Presentation, the patriarch of Moscow went to the short vespers in an ancient church having this title at the top of the palace-yard; and the emperor sent to invite our master to the liturgy of the next day, and to the banquet. At the ninth hour of the night they rang the bells and performed the vigil service. In the forenoon we went with the patriarch Nicon to the church above mentioned, which is old and decayed. It has three doors; and the passage to it is by the steps of the church of the Annunciation. The aisle of the chapel of the Μυροθήκιον, and of that of the Wooden Table, and the portico of the church, look over the private inner yard of the palace, which they allow no stranger to pass, and which we had not before seen. In it is a small church ('Spass na Borou'), concealed and sunk in the ground, dedicated to the Transfiguration, which is said to have been the first church built in Moscow. At a short distance from it is a large and lofty church, with a large gilt dome, named after the Nativity

of our Lady, which we had not seen till now. The river Moskva flows under the walls on this side; and no stranger ever goes out or in by this gate. I afterwards contrived to see it and to enter it, as well as the palace-yard. To return: The floor of the aforesaid church is coloured black. When the emperor came in, the patriarchs gave him their blessing as usual; and, after the liturgy, we were taken up to the banquet-room. We mentioned before that the emperor had sent during this interval to summon all the army of Siberia, of Kazan, and Astrachan, of the Turks and Turkees, and of the countries beyond, to the distance of 2000 versts. And now the officers and chiefs of these troops came to kiss the emperor's hand. He made them sit down to dinner; and placed the poor and maimed, whom he had clothed with new suits of clothes, at a table near him, on the floor by themselves. We all remained at table till nightfall.

On the eve of the Sunday [of the Prodigal], on which fell the commemoration of SS. Simeon and Anna, the emperor, as it was the namesday of his daughter Anna, born on that day last year, sent to invite our master to the liturgy and banquet. The patriarch Nicon celebrated the liturgy in the church of the empress, named after St. Anne. Our master celebrated with the archbishop of Servia in the cathedral, because the empress's church was too small. I said the συναπτή in Russ. After the liturgy, they took us to the emperor's grand dining-room, at the top of his new palace.

§ xv. *Translation of wood of the true cross from Lublin. Capture of the fort Taman by the Don Kozaks.* On M. 4th Feb. they tolled the new bell, &c., and made a great festival for the arrival of the piece of the true cross, to obtain which the boyar Boutourlin had consented to raise the siege of the innermost fortress of Lublin, after he had taken the two outer fortifications. On his return to Kieff he took poison, as has been above related. The report was given out that he had died by the visitation of God; and his servants, having performed over him the last offices, placed him in a coffin, to carry him to Moscow for interment. The emperor no sooner heard of this than he sent orders *that his body should be burned on the public road;* but presently, on being informed of this treasure of the cross, which Boutourlin had obtained for him, he relented towards him, by the intercession of the patriarch, and sent to command that they should

bring his body to Moscow. They brought it therefore, and finally buried it in the Choudoff monastery. . . . On this day, then, the expected treasure arrived for the emperor, to his great delight and exultation. Amid the uninterrupted ringing of bells, till the very earth trembled, he came down to the cathedral, wearing his crown and imperial robes, and attended by his great officers in full dress. The people of the city, in their best clothes, were all assembled to receive him; and the patriarchs, having robed, performed for him a παράκλησις. Then they advanced towards the cross, and, bowing before it, received it with all veneration and respect, and placed it on a carpeted stand, by the side of the icon of Blachernæ and the cross of Constantine. A yearly festival was instituted in its honour; and this night they performed the vigil service, as is usual for festivals.

On the morrow the patriarch celebrated mass before the emperor, who wore his crown and imperial robes. For our parts, we went to kiss this venerable cross, which was placed in a sort of silver book, prettily adorned with crystal. It is of about a finger's length, and its breadth the same; and around it are the four evangelists.

In the mean time there arrived the army of the Don under their hetman; and were reviewed by the emperor. We heard that they had recently subdued the fort Taman, 120 miles distant from Kaffa. They went out, it was said, on the Black Sea with forty galleys, each usually manned by about ninety warriors, one half rowing, while the rest stand to their arms. The fort which they had taken was by the emperor's orders rased to the foundations, and its large guns thrown into the sea. From it they carried away an immense booty; and passed thence to Sinope and to Reza, and those parts, making a vast devastation, plundering, and taking prisoners. On their return to the Don, they were followed by the relations and friends of the captives, who ransomed many of them. The rest of the prisoners and the booty they brought to Moscow, to sell them, together with articles of clothing and furniture, gold and silver, and Turkish coins; the latter of which they disposed of not at their current value, but at so much the pound weight. Afterwards they returned to their own country.

Book XIV. *Moscow: and the Cossack country.*

§ i. *Receipt of a Persian letter. Law and practice of petitions to the heads of government. Titles foreign and domestic of European sovereigns. The Spassky convent.* About this time there came to the emperor a letter in the Persian language, and he sent for me to read it to him; for by this time they had all made acquaintance with me, and treated me with great familiarity, *particularly the patriarch, who was constantly asking me to remain with him.* The lieutenant of the emperor and the other ministers and secretaries all made to me the same proposal, saying, 'Stay here, and be our interpreter and translator of the Arabic language; for we have interpreters of all languages except the Arabic.' I always answered, 'Though you gave me all Moscow, I would not stay.' They replied, 'You are right, not to abandon your wife.' All this was in friendly jest. At this time I was continually writing memorials for our master, and presenting them to the minister who sits in the Posolsky prikaz, *i. e.* the office of the ambassadors; where also the affairs of the foreign bishops, monks, and convents, &c., are transacted. The petitions thus presented the minister collects; and when the emperor is present in the capital, he lays them before him; and he writes upon them what his pleasure is. In the absence of the emperor he presents them to his deputy or lieutenant, as he can do nothing of his own authority.

Note, that persons from the remotest parts of the country wait for the passage of the emperor *from his palace to the cathedral*, on any of the great festivals; or *watch his going out of the city to the chase*, or to visit any convent: and they stand in his way, holding up their petitions, which he orders one of his grandees to take. The same thing is done with the patriarch, on his going in and out; and with the empress. When his majesty has gone up to his apartment, they lay all these petitions before him, and read them to him. Those which he assents to are marked for accomplishment; and if the prayer is for a gratuity, a grant is ordered on the treasury for so much, or so much: the rejected petitions are also distinctly marked with a refusal. For these *chelobitia* thus presented there is a special prikaz, the president of which has them all brought to him; and every person who

has held up his petition to the emperor goes the next day to this court, to inquire as to the result. When any grant of money is signed on his petition, he takes it (if a foreigner) to the minister in the Posolsky prikaz, and delivers it to him. The minister indorses it, and gives it to one of the secretaries, who in the tenor of it writes a 'primat,' *i. e.* a teskereh, or memorandum, to the superintendent of the treasury, to give to such a person such a sum, according to the emperor's order of such a date. With this teskereh, and accompanied by one of the interpreters, the petitioner goes to the emperor's treasury, and there touches the appointed sum. Those chelobitia which are marked as refused are given back to their owners; who are warned not to present any more such petitions.

To return to the Persian letter: They called me into the cabinet within the Posolsky prikaz, to study and read this letter, as they think that to read Arabic, Turkish, and Persian is all one. I made some little out of it by the help of the interpreter of the Persian language; and, like a thief, I copied it out in a few moments without being perceived. If I had been perceived, God preserve me! Then, as the interpreter of the Turkish language was a particular friend of mine, I asked him, and he brought out for me secretly a number of diplomatic papers, and letters from Sultan Amurath to Michael the father of the present emperor, between whom great amity and a perpetual correspondence by letter and embassy existed. The object of all the letters was the prohibition of the Don Kozaks from going out in their vessels on the Black Sea, and ravaging the countries of the East. I learned from the same interpreter that they [the Turks] do not call the sovereign of Muscovy king or emperor, but by the Russian name 'tsar.' He added: You must not wonder at this, for the emperor of Muscovy is not used to call the Turkish emperor '*tsar*,' but he styles him 'our friend the great *sultan*,' in the Turkish language. . . . Neither do the Frank princes call the Turkish sovereign emperor in their own language, but they style him 'the grand Turk,' as we now learned. One of the imperial interpreters, who had accompanied an ambassador to the court of the Sultan Ibrahim, told us that the Turks call the emperor of Muscovy agha padishah, *i. e.* the 'white king;' though they do not style him either king or crâl in their letters, but only by the Russian title tsar. The Persians call him 'ak khan.'

The Franks in their letters style him emperor, but in their own country they call him 'grand duke,' which is [their rendering of the Russian title 'veliki kniaz'] great or grand prince.

The seal of the beys of Moldavia and Wallachia is simply a bull's head, said to be for the sake of St. [Luke] the evangelist. The seal of the crâl of the Poles impressed on their battle-axes is a double-headed eagle; and the seal of the Muscovite emperor is the same, said to be for the sake of St. John the evangelist. The impression on the chrysobulla, on gold and silver coins, the copecks, &c., is on one side a double-headed eagle, and on the other the emperor riding on a horse, under the feet of which is a kind of dragon, which the emperor is striking with his spear like St. George. I am unable to give at present the explanation of them. The seal of Khmielnitsky is his own image drest in short clothes and girt with armour, with the calpack bent on one side.

On the Saturday of the Departed, 9th Feb., the patriarch of Moscow celebrated the liturgy in the cathedral, and the metropolitan of Kroutits in the church of the Archangel, to commemorate the deceased emperors. The bishop of Kolomna officiated in the convent of the nuns, to commemorate the deceased empresses.

On the morning of Carnival Sunday the empress went to the convent of our Lady Hodigitria to perform her religious duties with the nuns; and they tolled the new bell, with all the rest of the bells, round the city, for the assembling of the clergy, and the heads of the convents with their icons, to the cathedral, to perform the same service as last year. The patriarch robed, with our master; and the emperor came down, wearing his imperial crown and robes, with the purple mantle. After they had blessed him, they went forth in procession amid the ringing of all the bells, and performed a service similar to that of last year; of which those parts which I was then unable to witness I this year completed my observation of. Then they returned to the cathedral; and after liturgy, the patriarch took us to dine with him in the krestóvaia palata, which is his new hall. As we sat at dinner, the emperor sent him several princely dishes from his table by one of his archons; to whom the patriarch gave a silvered icon.

On this day the patriarch Nicon placed by his side at table a new Salos, a virtuous man, who, entirely naked [with one

garment only?], perpetually goes about the streets, and is much revered by the people, even beyond bounds, as an eminent saint. His name is Cyprian; but he is commonly called 'the man of God.' The patriarch Nicon never ceased to feed him with his own hands, and to give him drink in silver cups; *from which, after he had drunk, the patriarch drained the last drops with his own mouth*, as he does at the end of the liturgy; so that we were sunk in astonishment.

On this day also, after the liturgy, and after the patriarch Nicon had read the homily for the day, and had preached, one of the nuns came forward and informed the emperor and the patriarch, that, having been long sick, she had come the night before to sleep in the cathedral near the tomb of the metropolitan St. Philip; that he had appeared to her in his pontifical robes, attended by his deacons, with their thuribles; that he had called to her, and made her rise up; and that she had been immediately healed. The emperor, on hearing this, wept abundantly; and the patriarch *preached to the people on this miracle*. Owing to this incident we did not come away from the liturgy till far into the afternoon.

On the Monday of the Cheese-week, 11th Feb., we went to the Spassky convent outside the city, to pay it our visit. We went in an imperial sledge, escorted by streltses. On our arrival, the archimandrite and his monks came out, and took us up to the chief church, where we celebrated: after which they conducted us down in our robes to the crypts under the church, to pray over the tombs of the grandees buried there, as this convent is appropriated to their interment: and there are also the tombs of six emperors [six ancestors of the emperor]. All these are covered with embroidered velvet palls, around the edges of which are inscriptions in pearls. At the head of each tomb is an icon, and also a candlestick, with a light always burning. On no day is there any intermission of mass for the repose of their souls; and after it they always go down to incense their tombs, and to pray over them. We were told that this convent was old and small; and that it was the late emperor Michael, the father of the present emperor, who renewed and enlarged it, building for its precinct immense walls, like those of Troitsa. In them are eight large towers, four at the four corners, the enclosure being square, and the other four

between them. These towers have numerous embrasures, well furnished with large guns; and three or four of them are on the bank of the river Moskva. Thus it is a very spacious edifice, more spacious than any of the convents about the city; and more cheerful, owing to its more elevated site. *The great church was built by the present patriarch Nicon*, during the time that he was archimandrite there. It is large, beautiful, and cheerful; and we saw no church in the capital to equal it, for its elevation, lightness, pleasant site, and the loftiness of its five cupolas. There is a porch all round it. The church is dedicated by the title of the Transfiguration, and the name of the convent, 'Spassky,' is in Greek τοῦ Σωτῆρος.

The lower part of the church is a suite of spacious crypts for the burial of the dead. Seeing that it was contrary to the law of the church to bury them in the churches, they have ingeniously devised this plan. . . . In the great court is a large new bell, about fifty spans round. In the convent there are above one hundred monks. Their cells are all new and spacious; among which are cells for the emperor and the empress. There are in it some very large rooms, which have a delightful prospect over the city and river. . . . It is all whitewashed. After we had dined, they brought us the usual presents, and we took leave, and returned. The emperor sent us word to attend with him the vigil service in the Choudoff in commemoration of the metropolitan St. Alexis, Feb. 12th, and at the same time to celebrate the birthday of his son.

§ ii. *Festival of St. Alexis. The Simonoff convent. Ceremony of condonation. Observance of Cheese-week. Visit to the Novodivichy convent.* On the ringing of the bells, the emperor, together with the patriarch, assisted at the lesser vespers; and at the seventh hour the new bell was tolled, and we repaired to the convent. Thither came the emperor, the patriarch, and all the grandees to the chapel of the saint, where his relics are kept in the refectory church; and they began to chant the great vespers at much length. At the πολυέλαιον the two patriarchs put on their robes, and went with the metropolitans and priests to stand outside the chapel. Here they set the icon of the saint in the middle, and the patriarch stepped down to incense it, the chapel, the emperor, and all present, as usual, after he had distributed to them the tapers. Our master did the same; and

then they went in to kiss the icon and the relics of the saint; as did the emperor, and all the grandees, in their order. Afterwards the patriarchs put off their robes [resuming their mandyas], and the slow chant was continued without intermission from the seventh hour of the night till the forenoon of the next day. At length we went away, nearly dead with standing, waking, and weariness; but returned the same forenoon to the liturgy, whence in the afternoon we were taken to the emperor's banquet. At the time that the emperor's health was drunk, when I advanced to kiss his hand, he smiled at me, and said, 'Ὁ ἅγιος ἀρχιδιάκονος veliki cheloviek!' *i. e.* 'The holy archdeacon is a great man!' May God prolong his reign for his overflowing love towards me!

On the morrow, W. 13th Feb., we went to the Simonoff convent, so called after its founder, the nephew of St. Sergius, the founder of Troitsa. Its title is the Assumption. It is not far from the Spassky, being, like it, on the bank of the Moskva. Our road to it was from the bridge-gate, over the bed of the river, on which saw-mills are now erected.

To return: On our arrival at the Simonoff, . . . they led us up to the high church surmounted by a single dome, where we assisted at the ninth hour and vespers. It used to be customary for patriarchs to celebrate the liturgy in all these convents for the repose of their deceased; but here on this day they made us instead enter the sanctuary, where we robed our master, and then they led us out to perform a παράκλησις for the emperor. This church is very lofty, and has three iron doors. Underneath it are crypts for the interment of the grandees, as at the Spassky. Among the tombs here is one of that Tatar king of Kazan who was taken prisoner by the tsar Ivan, and was baptised, and died a Christian. His wife lies near him. . . . The walls enclosing this convent are larger than those of the Spassky, and are equally new. They are entered by three gates, and are defended by six towers, some round and some square, well furnished with large guns. There are upwards of sixty monks. After we arose from table they brought us the usual presents, and we returned by evening to the city.

On Th. 14th Feb. we went to the Choudoff, where we performed the liturgy, and received the customary presents.

On F. 15th Feb. the emperor and the patriarch of Moscow

went round to all the convents (as is the custom at this time against Lent) asking pardon of the monks and nuns; and during the two days of Wednesday and Friday, on which in this week, as on the week-days of Lent, there is no mass [except that of the Presanctified], they did not quit the churches till the afternoon.

On the morning of the Sunday of Cheese-week, 17th Feb., our lord the patriarch went to meet the patriarch of Moscow, who took us with him to the emperor in the upper palace. The emperor came out to meet them, and led them up to his highest apartment; where, after the patriarch had done his reverence to the icons, and the emperor had bowed down, he blessed him with the cross, and sprinkled him with the holy water. Our master performed the same ceremony; and then they sat down for a short time. On rising up, the patriarch recited a prayer for the emperor, and all the imperial family; and afterwards sprinkled all the great officers of state present, who then entered the circle to kiss the emperor's hand, as we did with them. When we came out, our master, by command of the emperor and the patriarch, went to celebrate the liturgy in the convent of the nuns opposite to us; and at its conclusion they presented to him a silvered icon of our Lady, with the customary gratuity. In the evening the emperor and empress went to this convent, to ask pardon of the nuns; and then they paid a similar visit to the monks of the Choudoff. In like manner all the grandees went to the emperor and the patriarch, to ask pardon of them. Some came for that purpose in the night to our lord the patriarch of Antioch. The rest of the people asked pardon of each other, kissing each other's mouths.

To return: On Wednesday [in the first week of Lent, 20th Feb.] the emperor did not break his fast till the evening; when he sent to our master, from his table, three cups of wine, and some plates of sweetmeats, like green melon, compounded with various spices and honey, which is brought to him from Astrachan, &c. During these three days the patriarch Nicon neither came down to the cathedral, nor opened his apartments to show his face to a single person: and the emperor fasted again till Saturday, when, after the liturgy, he received the sacred mysteries, together with the empress. Thus it is the custom with the grandees, and all the rich, to give no work to be done in this week, and to attend to no business; but to continue in prayer in

their churches, particularly on the Friday, when they confess their sins, and read and pray incessantly, that they may be prepared to receive the holy mysteries on the following day.

On the Sat., Feb. 23, early in the morning, our master, by command of the emperor and the patriarch, went to the Novodivichy convent; concerning which we mentioned before, that the emperor and the patriarch had cleared it of the Muscovite nuns, to place the Russian nuns [from White Russia and Lithuania] in it; and they were constantly praying our master to go and give them his blessing, and celebrate a liturgy for them. On our arrival, they all came forth to meet us, and then walked before us, chanting with a melody that charmed the heart, until we had gone up to the church. While we paid our respects to the icons, they sang the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν, and delightful was the harmony and sweetness of their tones and voices, with which they continued singing, till the patriarch had given to all of them his benediction, one by one. Then we put on our robes at the west end, and the nuns began to read the hours. They chanted also the responses at the liturgy, in two choirs; and were all much astonished at hearing me say the gospel and the biddings in Russian. After the invitation to draw near, they all advanced to receive the mysteries from the hand of our master with great reverence, and afterwards the *ἀντίδωρα* and the wine; for they had all fasted from the Wednesday until now. After the patriarch had made the dismissal, all the nuns prostrated themselves on the ground, and he recited over them the prayer of absolution. Then they walked out before him, chanting, to the refectory, where we took our seats; and the abbess, the stewardess, the mistress of the treasury, and the chief nuns took theirs according to their respective ranks, each attended by a serving sister [a posloujnitsa] to serve her with meat and drink. We had other servants to wait on each of us, from the patriarch to the last of us, with the most delicious Lent dishes of fried and stewed, &c., and various kinds of beverage *unknown to the Muscovites*. During the repast one of the nuns stood reading a lesson with a soft sweet voice. We arose from table greatly admiring the precision of manner and the exact neatness of these ladies. Every time our lord the patriarch sent to any of them a dish, she came and curtsied to him to the ground, whether she was a professed nun or a secular inmate. For in this convent there was a great

number of Little-Russian, *i.e.* Kozak, ladies, relatives of the nuns; and it was remarkable that they had appointed these externes, and strangers to their vows, to some of the chief offices for the stewardship of their establishment. On our rising from table the patriarch elevated the *παναγία*; and the abbess with her sisters came, and bowing down presented to him, of the products of the convent, an icon of our Lady handsomely gilt, and a string of beads of knotted silk. To us they made similar presents: and then all the nuns came forward again to receive the patriarch's benediction; after which they walked before us, chanting, to the outside of the convent, where they bade us adieu; having furnished us, according to conventual custom, with a large loaf of bread; and we returned to the city.

§ iii. *First Sunday in Lent. Death of Radzivil. Repeated requests of the patriarch for leave to depart. Audience of leave. Departure of the archbishop of Servia.* On the morning of the first Sunday in Lent, 24th Feb., all the bells were rung early to assemble the clergy of the city to the cathedral, after they had celebrated their own masses; and as soon as the patriarchs were ready, the emperor came down in his imperial robes, and took his station. After the archdeacon had recited the anathemas against all heretics, and the singers had chanted Anathema thrice to each as they were named, he next made a commemoration of the orthodox sovereigns; and then named all the kniazes, voivodes, and grandees who had lately died in battle for their religion; and the singers chanted thrice 'Everlasting remembrance!' Then he recited the names and titles of all the imperial race, &c.; and there were laid before him sheets of paper in a large box, from which he read the names of all the privates, captains, and colonels who had been killed within the last two years [in the current A.M. 7164 since 1st Sept. A.D. 1655, and in A.M. 7163, the year preceding, from the first Sunday in Lent in A.D. 1655 to 1st Sept.] in defence of their religion, I suppose to the number of 100,000 or more, with great slowness and composure, while the singers continually chanted 'Everlasting remembrance!' until at length we were ready to drop with the fatigue of standing and the numbness of cold, our legs being frozen under us. After this they pronounced an anathema against all who were, or had been, traitors to the emperor; and the choirs chanted thrice their anathema. When they concluded, I looked at my watch, and

reckoned that they had been full three hours at this recital; nor did we leave the church on this day till after the ninth hour; for the patriarch Nicon at the end of the liturgy read the homily for the day, and dilated in a long sermon *on things contrary to the cross of Christ*, and on the sin of many among them in breaking their fast at home. Scarcely had we reached our convent, and sat down to table, when it struck the tenth hour; and immediately the bells sounded for vespers.

About this time news came to the emperor, and the report was by him made public, that the accursed Radzivil, who had made terms with Sweden, and taken up his residence in that country, had suddenly fallen a victim to the vengeance of the Almighty, and had broken his neck; as it happened formerly to Theophilus the iconoclast; thus making a wretched end. On the second Saturday in Lent, 1st March, the emperor gave a banquet, to which we were invited, for the birthday of his eldest daughter Eudocia.

We had not ceased, meanwhile, to importune the emperor, ever since his arrival in the capital, with numerous petitions for our congé; and every time our master had an interview with his majesty he suppliantly urged this request: but the emperor put us off from one day to another, and from week to week, ever naming some future time; so that we knew not what to think of it. From the time that our first petition was presented to him, on the metropolitan St. Peter's day, before Christmas, he had put us off, first, till after the Theophany; and thus we were kept in suspense until now, saying within ourselves, 'It is surprising what his majesty can want with us, that he does not let us go! Is it possible that he wishes to prolong the daily expense we cost him?' For our master had a daily pension of a dinar, and we and the servants had an average of a piastre and a half, with fish, caviare, and drink, making an additional expense of two or three dinars; so that our daily allowance cost four or five dinars, and perhaps more, *i. e.* 150 dinars a month, or 1800 a year. The most surprising thing was, that after the patriarch of Jerusalem had stayed here seven months only, the emperor sent him his commands to depart for his own country; and in like manner he acted towards Athanasius Patalaron. Lately also, at the feast of the Theophany, he withdrew all the pensions of the heads of convents who were here from the Holy Mountain, and others;

and every day the minister hastened them to set out and depart for their own country. We, on the other hand, were so far from being hastened away, that we were constantly praying to God to inspire them to dismiss us; until at length He heard our prayer; and the Muscovites, teased with our multiplied importunities, yielded a constrained assent to our entreaty. We afterwards ascertained that it was positively within the intention of the emperor that we should stay with him again till after Easter, till he should depart for the army, that our lord the patriarch might give his blessing, as he had done before, to the expedition and to the troops marching forth. . . But when at last he had no artifice left to suspend our departure, he sent word to our master on the morning of Wednesday in the third week of Lent, 5th March, that he was to see his majesty to take his leave on that day; on which our hearts leapt with joy.

Towards evening the great sotniks came with the imperial sledge, and took our master, with us his attendants, to the hall of audience. On approaching the church of the Annunciation, we were met by two archons, who bowed on the part of the emperor, and reciting the imperial title, said, 'The emperor, &c. &c. &c., invites your holiness, &c. &c., to his imperial presence, that he may bid you farewell:' and bowing, and receiving the patriarch's blessing, they walked on before us. So also at the bottom of the steps, in front of the church-door, two others met him with the like ceremony. At the top of the steps other two archons presented themselves in the same way; and at the outer door of the hall the whole body of ministers and great officers of state came forth to meet him; two of whom, reciting aloud the name and titles of the emperor and those of our master, presented again his majesty's invitation to his holiness to bless him, and to take his leave. At the end of the address they all bowed to him; and he gave to each his benediction, one by one. Then they walked before and behind him into the hall; when the emperor, descending from his throne, advanced to meet him; and after our master had chanted the Ἄξιον ἐστιν, and had bowed to the icons and to the emperor, he gave them his blessing, and sat down a little, while the vizir (the minister) came forward, and, standing before him, said: 'The emperor, &c. presents to your holiness and to your apostolic see this gift, which is fifty soroks of sables, worth 3000 dinars.' Then he laid them

before him, each couple being brought in by a strelitz, who deposited his burden and withdrew. Afterwards the emperor said, 'O father, I beg your holiness to accept this, as Christ accepted the widow's mite, and do not find fault with me.' Our master had previously asked him to have made for him a mitre, and an entire set of pontifical ornaments, from the treasures of the church; and on this account, the emperor, taking him by the hand and leading him apart to a corner of the room, attended only by the interpreter, begged his excuse for not furnishing him these objects according to his desire, alleging the death of the artists and his own occupation with the affairs of war, which indeed were the true causes of the neglect. Then he wept much, saying to him with earnestness, 'O father, it is your wish, then, to kill me, by parting from me; for you are my father, and I am your son.' Thus he spake a long time with him; and our master wept also, seeing the emperor's humility, love, and reverence. God prolong his reign! All present in the apartment were moved to tears at this sight. Then the emperor called forward all the archons, who bowed down; and he requested the patriarch to read over them and himself a long prayer: and as he bent his head, our master obeyed his commands by reciting the prayer, 'Save, O Lord, thy people,' &c.; and on his concluding, we chanted for the emperor a polychronion; after which we all advanced to kiss his hand. Afterwards the emperor took our master by the arm and led him to the outer door of the hall, where the archons had met us; weeping much, and entreating him to bless him a second and a third time, and to give him the kiss of Christian peace on the mouth, which he did. In his hand our master held ready four written petitions, to present to his majesty. In one he begged the price of a large *πολυέλαιον*, which we had bought for 120 dinars, with three others at 100 dinars each: in another he asked him for some icons: in the third for a quantity of sea ivory and talc: and in the fourth for a quantity of ermine. These he now delivered to him: after which the emperor ordered all his archons to attend the patriarch to the bottom of the steps of the church of the Annunciation, where his holiness made an address to them, and, having blessed them, bade them farewell. We returned to our convent in the greatest joy, and filled with gratitude.

The archbishop of Servia (of whom we related above that

when they turned him back he had asked of the patriarch Nicon to be permitted to stay in the name of the emperor, and had obtained his request) now, *seeing the severe authority the patriarch Nicon exercised over him, as though he were one of his own bishops,* became disgusted, and asked for his dismissal. Nor did he cease importuning the emperor to let him go, to visit Jerusalem, after which he would return. The emperor, being merciful and compassionate, took pity on him, saying within himself, 'Perhaps if we do not let him go, he will pray to God against us, not for us;' and, in spite of the patriarch Nicon, he consented to his departure. After our master, therefore, had come out from the audience, the emperor called in this archbishop to kiss his hand, and gave him a recommendation, saying, 'When you are come to Jerusalem, pray for us here, &c., and bring me some of the oil of the lamp which is over our Saviour's tomb.' Then he gave him four soroks of sables, with 400 dinars, and dismissed him: and he immediately left the city, and made all haste to Moldavia, looking all the way behind him. See what he gained by his pride and ambition, pretending to be a patriarch! After being ignominiously detained, he was dismissed with no higher a present than that given to the metropolitan of Nice, who was here now; and their dignity was reckoned as equal.

§ iv. *Farewell banquet; and visit of the prime minister. Preparation, package, and purchase of furs. Various petitions and grants.* As soon as we had reached our convent, there came the chief of the stolniks, who superintends the imperial table, bringing above fifty dishes of food, and various sweet confectionery; prepared cups, that is, gilt goblets filled with wine, and numerous flagons, with a variety of drinks. Having laid the table, the officer sat a short time with his holiness, and then, taking a farewell leave, departed. After the repast came the chief secretary to the emperor, with the rest of the scribes belonging to the hall of audience, bringing us the soroks of sables mentioned above. To all these officers we distributed presents and a gratuity, as also to the streltses who carried the furs; and after we had given them to drink, they departed. . . .

After the secretaries had retired, the minister himself came, sent by the emperor to pay his respects on the part of his majesty to our master, and to express to him how much joy his majesty felt at having received his blessing, and having been the

subject of his prayers to God, and at the same time how great his sorrow was at parting with him; for that his majesty had said to his great officers of state at the moment of our quitting his presence, 'Truly this patriarch is a holy man, and the light of sanctity shines forth in his countenance.' He added farther, that when our master quitted the emperor, his majesty sighed, and said, '*I pray to God that before I die I may see him, with the other three patriarchs, celebrating the liturgy in the church of St. Sophia* [at Constantinople], *with our patriarch Nicon assisting them!*' All present answered, '*God grant it!*' The minister likewise gratified the heart of our master by doing all he had asked in his petitions presented to his majesty. We also had petitioned for, and obtained, the grant of five χρυσόβουλλα; the first for the apostolic see of Antioch, that every three years one of its archimandrites or bishops, with two or three monks and attendants, should come for alms; the second, third, and fourth for the convents of El Falamand in Tripoli, of St. George El Hamirah, and of Sidon, to send likewise their deputies for alms. The fifth was in favour of one of the merchants, related to a grandee of Moldavia, to the effect that he should be chief over a company of merchants, and should not be stopped at the frontier. One of our own countrymen, originally of Damascus, who had been voivode of Kolomna, Kashira, and another city, we again replaced in that dignity; and he was appointed voivode of Kashira for the rest of his life. A troop of poor Greeks we caused to be made interpreters in the prikazes; and others of that nation, who were in the army, we succeeded in raising to the rank of chaoushes, &c.

At the moment of parting with our master, the emperor had asked him for some of those papers of absolution, *i.e.* συγχωρητικὰ, which we had printed at Kieff in Greek, and desired him to distribute some of them to the great officers of state, which was done. As to the emperor himself, I went and carried to his majesty nine of these papers, on which I wrote in letters of gold the names of his majesty, of the empress, their son, and daughters, and of the emperor's sisters; and to all the great officers of state I distributed, for each one, going round to their respective hotels with the interpreter; after which we prepared for our journey...

We asked the emperor besides for a horse, and he gave it to us also. For myself, I wrote a petition begging the gift of a

sticharion, which he instantly granted me. I was sent to his treasury, where the brocades, phenolia, and other fineries are kept; and they wished to give me a *στιχάρι* ready made up after their fashion; for from this store they distribute *φελώνια, ἐπιτραχήλια, στιχάρια*, and other sacerdotal robes and ornaments, to the poorer clergy, and to the inferior convents; but I refused it; so that they were forced to refer the matter again to the emperor, who sent me a piece of beautiful white Venetian brocade, embroidered with trees and plants in coloured velvet of every colour, with remnants for the sleeves, and skirts of a similar cloth, but yellow, and some dinars for the expense of making it up. The cloth was worth about 100 dinars.

The emperor bestowed moreover on us all, for the parting kiss of hands (*φίλημα χειρῶν*), the same presents as we had received on our first presentation. And having packed our luggage, we wrote a memorial for sixty podvods for our conveyance, though twenty would have been sufficient, had there not been such a number of poor persons who followed in our train. With these carriages a translator and interpreter were sent us, and ten streltses, to escort us from town to town. We were furnished also with an imperial sledge, provisions for the road, and a daily allowance of money till the end of March, that is, to last us as far as Poutivl.

§ v. *Farewell to the patriarch Nicon. Difficult journey to Bielev. Halt at Bolchov to pass the Easter holidays. Entertainment given to the archdeacon by the voivode.* On the morning of the fifth Sunday in Lent, March 23, our master went to take leave of the patriarch of Moscow, who gave him as a parting present an icon of our Lady, a sorok of sables, a gilt cup, and two dresses of woollen cloth and of satin; and to all of us he distributed sums of money; after which we bade him farewell.

In the afternoon we went forth from the city, hardly believing that our departure was a reality, so great was our joy; . . . for the Almighty knows that from the excess of our impatience we were continually praying that we might be dismissed, whether they gave us anything or not. On the other hand, all the interpreters, and others, were urgent in saying to us, 'Wait with patience for Easter; because the emperor wishes it, and the thaw is at hand. How far do you mean to take us? Do you mean us to be drowned?' But we answered: 'As for you, we hope no

harm will befall you: for ourselves, let us be drowned, rather than stay here.' My own personal anxiety, my great endeavour, was to quit Moscow before Easter, to escape from the sleepless vigils, the overwhelming fatigue, and the restless standing up during the week of the Passion. But I afterwards wished we had stayed. On the whole, how could foreigners like us, accustomed to such comforts at home, expect to enjoy any rest or sleep here, being forbidden the entrance of the hot bath and the shaving of the head? But ever since our departure from Wallachia, we had been two whole years till now without entering the bath.

As soon as our lord the patriarch arrived at the place where the cannon are, in front of the Kremlin, he alighted, by the direction of the interpreters, from the sledge; and turning his face towards the city, he recited a prayer for the emperor, and for all the inhabitants; and having blessed towards the four quarters, he remounted his sledge. All our attendants continued with us to the outside of the earthen rampart, where we presented to each of the interpreters a gratuity for their trouble; one sum for the patriarch, and another for all of us collectively; and having bidden them farewell, we proceeded seven versts, hastening, that we might reach Poutivl by the yet frozen roads and rivers. This, however, we did not accomplish; for on our arrival at Kalouga the river began to thaw, and we were detained there three days, while the ice and snow entirely melted away, the rivers overflowed their banks, and the streets and roads became streams of water. We were in all, reckoning our fellow-travellers, the streltses, and the yamschiks, eighty persons; and by our joint efforts we constructed, with much labour, eleven or twelve bridges, by which we effected our difficult passage over the roads and rivers and the dreadful depth of mud. What gave us most pain was the distressing fatigue of the cattle. With the utmost exertion we accomplished our route as far as to Bielev, on our arrival at which place the snow was entirely thawed away from many parts; and in the rest it was so mixed with mud, clay, and water, that all travelling on sledges was at an end, and we began to purchase wheel-carriages. By either mode of travelling the difficulties of the road were extreme. . . .

We did not enter Bolchov till Holy Thursday, when it was proposed that we should keep Easter in that place, and we con-

sented. . . . On Easter Sunday, 6th April, our master, by invitation of the voivode, performed the ἀνάστασις in one of the churches. After the kanon, he stood before the royal doors with the cross in his hand, attended by two priests, one holding the gospel, and the other the icon of the festival; and all the congregation came forward, according to custom, to kiss the cross. On kissing afterwards the gospel and the icon held by the priests, they kissed also the mouths of the latter, giving them at the same time each a red egg. This the boys did, as well as the grown-up men; and after them came the women and girls, of all classes, from the highest to the lowest. We were much surprised at this, and so were the Greeks; but such is the Muscovite custom. . . . After all these ceremonies had been performed, the patriarch celebrated the mass.

During all this Easter week, the priests in their φελώνια, with their banners, and the cross in their hands, and accompanied by their friends or disciples, carrying the icon of the festival, that of the dedication of their church, and the gospel, go round to their parishioners, chanting 'Christ is risen!' On entering each house, the priest recites the gospel for Easter, and the ἐκτενὴς, mentioning in the petitions each of the inmates of the house by name; then he performs a polychronion for the emperor and the patriarch, and ends by repeating thrice '*Christ is risen!*' to which those present respond. Afterwards they make him a present in money, and conduct him to the door, all abandoned to joy and hilarity. On the passing of the procession by any church, the young men of the parish ring the bells.

§ vi. *Message from the emperor, to desire the patriarch's return to Moscow. The emperor's letter.* On Easter Tuesday, just as we were preparing to leave [a courier came, and after him a grand sotnik from the emperor, requesting the patriarch to return], 'because he wants you to assist at a new and secret synod, and for other secret and necessary business of church and state,' &c. The sotnik, being asked by us when he left Moscow, said: 'After the compline on Good Friday the emperor called me, and gave me this letter, commanding me to overtake your holiness,' &c. [This letter, to the same effect as the verbal message of the grand sotnik, contains also the following words:] 'But you had not long quitted the city of Moscow, . . . before divers weighty matters occurred of vital importance both to

church and state. This business requires that you should return to us, O most blessed father. . . . I therefore beg you that you will come to me, . . . bringing nothing but your pontifical vestments and a few servants. The rest of your baggage and company you will please to leave in the fort or castle where you shall receive this our message and letter, brought to you by our sotnik Ivan Ivanovich. . . . Do not fear that any loss will accrue to you. . . . This letter was written by us in Moscow, A.M. 7164, 4th April.' We now blamed ourselves much for not having stayed on till Easter at Moscow.

§ vii. *Return by Simonka to Moscow. Reformation on the subject of slaughtering animals. Promise made by the emperor to the Greeks. Reception of emissaries from Moldavia.* We set off from Bolchov at noon on the Wednesday in Easter week [being four in number, with three servants, and the translator, in seven carriages]. . . . We travelled in the greatest haste, and suffered the utmost distress from the roughness of the roads and the depth of the mud. . . . On the Wednesday in St. Thomas' week (16th April) we arrived at a village belonging to the Simonoff monastery, called Simonka, seven versts from the capital. All strangers coming to Moscow wait here till their pristav, or conductor, announces them to the minister, and prepares for them a lodging; and then he returns and leads them into the city. Thus our sotnik acted with us; and meanwhile we slept at the village.

We met on our road a number of Greek merchants returning from Moscow; *of whom* we asked the occasion of our being brought back. They informed us, that on the evening of Good Friday the emperor had a *dispute* with the patriarch in the church; but no one knew the cause of it.

Only, in general, it was known to have been occasioned by the haughtiness of the patriarch and his rude behaviour; for he was become excessively proud. At the festival of the Epiphany, when he designed to perform the Blessing of the Waters once only, and his intent had come to the knowledge of our lord the patriarch of Antioch, the latter went to him, to admonish him that such a practice was irregular: for Nicon was constantly entreating our master, and saying to him, 'Whatever you find reprehensible in our ceremonies, tell us of it, that we may conform to the right practice;' and he usually received his

advice with great deference. But on this occasion he refused to listen to him, rejecting his authority. [See above, at p. 279.] The emperor, in the mean time, supposed that it was by the advice of our lord the patriarch that Nicon performed the ceremony in the way he did; but *now*, coming to the knowledge of the contrary, he disputed the matter with him, and scolded him, calling him *Moujik bladin!* that is, stupid clown! The patriarch replied, *I am your spiritual father; why, then, do you revile me?* To which the emperor answered, 'It is not you who are my father; but it is the holy patriarch of Antioch, who is indeed my father: and I will send to bring him back.' Immediately he called the minister and the stolnik [sotnik], and dispatched the latter in quest of us. The report was soon spread in the city that the emperor had sent to bring back the patriarch of Antioch; but no one knew wherefore. The Greeks conjectured that he was bringing him back to keep him with him another year; and our friends feared it might be the beginning of some disastrous affair: but *no one* knew the real cause; nor did we till *afterwards*. [So, 'only *it was known*,' and the story of '*moujik bladin!*' are additions made in writing out his journals above ten years later.]

On the Thursday, 17th April, the messenger having returned, we entered the city, and alighted at our former convent, as though we had only returned from a visit.

The next day the emperor invited our master to a great banquet; and as soon as he entered his presence, he advanced to meet him, bowing to him and saying: 'My lord and father, I beg of you that, as Christ forgave the sinful woman, and accepted her tears, so you will also forgive me, and accept mine; without reproaching me for the sufferings I have caused you on the road; for which I will recompense you according to your request and expectation.' Then the emperor showed great delight at beholding our master, and after he had received his blessing he admitted us to kiss his hand. Then I advanced, and bowing kissed his hand. He smiled and said, 'Christós voskrés!' I was a little confused; but without hesitation I made the usual response. After we had left the banquet, we immediately found that our pensions and appointments were restored to us.

At this festival of Easter an imperial ordinance was put

forth by the emperor on the subject of killing meat; for from Wallachia, Moldavia, and the country of the Kozaks, to the farther end of Muscovy, they did not slaughter animals in the manner prescribed in the Nomocanon, but by jugulation, after the manner of the Franks. Our lord the patriarch therefore, when he was in the emperor's Sabbin convent, informed him on this subject. The emperor was very grateful for his instruction, and immediately acted upon it; so that the Muscovites now slaughter after our manner, but after much altercation; for they had conceived a prejudice against the mode of stabbing practised by the Hagarenes; but their doctrine was unfounded.

We were told by the Greek merchants resident here, that after the emperor, on the morning of Easter Sunday, had distributed the red eggs to all his great officers of state, in the church, he called forward the Greek foreigners, and distributed to each a couple of eggs. They added that he also called them near him, and said, 'Do you wish that I should deliver you from your captivity?' Bowing down, they answered, 'How can we do otherwise?' &c. On which the emperor replied, 'When you return to your own country, ask the bishops and monks to offer and to pray for me, that by their prayers my sword may cut through the necks of their enemies.' Then he shed tears, and, turning to his officers of state, said, 'My heart bleeds for the captivity of these poor men, who are subject to the enemies of our religion. At the day of judgment God will call me to account, if, having it in my power to free them from slavery, I shall have neglected their cause.' Then he went on: 'I know not how long this evil state of things is to last, but I do know that ever since the time of my father and ancestors there are constantly coming to us patriarchs, bishops, monks, and other poor people, to complain of the tyranny of their enslavers; and that not one of them comes, but driven by severe distress, and to escape from the tyranny of their masters. For this I fear the Creator may one day call me to account; and I have resolved in my own mind that, please God, I will expend my troops, my treasures, and my own blood to the last drop, in the endeavour to deliver them.' They answered, 'May the Lord grant it to you, according to your heart's desire!' Observe, reader, the mind and demeanour of this holy prince.

To return: They told us that on Holy Saturday an ambassador had come to the emperor from the king and the grandees of Poland with supplications to him to pardon them, and with humility offering him all that he should require of them. To these their requests he complied for an indefinite period.

About this time also there came to the patriarch, as commissioner from Stephen, the voivode of Moldavia, the metropolitan of that country, to make the voivode's submission to the emperor for the whole country, as it is in reality under obedience to him; this point having been agreed to by all the grandees and the whole commonalty of that province, in consequence of their distress, and their total inability to resist their tyrannical neighbours, who seek to enslave them, particularly the Tatars. The emperor was at that time greatly enraged against the said Stephen, for having several times sent aid to the Poles against the Kozaks, between whom and the Moldavians a great enmity had consequently ensued. But Stephen ceased not to scheme by every artifice, till at length he reconciled them to peace and friendship, by means of presents, embassies, and intercessions; so that they returned to their ancient amity. To the emperor he had caused to be presented a letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem, in testimony that he bowed to him submissively with all his heart, and in full sincerity; but the emperor refused to admit his assertion, replying that it was all treachery and deceit. His majesty would admit no testimony in his favour but that of our lord the patriarch, who unremittingly interceded for him, till at length the emperor accepted his submission, and restored him to favour. The deputation brought with them a written memorial, dictated by the voice of the whole country, in which both the people and the prince requested ten graces from the emperor. One of them was, that he would protect them with his troops in time of need; another, that he should take tribute from them by the rule of the ancient registers of the time of the Greek emperors; another, that the said bey should not be deposed during his life, and at his death should be succeeded by a bey of his race and family. The emperor granted them an immunity from tribute for ten years, on condition that the bey should receive at his court none of the Muscovite boyars without the emperor's permission. After these preliminaries, the emperor invited the deputation to his presence to kiss his hand, on which

occasion they presented to him a beautiful Turkish horse, with its rich trappings, &c., and the leg of one of the Forty Martyrs. To the patriarch they presented some velvet and brocade, and a relic of another saint. From the emperor they received in return numerous grants, pensions, &c.

§ viii. *Consecration of an archbishop. War-subsidies. Expedition against Sweden. Synod on the baptism of Poles. Motives for the patriarch's detention.* On the Sunday of the Samaritan Woman, 4th May, we went by invitation of the patriarch to the cathedral to assist at the consecration of Kyr Joseph, archbishop of Astrachan. . . . While the patriarchs were robing, they had spread the great high platform, and placed on it three chairs, one for the emperor, the other two for the patriarchs. . . . The chaldani, in their large red cloaks with large sleeves, and with long staves in their hands, and wearing their high red caps, stood six in number fronting round the ambon. And now the patriarchs *came forth*, and sat in their chairs. When the emperor was come, and had reverenced the icons, he advanced towards the patriarchs, who came down to give him their blessing; and then he went up to sit in his chair by their side. He wore his crown, with the imperial robes and purple, and sat on the right hand. Then the archdeacon, with his attendants, went forward, and calling the bishops, the archimandrites, and the priests, two by two, made with them their reverences to the emperor and the patriarchs. The bishops were seated on the edges of the platform-steps, on each side, down to the lowest, according to their degrees. The archimandrites in their mitres sat in chairs on the two sides [eastward of them]. And now they brought forward the person intended for consecration, in his phelonion and mitre; for he was archimandrite over a convent in Astrachan. After he had bowed to the emperor and to the patriarchs twice, as the others did, he stood before them at a distance, facing westward, and began to read *the diploma granted to him by the people of his country, together with the councils and the creed, as prescribed in the* εὐχολόγιον, with a loud voice, mentioning the names of the emperor and the patriarch, with much eulogy, as they sat listening to him. But when he began to read the creed, 'We believe in one God,' &c., they arose and stood up. When he had finished, he went up to the patriarch, who read over him the appointed prayers, and gave him his blessing. Then they

made the dismissal; and the patriarch having gone down to his chair, they began the hours and the mass. At the trisagion they completed the archbishop's consecration in the usual manner; and having given into his hands a book of the gospels, he went and presented it to the emperor to kiss, and afterwards to all the officiating priests.

After mass, we went up to the emperor's banqueting-hall, and saw the archbishop, attended by the imperial archons, pass on horseback, with the cross in his hand, and the chaldani around him, to sprinkle the walls of the Kremlin; after which he came back to the banquet. The next day he sprinkled the second wall of the city; and on the third day all the remainder, according to the Muscovite custom. Afterwards he distributed to the emperor and to the whole imperial family presents of icons, gilt cups, dinars, sables, silks, brocades, &c.; and in like manner he made presents to the patriarch, to our master, to us, and to all the bishops, the heads of convents, the priests, and the deacons, and inferior clerks, who were present at the consecration.

In the mean time an order had been sent by the emperor to all the voivodes of the country, to give him aid for the approaching campaign, by paying for each of the serfs and servants they wished to retain on their estates from twenty to forty roubles a head in lieu of military service, and to provide substitutes while they stayed away themselves. This order was strictly carried into effect, not only as regarded the voivodes and their serfs, but all the boyars also residing in their houses, though many of them were old and infirm. The emperor himself prepared for a journey to the city of Smolensk, *to see in person how an agreement might be come to between him and the Poles*, sending his troops, treasure, and heavy baggage before him.

Towards Sweden he dispatched three great kniazes with 300,000 men, to pass through Novgorod and Pskoff. These troops marched forth from the capital in great pomp. For the conduct of the war a plan was combined between the emperor and the Cesar, *the latter agreeing to carry it on by sea*, the former by land. The Swedish ambassador was now placed by the emperor under the strictest guard in his hotel, round which were posted 1200 streltses with muskets. No person was allowed to go in to the embassy; and after the streltses had searched the persons of the Swedes, and taken from them all their swords

and knives, and their pens and inkstands, lest they should send any letter to their countrymen, they removed them from the house they had hitherto inhabited, and placing them in another, built of stone, guarded them with great vigilance.

For some days the emperor had been visiting the convents both within and without the city, to take a farewell of the monks. On Monday evening he came to ours; and having performed his devotions in its churches, was waited upon by our lord the patriarch, who went up to his apartment to give him his dutiful salutations. The emperor said, 'O father, pray for me; for I intend soon to depart for the war;' and bowing, he dismissed him with a farewell, and went to visit the remainder of the convents.

On the next day, which was Tuesday, the bells were rung after the liturgy; and the emperor came down to the church; where the two patriarchs, with the bishops and the archimandrites, having put on their robes, performed a paráclesis for his majesty; at the end of which they went forth in procession outside the gate of the Kremlin, to the stone oratory; and after prayers they took a farewell of the icon of our Lady of Blachernæ, and the cross of Constantine, committed to the care of Joseph metropolitan of Kroutitz, whom they had appointed this year to carry them before the emperor; but first they bowed to them, and kissed them, and so parted with them for the season. Then we put off our robes on the spot; and our master returned in his coach, accompanied by the patriarch Nicon, to our convent.

On the Sunday before the Ascension (τοῦ τυφλοῦ, 11th May) the patriarch of Moscow invited our master; and, after assisting at the liturgy in the cathedral, we went to his palace, where he this day held a synod. Summonses had been sent to all the bishops throughout the country; and the metropolitan of Kazan was come to attend the synod. The object for which it was convoked was, to discuss the baptism of the Poles; because, as we have before mentioned, the Muscovites were in the habit of baptising them, whereas in the books of ecclesiastical law this is forbidden, with the exception of four sects which have made their appearance in our times, viz. the English, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Paphlagonian [*i.e.* the Socinians], who inhabit thirty towns or villages in the district of Tirnovo. Our

lord the patriarch of Antioch, therefore, demanded of them to conform to what was written in their church laws. We had found in a book an ancient writing from the Holy Mountain in which this matter was expounded. This section of the book our lord the patriarch wrote out, and signed with his own name; and after a long and an angry discussion with the Muscovite bishops at this synod, he compelled them, by the testimony of their own books of church law, reluctantly to submit to the truth. Then he delivered his letter, or pamphlet, to the patriarch of Moscow, after he had put his name to it; and it passed into the hands of the emperor. Afterwards it was translated into the Russian language, printed, and distributed; and an imperial decree, in conformity with it, went forth, to prohibit the baptism of the Poles, and other Franks of the same religion with them; for they approach the nearest of any of the sects to ours. Thus this affair was settled, and *the business of the synod concluded.*

Never, since our return to Moscow, had we been able to learn for what reason the emperor had brought us back; nor had we courage to ask: and on this account we murmured much amongst ourselves, particularly on finding that we were detained longer than we had been promised. Again we fell into our former anxiety; and were tantalised with promises from day to day, whilst no one knew how to give us a precise answer. *Now* at length we discovered the motive for our detention, which was for three purposes; *first*, to discuss the question of the baptism of the Poles; *secondly*, to give testimony regarding the metropolitan of Moldavia; and *thirdly*, to assist in condemning a new heresy.

§ ix. *The emperor's departure. Review of the troops. Letter of the emperor to the patriarch. Excommunication of the protopope of Moscow.* On Thursday of the Ascension the emperor invited our master with the patriarch of Moscow to celebrate in his presence in the convent of the Ascension. At noon commenced the ringing of the bells to assemble the troops and the officers of state, who began to form in bodies; and we, at the same time, went to the apartments of the patriarch Nicon. Shortly afterwards the officers of state began to bring forth their servants and horses, their standards and flags, from within the emperor's palace, to the outside of the imperial gate, extending their line,

according to their ranks and degrees, to the outside of the city. The servants of each archon gloried over their fellows in the fineness of their dresses and armour, and in their master's horses, of the noblest breed, caparisoned in the richest trappings. All the people knew them, and said, 'These are the servants and horses of the boyar such an one.' The first that appeared were the servants of the inferior archons: after them came those of the kniazes and ministers of state. These collected together from all parts of the city; and entering by the gate of St. John the Baptist, which is in the wall behind the palace, on the west side of the Kremlin, advanced to the palace-yard; and then went out by the gate which is in front of the church of the Annunciation. Here were standing the priests in their phelonia, to sprinkle them. In the mean time the new bell tolled; until, towards evening, the emperor came down attired in his most splendid robes, and instead of a crown, wearing a high cap, entirely covered with pearls and jewels. In it was a tuft, like feathers, with many branches hanging down, and braided with diamonds of the size of peas, resembling bunches of fox-grapes, which shook and glittered in the church. I had been continually urging our master to ask the patriarch Nicon not to go out to take leave of the emperor in their pontifical robes, but in their *mandyas*, *epitrachelia*, and *omophoria* only, in order that we might enjoy the sight freely: and so it was done: for after they had put on their robes in the cathedral, and had performed a παράκλησις for the emperor, the patriarch of Moscow read over him the prayers for war and victory, and then asked our master to do the same. But the emperor said, 'Let him pray over me outside.' We then took off their pontifical robes, and put on them their *mandyas*: but ourselves, the bishops, and the priests, went out with them before the emperor in our robes, to bid him farewell outside the Kremlin. The rails on each side of the imperial gate had been covered with red cloth; and over them stood two bishops, to sprinkle all that passed. In the mean time the bells were ringing; and we arrived at the circular oratory, the walls of which they had covered all round with red cloth spread with brocade. The people were in number like the sands of the sea. The emperor *had invited the Swedish ambassador to view the ceremony*. Then the emperor advanced to our master, and bent before him, while he recited over him several prayers. At this

moment the emperor's saddle-horses began to move forward; magnificent horses from Persia, Turkey, Germany, Tatary, and the country of the Kalmucs; and covered with superb trappings. Then passed the imperial coaches, with the emperor's chief guards and soldiers, and their sotniks, and the whole imperial suite, to our great admiration at their multitude and splendid appearance. After the patriarchs had given their blessing to the emperor, and bidden him farewell, the bishops and the archimandrites advanced to present gilt icons to his majesty; and all, including the merchants of the city and ourselves, approached, to kiss his hand. Then the emperor parted from them; and mounting his horse, rode away; while his troops, numerous as the sands of the sea, continued to follow him as far as he went that night, which was to a village three versts from the city, where he slept.

On the Friday morning the patriarch of Moscow called for our master; and they rode in his carriage, attended by us, to a village belonging to the patriarch, seven versts from the city, that they might there meet the emperor, whose road lay through it. On our arrival at the village, the horses, wagons, and troops began to pass; and shortly afterwards we heard three guns, as a signal that the emperor was mounting. Presently he came up in his coach; and being met by the two patriarchs, was taken by Nicon as his guest to his mansion, where Nicon presented to him and his grandees a magnificent banquet. For our parts we stood to view the troops as they passed; and it was a day of sights to be numbered among ages. It was a wonder before God that we should return from our journey to behold such a spectacle.

Then the emperor arose; and the patriarch Nicon descended with him to the level of the road, to take leave. Here, after our master had blessed him once, he said, 'Again;' and after that, 'And a third time;' and bowing, bade him farewell. We again kissed his hand; after which he mounted his coach and drove off to Mojaisk, whence he wrote a letter to the patriarch Macarius, dated on the tenth day of his journey; and thence he went on to Smolensk. We now returned to the city.

On the Sunday after the Ascension (*τῶν ἁγίων ριη΄ πατέρων*, 18th May) our master concelebrated with the patriarch of Moscow in the cathedral; when they anathematised by name a priest who was formerly protopope to the emperor [*i. e.* at the

church of the Annunciation], the same whom the patriarch Nicon had formerly sent into banishment on his first being made patriarch. The motive for his excommunication was, that he had founded a new heresy, and had rebelled against the four patriarchs, saying that they were fallen from their dignity and office, in consequence of the dominion of the Turks over them. He rebelled at the same time against the Holy Ghost. This wretch had fled from the place of his exile, and was returned to Moscow, where the patriarch in vain endeavoured to lay hold of him: he was not to be discovered, as he constantly changed his dress, and was always moving from place to place. Our lord the patriarch of Antioch made a discourse concerning him through the interpreter, and likened him to Arius (for Arius was protopope of Alexandria, and this man protopope of Moscow). He then anathematised and excommunicated him, with all his followers; and the singers with the clergy chanted against him thrice '*Anathema!*' After the liturgy we went up to dine with the patriarch of Moscow.

On the day of Pentecost, 25th May, our master concelebrated with him again: immediately after which they knelt as usual, each person having brought a bundle of green boughs to kneel upon. The patriarch Nicon recited the solemn prayers with a low voice of humility and contrition, *shedding tears;* and after them he read the homily for the day; and then preached. We did not leave the church till after the seventh hour, when the patriarch gave us a magnificent entertainment. This evening came on a very heavy rain, with much cold.

§ x. *Encænia of a church. Final departure from Moscow. Arrival at Bolchov. Quick vegetation of a Russian summer.* The patriarch Nicon had been continually asking our master to write down for him the order for the consecration (ἐγκαίνια) of a church, according to the Greek ritual. He had lately come into possession of the palace of one of the deceased ministers, which he had refitted, and made into a city lodge for his new convent (where we have already mentioned that he had established the Kozak monks), that, when they came to town from the convent, it might serve them as a hospice. On the most elevated part of the premises he had built a handsome lofty church, which he had not yet consecrated. For this reason he now urged the patriarch to make out the order for its consecra-

tion according to his own mind, and in conformity with the Greek rite, that he might see if it agreed with theirs. On this subject we felt ourselves much embarrassed, because the order for the ἐγκαίνια of a church is not to be found in the printed Greek εὐχολόγια [the Turks not allowing new churches to be built], nor yet in the Arabic, nor any other: for, after the most diligent search, our master found none. We afterwards were told by persons of good authority that the Franks [at Venice, &c.] prohibit the printing of many things; one of which is the order for the ἐγκαίνια of a church; another is the preparation of the holy oils; and that this is out of spite to us: but in truth these two offices are proper to be kept in the sacristies of the patriarchs only. Having searched for a long time, we found in one of the books of the Holy Mountain [obtained there by Nicon] an ancient Greek MS. on this subject, which, with much labour, our master translated into Arabic. Just as he had finished it, the patriarch Nicon came to him in this afternoon of the Monday of Pentecost, and asked him to consecrate the church, and to recite the whole service in Greek. Already before on that very morning our lord the patriarch had sent his archimandrite before him to the new church to make the preparations necessary for the ἐγκαίνια; and the patriarch Nicon had ordered his steward to buy all the things requisite, according to our master's directions: so we went towards nightfall to the spot; and entering an old church near it, we there, according to the instructions of the rubric, performed the lesser vespers. Then our master received into his hands the relics of the two saints who were to be the patrons of the two sanctuaries; and placing them in the consecration pyx, went in, and set them on the altar. Then he made the dismissal: and we went to the new church, where we performed the vigil service, with the chanting and reading all in Greek. The patriarch of Moscow's archdeacon and several secretaries attended, to take notes of the whole ceremony. At the πολυέλαιον our patriarch and ourselves put on our robes, according to the Muscovite practice; and he threw incense round the church; which we did not quit till after break of day, almost dead with fatigue.

After the third hour of the day the bells were rung, and we went in to robe the patriarch: then we went forth in procession to the old church, where the patriarch placed the pyx with the

relics on his head; and we set out on our return. Directions had been given that when we tolled our bells, they should immediately toll the bells of the cathedral: on which signal the patriarch of Moscow, with his bishops and clergy, robed, and came in grand procession to meet us before the gate of the convent lodge (podvorie), which we all entered; and going up to the church, we walked round it, the patriarch carrying the pyx with the relics on his head, on a platform, three times, as is prescribed in the MS. After the third circuit we entered the church; where our lord the patriarch set the pyx with the relics on a stand in the narthex; and having recited the prayers and the gospel, he incensed them, and carrying them into the interior of the church placed them on a stand before the royal doors. Then he proceeded with and finished the office, and the liturgy; and we were so fortunate as to succeed in bringing forth the whole rubrical form into action. The entire congregation was then assembled; and our lord the patriarch proceeded to range them in their places, inside and out. The principal part in reciting the *συναπταὶ* &c. was performed by me. They now placed that beautiful icon of our Lady within this church; and on our leaving it they closed up and sealed the doors, and stationed there a guard of streltses.

We afterwards went down to the refectory; where the patriarch Nicon, on this day, showed great honour to our master, making him sit in his own place at table. The metropolitans, heads of convents, and grandees of the city all made presents to the patriarch of Moscow, of icons, gilt cups, sables, chintzes, brocades, &c., in congratulation on his opening a new church of his own building: for the mystery of the *ἐγκαίνια* is very great with those who build churches; and on a day like this they expend their hearts' blood in alms and gifts, delivering themselves up to joy and gladness; as their church without the consecration would remain but a mere house.

The patriarch himself presented gifts and dirhems to all the company; his treasurer brought him dollars and dinars in trays. To our lord the patriarch of Antioch he gave, in reward for his trouble, a gilt icon of our Lady, a gilt cup, two dresses of brocade, and two of cloth. To all the bishops and the archimandrites he distributed dinars folded up in paper: to us and to our servants, and to the servants of the metropolitan of Moldavia,

&c. he made a like distribution, and displayed much satisfaction and cheerfulness. *To the great officers of state, above all, he overflowed in generosity.*

At the close of the evening we arose, and returned in the coach to our convent. At the desire of the patriarch, all his chief clergy came to receive our master's blessing; and, having presented their offerings, they bade him farewell. By the emperor's command a second gratuity was given to our master, for his trouble; and our pensions, with the expenses of the road, were allowed till the end of June.

On W. 28th May we took leave of the patriarch of Moscow; and drove forth from the city on Th. the 29th in a coach given by the emperor; for our own coach had broken down on our road back, and we had given it to the metropolitan of Nice. . . . At Kalouga we found fresh podvods ready for us, the minister having sent orders before to all the towns on the road. We had only to lament the labours and fatigues of the ten streltses who escorted us from town to town, carrying their muskets and other arms, and helping forward the coach at the difficult parts of the road. . . . From Moscow to Kalouga there are 180 versts. From Kalouga we had fresh streltses to Likhvin; thence others to Bielev, and others again to Bolchov, where our baggage had been left. From Kalouga to Bolchov are 110 versts. Here we halted one day. It was surprising to see those lands which on our first leaving Moscow were all covered with snow, and on our return were all mud and clay, now waving with tall rye of the height of a man, already shooting ears, and intermingled with barley and other crops. . . .

Next we were escorted from Bolchov to Karachev; and thence by other streltses to Sievsk; in all 190 versts. The voivode here was very friendly. . . . We arrived at Poutivl on Th. 12th June, in fifteen days from Moscow, the distance from Sievsk being 120 versts. In the towns our whole detention was about four days; so that we were on the road eleven [the podvods being always ready, and the day being of the length of seventeen hours]. Besides, the greater part of the road was easy. The journey from Moscow to Poutivl is 600 versts; . . . merchants with their own horses take not less than a month.

§ xi. *Arrival at Poutivl. Prilouki. Kieff. Convents of St. Sophia and St. Michael. Convent of St. Nicholas.* On our ap-

proach to Poutivl *our friend* the voivode [Nik. Iv. Ziuzin] came to meet us, as he had done before, without the city, in all joy and exultation, accompanied by all the clergy, &c. On the third Sunday after Pent. we performed mass before him; and early on M. 16th June he came to take leave of us; and we left Poutivl accompanied by ten mounted streltses and the interpreters. As we were advancing towards Karaboutovo, the sotnik, with his troops and banners, came from that place to meet us, at a great distance, the hetman having sent orders to all the places under his authority to go forth to meet the patriarch, and to conduct him from town to town, which they always did. Thus we arrived at Karaboutovo, where the podvods and the streltses and the interpreters left us, after we had made them presents. By them we sent letters of thanks to the emperor and to the patriarch.

The Kozaks now began to pass us on with their own podvods till we came to Prilouki, where we found a large fair for the festival of St. John the Baptist, attended by numbers of Greek merchants from Roumelia and Caramania; for in this country of the Kozaks there is no interruption to the fairs from one end of the year to another. On the fourth Sunday after Pt., 22d June, we went to celebrate mass in the Kostini convent, and were accompanied by a large body of Greeks.

On 24th June we set out from Prilouki, and on F. evening came to the bank of the Dnieper, opposite to the Pechersky convent, and sent word over to Kieff of our arrival. We had with us a letter from the emperor to the voivodes. . . During these two years spent in Muscovy a padlock had been set on our hearts, and we were in the extremity of narrowness and compressure of our minds; for in those countries no person can feel anything of freedom or cheerfulness, unless it be the native population. The country of the Kozaks, on the contrary, was like our own country to us, and its inhabitants were to us boon companions and fellows like ourselves.

On the morning of Sat. 28th June we went down into the boat; and it was afternoon before we reached Kieff, for the wind was violent, and we had to make head against the current. . . . On landing we were received by the metropolitan in his mitre, &c., with the voivodes, and all the emperor's troops, &c. On the fifth Sunday after Pent. (also the feast of the Holy

Apostles, 29th June) we assisted at the liturgy at St. Sophia's, in one of its chapels dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and dined with the metropolitan. On W. 2d July the patriarch celebrated the mass in the convent of the Theophany. On the sixth Sunday after Pt., 6th July, we again attended the liturgy in the cathedral of St. Sophia; and on M. 7th July, amidst the ringing of all the bells, the patriarch went to the cathedral to perform his parting devotions, and there found assembled all the inhabitants of the city; and he prayed over them the prayers of absolution, and blessed them. It was not our wish to stay longer; but we could not help ourselves. They flocked to us in crowds, filling not only the rooms and the courtyard of our house, but also the street outside, from morning till evening; and we could not find room for all the loaves they brought us.

At length they conducted us forth from the city, while all the bells rang; and we went up to pay a visit to the metropolitan at St. Sophia. We alighted at his apartments, where are the full-length portraits on canvas of four ancient patriarchs. For it has always been the practice, when any patriarch comes to visit them, to take his portrait. All these four are attired with their [mandyas, or sakkoses,] crosiers, encolpia, and mitres; the first of them, to our agreeable surprise, being Joachim of Antioch. His face is very dark, and his beard grey and pointed. His name is written on the portrait in Greek; and from the date we calculated that it is seventy-two years old [*i.e.* of A.D. 1584]. Next to him is Meletius, patriarch of Alexandria, with a long white beard; by the side of whom is Jeremiah, patriarch of C.P., with a handsome face and beard; and next is Theophanes, patriarch of Jerusalem, with a long black beard.

On the morning of T. 8th July we took leave of the metropolitan, and assisted at the liturgy in the convent of St. Michael, in the chapel of St. Barbara of Baalbec: for they celebrate on this day the translation of her relics, which the emperor Basil the Macedonian sent from C.P., with his sister, to Vladimir king of Kieff. After dinner, in the evening, we went to the Pechersky.

On W. 9th July we went to the convent of St. Nicholas, and returned to the Pechersky for the vigil service of the festival

of St. Antony, its founder; and on the next morning, Th. 10th July, our master celebrated there for them, and ordained a priest and a deacon. On F. 11th July he celebrated in the convent of the nuns. On Sat. morning the 12th we assisted at mass in the convent of St. Michael; and, after dinner, we went near to look over the bank of the river, which is indeed frightful to look down, it is so high and steep. . . . In the evening we returned to the Pechersky; where on Sunday [the seventh after Pt., 13th July] we assisted at mass in the presence of the voivode. On Monday the 14th we took leave of them, and again crossed the Dnieper in a boat, journeying towards Khmielnitsky, to the town of Chigirin.

§ xii. *Borispol. Pereyaslavl. Eliaz. Zolotonosha. Cherkassi. Chigirin. Sobota. Lisianka. Oumano. Rashkov.* By noon on T. the 15th we had travelled five leagues to Borispol, a fortified town, which had an old stone church of SS. Boris and Gleb, sons of Vladimir; but it was destroyed by the Poles. There are still three churches there. . . . Then, after six leagues more, we came to Pereyaslavl, a large city, once the residence of the crâl. Of all the towns and countries belonging to the Kozaks on this side of the Dnieper this is the capital. It has five churches. There was formerly also a church belonging to the Poles, which the Kozaks have now converted into a convent, called the Pokrovsky. The protopope of this town has under him above two hundred priests. . . . On Sunday [the eighth after Pt., 20th of July] also the festival of St. Elias, and just four years since our departure from Aleppo, our master made an *ἁγιασμὸς* after the mass, and sprinkled them all. On T. 22d July we left, and after four leagues came to Eliaz, a town with a church and castle and a lake; and after three leagues more to Zolotonosha, with two churches. After three leagues more we crossed the Dnieper; and again after two leagues we came to Cherkassi. Here they fit out the vessels which go forth into the Black Sea, as the river Dnieper runs close by the town. This is the birthplace of Khmielnitsky; and it is here that the Kozaks first made themselves conspicuous. The inhabitants are like wild beasts.

Then we went on other seven leagues by the sands, and came to the city of Chigirin, itself surrounded by sands, where Khmielnitsky constantly resides. His secretary came out to meet us, with a large troop of soldiers, and led us into the main avenue

to the town, resembling a large river of sand. The young son of the hetman too, and a procession of the clergy, met us, and took us to their church.

On Sunday the ninth after Pt., 27th July, in the same church of the Assumption, which is a long wooden one, near the hetman's palace, we celebrated mass with one of the bishops lately come as envoy from the Poles; and dined with the hetman.

On M. the 28th we assisted at mass in a convent of the Trinity, and dined with the secretary, as he was its founder. Then we returned to the city, which has in all five churches. We were told, when we asked why the hetman resided here, that it was because this is the frontier towards the Tatars, between whom and the Kozaks there is a distance of five or six days' journey through desolate and depopulated wilds. We were told that at the present time this country furnishes 300,000 Kozaks, each with his musket.

On Sat. Aug. 2, Khmielnitsky came to pay us a farewell visit, after which we departed; and after passing in an hour and a half a long bridge over lakes, islands, and rivers, came to a town named Sobota, where Timotheus, the hetman's late son, used to live. There is a large new church of St. Michael, in which is his tomb. His wife, daughter of Vasili bey of Moldavia, came several times to visit the patriarch, dressed entirely like a Circassian slave, and attended by Circassian and Moldavian maidens, dressed as herself, like slaves. On Sunday morning [tenth after Pt., 3d Aug.], after matins, we performed in her presence a *μνημόσυνον* for her husband, having suspended, according to their custom, over his tomb, a large banner, on which was painted an exact likeness of him on horseback, with his sword and club in his right and left hands, and with the province of Moldavia, which he went forth to conquer, in the foreground. His poor wife, who speaks four languages, Wallachian, Greek, Turkish, and Russ, is now living among strangers, in her husband's palace, around which he had constructed a fort with trenches. . . . After assisting at the mass, we came, by a rough and difficult road, to a town called Medviedovka; and after three leagues more to Chervodino: thence we went ten leagues to Smela, one to Valaklia, one to Orlanka, and thence one and a half to Olshana. The whole of this road and these market-towns form the frontier towards the country of

the Tatars. Thence another league and a half to Tarasanka, and thence two leagues to Lisianka, where we arrived on Th. 7th August.

On the evening of Friday the sotnik of this town requested us to dedicate a new convent of the Trinity, which he had built in the suburb. [This was done; and on Sat. the 9th, after the mass, followed by a banquet in the sotnik's house] we went four leagues to Bouki, whence, after four leagues more, we arrived on the afternoon of Sunday [11th after Pt.] at Ouman, where we alighted at the house of the polkovnik. On T. 12th Aug. he went out with us to where the 'Tabor,' or encampment of the Kozaks, is being formed; for, within these few days, information had reached them that the khan is mounting his horse to march against them; and they were therefore making ready to meet him with great alacrity and exultation. On our arrival at the Tabor, and immediately after the patriarch had blessed them, and prayed over them, they fired all their muskets: and when they led us forth, at parting, they pranced their horses three times. To escort us they sent two banners with their troops; and we passed by those towns which the Poles with the Tatars had burned and emptied of their inhabitants last year. . . . On F. 15th Aug. we came to Rashkov, and praised God for our safe arrival. On this festival there is held a fair here.

On M. the 18th we left the Kozaks, who at parting fired their guns. On crossing the Dniester we were met by the perkalam and the captains on the part of the bey of Moldavia; and two banners of horse-soldiers escorted us, till we entered Jassy on Th. 21st Aug. (the bey having sent his boyars to meet us on the road); and we alighted at the convent of St. Saba.

PART VIII. *Moldavia and Wallachia.* BOOK XV. *Moldavia.*

§ i. *Kind treatment of the patriarch by the bey of Moldavia. Roman. Bakou. Fokshan. Account of the Saxons on the Hungarian frontier. Baghzaini, town and convent.* The next Monday was the 1st Sept., beginning A.M. 7165.

On M. the 8th the patriarch celebrated for the bey, and on

Sunday the 14th for the domina, in her own domestic church; also again for her on Sunday the 21st in 'the convent of the domina.' Great was the liberality shown by the bey to our master in the allotment of his daily pension. . . . In Moldavia we began to smell the air of our own country; and entered the bath, after twenty-seven months, during the whole of which time we had neither entered a bath, nor washed ourselves with water.

At the end of September the bey set out on a pleasure-trip for Goush, and thence for Galatz, whither he invited the patriarch to come to him, to visit a new convent which he had built there. So we set forth on W. 8th Oct., and came to the hill Formoso, with a stone palace, before coming to which you pass a stone bridge where the last engagement between Vasili bey and the present bey took place. . . . The skulls of the slain were still to be seen lying there. The next day we arrived at Roman, which has many stone churches, and a fine convent of St. Prascovia, erected by the late Alexander voivode, and the residence of the bishops. Hence, by extremely rough roads, and crossing a large river [the Seret] in boats, we came to Bakou, which also has a number of stone churches. Hence, by difficult roads, through forests and over mountains, resembling the roads of Muscovy, and even still more wild, we arrived at the first of the villages, which are the hereditary property of this bey.

Every corner of this country, from Roman to Fokshan is covered with towns and villages. Of all Moldavia this is the most beautiful and populous part. From Roman to Fokshan is five days' journey; and here is the boundary-line [the river Milkon, separating Moldavia from Wallachia].

On M. 13th Oct. we reached Baghzana, a town belonging to the bey, where he is building his convent. He had arrived there before us, with his domina and the grandees and their wives. On this account there was a great concourse at the fair, held now in commemoration of the Bulgarian virgin St. Prascovia, whose relics are in the convent of Vasili voivode. The day after our arrival we performed mass in a wooden church. The convent (not yet finished) is dedicated to SS. Michael and Gabriel. The bey has obtained a patriarchal letter making it a *σταυροπήγιον*.

On Th. 16th Oct. the bey sent for the patriarch to take

leave . . . after which he set out for Jassy, having assigned us an escort to Fokshan, where we arrived on Sunday the 19th. Here we dismissed our captain, with a letter of thanks to the bey; and another escort from the bey of Wallachia took us on M. the 20th to Rymnik; on T. to Bouzeo; on W. (a long day) to Ploështi; and on Th. we arrived at the Postelnik's convent. On F. 24th Oct. the metropolitan of Wallachia with other metropolitans [bishops] in the capital, and many archons came out to meet us, and conducted us into Tergovist.

§ ii. *Arrival at Tergovist. Reception by Constantine. Wallachian banquet. Gaështi. Piteshti. Argis; town and convent.* We alighted at the Stalia convent, our former lodgings. On Sunday the 26th, the feast of St. Demetrius, Constantine bey sent for us, and entertained us: also on the feast of St. Michael, 8th Nov., when we performed mass at the corta; and on the feast of Nicholas, 6th Dec., and on that of the Nativity, with its eve. So also on the feast of the Baptism, 6th Jan., when [the patriarch blessed the water in the corta, and, on the festival itself after the mass, the river also, which was at some distance]. . . . Then, returning, we found the bey and the grandees still sitting in the church; where our master first entered, sprinkling it, &c. As the bey advanced to kiss the cross, a signal was given, and the musicians struck up, and all the troops fired their muskets three rounds, till our ears were deafened. . . . I should have mentioned that on the return of our master to the church he went up by desire of the bey to the domina *in the gallery*, and sprinkled her with the rest of the women, and all the wives of the grandees. After the prayer over the boiled grains, and the distribution of the kollyba, as usual, we went up to the banquet. The banquet, on such a day as this, never finishes without numerous rounds of cups. . . . To say the truth, not even in Muscovy are these festivals observed with such precision as in Wallachia. The company did not rise from table till two hours after nightfall; and robes of honour were distributed as usual.

We went out from Tergovist [to visit the Argis monastery] on M. 12th Jan. 1657, and came that evening to a village of the logothete called Gaështi, and slept in his palace. The next morning we came to Piteshti, which has ten churches; and continuing by roads flooded, and slippery with ice, entered in the even-

ing by torchlight the town of Argis, which has nine churches; and went on yet half an hour more to the monastery.

The next morning we arose early for the church service. [Then follows a description of the convent, built by Naghoi voivode 137 years ago (*i.e.* in A.D. 1519); this town having been, as it is said, once the seat of the government of Wallachia.] . . . Behind the columns on the right are the tombs of the beys, and of the founders and their wives; and on that wall each of their portraits is painted. . . . The festival of the church is the 15th Aug. . . . We performed mass in it on T. 15th Jan.; and afterwards, being taken to the tombs, made a *μνημόσυνον* for the founders. . . . After we had dined, the superior made his presents to the patriarch, and to each one of us. On F. the 16th we took leave, and slept in a village belonging to the convent. The next day we arrived at Kimpolung, a large town, to visit there the convent of the Assumption founded by Negro voivode. . . . There we assisted at the vespers before the Sunday of the Pharisee and the Publican, and the patriarch celebrated the liturgy, and after it went out to pray over the tombs of the founders, and to recite over all the prayer of absolution.

Early on T. 20th we left, and arrived the next evening at a new convent of the Nat. of our Lady, belonging also to the great logothete, and situate amid hills in a vast forest. The next day we travelled more rapidly, as there had been a heavy fall of snow; and in the evening we reached Tergovist.

This year the winter was very severe. The snow ceased not falling till the first day of Lent, 9th Feb.; and the Danube was thrice frozen over, the last time to a thickness of nine spans, a thing not known for thirty years.

§ iii. *Convent of Dalo. Ceremony of absolution. Services of Holy Week.* On T. 3d Feb. (in the Cheese-week) we went to visit a convent of St. Nicholas near Tergovist, called Dalo, on the summit of a hill. We attended mass here, and dined, and returned to the city; where from the Friday till the Sunday the people flocked in crowds to the patriarch for absolution. As for the bey himself, he after the vespers threw himself on the ground, with his great officers and all present, while the patriarch recited over him and them the prayer of absolution. . . . Then we went up to the hall of the palace, with the metropolitan of the city, the rest of the bishops, all the great officers of

state, and all the people of the corta; and one of the logothetes stepped forward, and read aloud a sort of eulogy on the bey, and a polychronion; at the end of which he asked forgiveness, in conformity with the saying of our Saviour in the gospel of this day. At the end, therefore, the patriarch stood up and blessed him, wishing him health for the fast; and all present did in like manner, first bowing to the bey, and then kissing his hand. The like ceremony they performed also with our master and all the bishops. Then the bey arose, and taking our master to an inner apartment, spoke a long time with him in secret. His beatitude then paid a visit to the domina; and we returned to the convent; and they came in crowds to the patriarch till near midnight.

On the first Sunday in Lent, 15th Feb., our master celebrated with the bishops in the cathedral. [At the *τρισάγιον* there was the usual ceremony of reading the *συναξάρια*, and chanting anathemas to the heretics, and everlasting remembrance to the orthodox, &c.] Afterwards, at the banquet there were many cups drunk, first to the honour of God, then to the B. Virgin and all saints three cups, then to the bey three, then to the patriarch and his attendants three, then to the archons three, then to the metropolitan and his attendants three. Thus we arose not from table before we were surfeited and overcome, and retired to our convent in a wretched condition.

On the Th. of Repentance [in the fifth week of Lent, 12th March] died Belesa domina, wife of Constantine bey... After they had buried her in the porch of the outer church of the corta, a great feast was given to the assistants, and to the poor and labouring men at least ten loaves of bread, and bowls of mead and wine were distributed. On the ninth day, at the *μνημόσυνον*, the same forms were observed.

On Palm Sunday, 22d March, the patriarch blessed and distributed the palms at the *πολυέλεον* in the matins (the clerks distributing the candles); and after he had finished the mass, they were entertained by the bey.

On W. in Holy Week [which was also the Annunciation] we made for the bey some holy oil, [and anointed him] in his own palace. On Holy Thursday we robed (in the corta) with the metropolitan; and when the bey came down, they two blessed him: and then they went out, our master walking by

the side of the bey, to the court of the palace, where long benches had been set all round, with carpets, and three chairs in the centre, turned eastwards, for the bey, the patriarch, and the metropolitan. On the left were the bishops and the heads of convents, on the right the archons. [Here the patriarch, divested of his robes, performed the lavanda, the metropolitan being in the place of St. Peter.] . . . The bey at the ostension of the chalice in the mass *entered the sanctuary*, and received the holy mysteries.

On the morning of Holy Saturday, after we had performed the office of the ἐπιτάφιος in the convent church, we were sent for, towards noon, to the church of the corta; and after we had robed, the bey came down, and the priests went forth to place the ἐπιτάφιος on a bier, distributing tapers to all present, &c. Afterwards they carried it in procession once round the church outside; and, having reëntered, we celebrated the mass.

On Easter Sunday [29th March], after we had finished the ἀνάστασις in the convent, we repeated in the corta the same rites as in the former year. After the mass, celebrated at the first hour of the day, we were entertained at the bey's table, at a banquet, which lasted till the evening.

On Th. in Easter-week, 2d Apr., we went with the bey to the outside of the city in procession, as usual. On the Ascension, 7th May, we celebrated in the cathedral in presence of the bey; and, as usual, there was a banquet. On the day of Pentecost, 17th May, after mass, our master read the customary prayers, at which all kneel, in the convent.

§ iv. *Victory of the Muscovites over the Swedes. Siege of Riga. Battle between the Hungarians and the Tatars. Conduct of the Hungarians.* To return to the history of the emperor of Muscovy: After parting with us he went to Smolensk, where . . after some time he settled a *peace* with the Poles and their crâl, *on their submission to him.* The terms asked by the crâl were: that he should continue on his throne till his death, and that then his dominions should pass to the emperor: *but Khmielnitsky and the Kozaks would not agree to this.*

As for the Swedes, against them marched the kniaz Troubetzkoy with 300,000 men, from Novgorod and Pskoff; and the Muscovites in a battle routed their opponents, and sent many of them prisoners in chains to Moscow. After this victory the

same kniaz took from the Swedes many castles by storm, slaying a countless multitude, in order to strike the more terror. . .

On his side also the emperor invaded the Swedish territory from Smolensk; for it is fronted by the river Dnieper. The garrisons of four castles on his line of march, abandoning three, retreated to the fourth, as that was very strong. This the emperor thrice summoned to surrender on terms; but they only mocked at his clemency. So he said, 'Let the sin be on their own heads;' and his troops taking the place by storm, cut to pieces, by his orders, every soul found there. So we were informed.

Thence he marched against the Swedish capital, Riga, celebrated for its natural and artificial strength. We heard from eye-witnesses that it has three strong walls of earth, and a stone-built castle. On the sea side it has a good harbour, and is fortified with about 1000 pieces of cannon. The emperor threw up his lines of attack; and took the three walls by storm. In these assaults an immense number of his troops were killed. But he was unsuccessful against the stone castle, which was supplied with stores and ammunition from the sea; until at length the emperor returned to his capital, and the siege was abandoned. Some of our friends wrote to us from Moscow, that in the course of the year the emperor had taken from his enemies as many as twenty-eight castles and fortresses.

When the crâl of Sweden ascertained that his condition was desperate, and that he could not hold the two cities of Warsaw and Cracow, with other Polish towns, he sent to make a league with the crâl of the Hungarians, the latter being, like himself, of the Lutheran heresy; and invited him to his assistance, offering to transfer to him the said cities, and praying that they two might become one. This treaty was concluded at Christmas last. And *whereas* the said crâl of Hungary had helped the boys of Wallachia and Moldavia in their need, he now demanded of them some thousands of troops; which, *however reluctantly*, they gave him. With the army thus collected he marched forth in the dead of winter, losing many of his men through floods and frost, and occupied the aforesaid cities. Here he met the crâl of Sweden, and made a junction with his forces. *All this took place at the instigation of Khmielnitsky*, who himself furnished to the crâl 30,000 auxiliaries; so that, seeing him thus strength-

ened, none of the Poles ventured to meet him. When he first set forth, he had with him no more than 60,000 men, as we were informed: for the whole force of the Majars is only from 40,000 to 50,000 soldiers. But his tyranny and cruelty were excessive; and he perpetrated in the country of the Poles such evils as are not to be described, destroying churches and monasteries to a vast extent. He began to *abuse Khmielnitsky*, saying, 'I have now Wallachia and Moldavia completely subject to me; and the country of the Majars I have inherited from my ancestors. I have moreover overrun this country of the Poles, and hold their capital; and I have no longer any rival or opponent, but only this mujik, this Wallachian slave, Khmielnitsky.' Hereupon he began to assassinate, secretly, as many of the Kozak troops as he could, to weaken their strength. This being soon discovered by Khmielnitsky, roused his utmost indignation; and he immediately sent *to invite the khan* to ride out against the crâl, that he might deliver him into his hands. And this actually took place. For when the Turks and Tatars heard of the Hungarian crâl's having invaded Poland *without consulting them*, and that the two beys had given him aid, they were much enraged; so that a report was spread among both the Tatars and the Turks that seven crâls had agreed together, to invade this country at the great carnival: in consequence of which, as we mentioned before, there arose great fear among the people, which was prolonged until this present Pentecost (A.D. 1657); when news now came that the khan had mounted his horse, and was in full march for these provinces. A violent agitation ensued, and all prepared for flight; while at the same time a report also was spread along the whole frontier of the Turkish territory, from Buda to the mouth of the Danube, that the Turks were marching against Hungary, in concert with the Tatars, and would take Wallachia and Moldavia on their way, for their having given assistance to the Majars. The bey therefore called together the troops of this province for its defence. In the mean time letters were passing from Khmielnitsky to the khan, to hasten his approach; and as soon as he came up, Khmielnitsky *gave him a passage through his territory*. When these circumstances reached the ears of Ragoza (*i. e.* of George, crâl of the Majars), he was seized with consternation, and marched to encounter the invaders. *The Kozaks now withdrew from him;* and

he was left to fight alone with the Tatars three days; when they deluded him with the offer of an accommodation: but he discovered their treachery, and fled, alone; leaving in the hands of the Tatars upwards of 25,000 of his countrymen (besides those slain), with their prince Cimian, the chief of the crâl's generals. With these captives the khan returned in triumph to his country; and this took place at the end of July. . . .

§ v. *Delay caused by the death of the patriarch of Constantinople. Visitation of convents. Description of the Kozia convent.* To return to ourselves: The cause of our being detained in this country was the cruel fortune of the late patriarch of C.P., Parthenius, who [on the 25th of March] was put to death by the vizir most unjustly, for no crime, in the capital. The bey in consequence would not let us go, from apprehension for our safety... Growing weary of sitting still, our master asked his permission to go and visit the convents of the principality; and this the bey granted, appointing him at the same time a conductor.

We set out on Th. 18th June, with all our luggage; for we feared that troubles would break out; and our chief motive was to get away, and to retire into the land of safety, in the vicinity of the Hungarian mountains, to which most of the inhabitants of the country flee for refuge in time of need. We went first to Piteshti, and thence to Argis; thence to Rimnik, a bishop's see, along the bank of the great river Aluta, which rushes down from the country of the Majars. Over it is a very large bridge, one of the good works of the late Matthi bey. In this city we met the deposed metropolitan Ignatius. . . .

Thence we went on to the famous monastery of Kozia, which is at a distance of between three and four hours eastwards, with the river Aluta close on the right.

The road is a narrow pass overhanging the river, along which only one horse can go at a time, and that with great difficulty and caution: for the river flows down a frightfully deep ravine, full of rocks and bounding currents, with an alarming roar. It is a very broad stream, and beyond it, on the other side, are vast impassable wooded mountains. On the left of the road, as we ascended the ravine, we had a perpendicular rock, the side of a high mountain, overgrown on its top with large trees: and such our path continued to be till we came to a wooden bridge, ingeniously rested on the frightfully steep, and apparently un-

stable and untrustworthy, bank of the river; at which when we looked our hearts shuddered. In the event of any danger threatening the convent, the monks come and remove this bridge, which is nailed at one end to two tall trees rising from the bed of the river, while the other end rests on the mountain precipice. On the removal of this bridge, its place remains an immense gap, neither to be reached nor to be passed over. No one can go down into the river, its banks are so deep and perpendicular; nor can he cross it higher up, for all the way from the interior of Hungary it flows with this character of a fence or boundary. The mountain opposite, as we said before, is never passed at all: nor, by their account, is there any way either at the back of it, or in any part round it. It is only to be approached by this wonderful ravine.

The road being so narrow and so close to the edge of the precipice, we were afraid; and alighting from our horses, we walked on foot, till we had crossed the bridge. Here we came out on to a large open plain, divided into fields with their crops, and into gardens and vineyards; through which we approached the convent, a strong and handsome edifice built on the border of the river, but enclosed by huge and formidable mountain summits, the intervals between which are barred up by pathless woods. It is in a nook or cleft at the very extremity of Wallachia; and has Hungary both on the north and on the south of it, at the distance of two days' journey. The way to Hungary, which is behind the mountains to the south, is extremely difficult, and impassable for cattle.

The name Kozia means natural fortress. Its church is dedicated to the H. Trinity. Its balconies on the east side look straight down some 300 feet into the ravine and the river. The bastrovus (trout) of this river is most delicate eating. . . . Here, on this eve of the feast of the Apostles (Sunday, 28th June), in their handsome church outside the gate of the convent, over a spring on the slope of the mountain, we assisted at the vigil service, which lasted the whole night: and on the morning (M. the 29th) the patriarch celebrated the liturgy in the great church, and ordained, and afterwards made a *μνημόσυνον* for the founders. Then we deposited all our luggage and property in a safe place in this convent, by command of the bey.

§ vi. *Singular collection of commentaries on the Psalms; and*

Book of Prophecies. Copies taken by Papa Yani. Salt-mines. Convent of Monóxylo. Convent of Bistritza. We had heard that in the possession of Kyr Constantine Cantacuzene, postelnik of the late Matthi bey of Wallachia, there was a large and most valuable book from the imperial collection of St. Sophia, being an exposition of the Psalms of David, compiled from all the holy doctors of the Church and others, by St. Nicetas, metropolitan of Serræ,[1] in one large volume of 300 folio pages. We were told by that eminently-learned man, Kyr Paisius [Ligarides] the Sciote (who *during our absence in these countries had gone from Jerusalem to Aleppo, and had preached in the church there, as he afterwards informed us*), that he had travelled into *all* the European countries, and had *resided in Rome for a length of time;* that he had been in the Pope's library, the number of religious and pious books in which amounts to 72,000, each single; that, *among them all*, he was unable to find a copy of this book, which is therefore unique in the world. There are indeed to be found smaller separate books in explanation of the Psalms, as by Theodorus bishop of Mopsuesta, and other doctors; but this St. Nicetas made a collection of all the expositions in one volume. The number of commentators on the Psalms is above forty.

As soon as I heard the praises of this book, I exerted myself to the utmost, and by the aid of my father, I got it home to our lodgings; and having found a priest, Papa Yani, from Scio, a fine writer of Greek, we engaged him to make a copy.

As the love of wine is an innate propensity of every true-born Greek, I did not cease, at the present juncture, to steal away his senses, till we carried him up with us to this convent of Kozia, where we forced him to stay and write. Each day we set him an allowance of two okas of wine for his dinner and supper; and his senses were *sobered*, and his powers of mind shone forth in all their brightness; and he finished the book; at the beginning and the end of which *the aforesaid metropolitan of Gaza* [who seems thus to have been also in the Kozia convent when it was finished] placed a title-page, giving an account of it thus: that 'under such and such circumstances &c., when this invaluable treasure was lying hid, the Creator sent the patriarch of Antioch, Kyr Macarius, with his son, to discover it,

[1] Translated to the see of Heraclea in A.D. 1077. A catena by him on the Psalms was printed at Basle in 1552.

and to bring it forth, to the attainment of their own reward in heaven, and to the benefit of the whole Christian Church,' &c. The expense which we incurred with this book was above 100 reals. Afterwards, when we returned to our own country, to Aleppo, whither we took with us the aforesaid Papa Yani, I made him write a second copy, handsomer than the first. For we designed, if it pleased God, sooner or later, to send the book to be printed in the country of the Franks, as well for our own benefit as for that of the whole Church of Christ. If this were accomplished, we thought to translate it into Arabic. And to this end we pray the Almighty to grant us peace and tranquillity. Another reason for copying it a second time was the fear of its being lost at sea, or meeting with any accident while printing, and that thus so valuable a gem should perish.

We obtained moreover *from the aforesaid metropolitan of Gaza* another book, the contents of which he had gathered from every country, and from many authors. He had named it the Χρησμοὶ, or Book of Prophecies; and it was perfectly unique, there being no other copy of it whatever in existence. Its contents were prophecies from the prophets, predictions of wise men, and denunciations of the saints, concerning the events in the East brought about by the Hagarenes, and concerning Constantinople, and their capture of that city; things of very great curiosity as regards the past; and likewise their prophecies of what is predestined for the future. Of this book I had two copies taken by the same writer: but it was after encountering great difficulty in persuading the owner to give it us to copy; for he, that is the metropolitan of Gaza, was altogether unwilling, until we gained his consent by several presents, and shamed him into the liberality of allowing us to do so. Every person who looks into this precious book is struck with wonder at its contents. Afterwards the same metropolitan of Gaza sent us a letter from this country [Wallachia], informing us that *when he was in the country of the Majars*[1] they had plundered him, and taken everything he had; and that, amongst other things, they had robbed him of this very book. . . . So it would have been lost to the world, if we had not taken a copy of it. . . . He wrote,

[1] So, it seems, he had followed Constantine and Stephani beys into Hungary, and had, like others, suffered for it; and had again, after things were settled, returned to Wallachia and Moldavia. See the *Replies of Nicon*, p. 46.

therefore, to entreat us to get another copy written out for him from ours, to supply his loss.

We then took leave of the archimandrite of the Kozia convent, and of his monks, strongly recommending to their care the aforesaid Papa Yani: and after emerging from the ravine, . . . we passed in a boat to an island between two branches of the river, to a convent of nuns of the Nativity of our Lady. . . . Thence we went to Rimnik. . . . On the morning of Th. 2d July we went thence in two hours to a town with a salt-mine (the largest of the four salt-mines in Wallachia), saw the salt-mine, slept there, and returned. . . . On the afternoon of the next day (Sat. the 4th) we came to a convent named Monoxylo [*i.e.* made from the wood of one tree] on the river Bistritsa. Below the hill there is a large convent of nuns of the Assumption, founded about twenty years ago. Near the old wooden church on the hill-top there are two huge trees, said to be fellows of a third like these with the wood of which the church was built by a hermit, who had found the icon of our Lady hanging on it. After saying mass there [*i.e.* on the Sunday], we descended the slope of a steep hill, and arrived in the evening at a great and strong convent situated in a lonely glen, much in the same way as the convent of Kozia. It is called Bistritsa. Its church contains the body of St. Gregory of Banyas, brought from Servia by the founder. We celebrated mass here on M. 6th July. There are caverns here in the side of the mountain, midway between the bottom and the top, accessible only by a sort of bridge of long narrow planks with a railing, which in case of danger they remove. And hither in time of danger the beys send their treasures with their wives.

§ vii. *The Arnaout convent. Iron-mine at Torgogio. Monastery of Tismana. The Tisa tree.* On Tuesday we went to a high convent of St. Michael, on the top of the opposite mountain, called the Arnaout convent, one hour's journey from Bistritsa. Here is the right hand of St. Michael, bishop of Synnada, and the hand of St. Philip the apostle, and the palm of St. Marina the martyr, with which she struck the devil in prison. . . . On Th. the 9th we left, and passed along roads extremely difficult and rough, taking in our way the small town Rimeshti, where Stephen the present metropolitan of Wallachia was born. He became metropolitan first in the time of Matthi

voivode, *who afterwards deposed him, and substituted in his place Ignatius, bishop of Rimnik. Latterly he has been restored by Constantine voivode.*

In the afternoon we came to the town of Bolpharage, near the mountain and near the river Oltetz; and in the evening of the next day, the 10th, Krasna; again, on the morrow the 11th, to Tirgoshil, a small town, near which is an iron-mine. All our road from Tergovist hither was under a circular mountain, dividing this country from that of the Majars. The part towards Wallachia is round, like the half of a bowl; and all the monasteries which I have described are situated on this convexity.

On Sunday morning the 12th, after celebrating mass, we set forth, and passed over numberless rivers, certainly above thirty, traversing hills and forests all day, till at the close of our journey the head of the convent of Tismana came out to meet us. It is on the river of the same name, with two large towns, one on each side of the river, which belong to the convent. The approach is like those to the convents of Kozia and Bistritsa. This convent also [which he describes at length] was built anew by the late Matthi voivode, who stood out a siege here, when he had fled hither from Leon voivode, and escaping to C.P., made interest there with the vizir Abbas Pasha, and was made bey. We blessed ourselves with the phelonion, omophorion, and gospel of the founder, St. Nicodemus, the same with which he passed through the fire unhurt in presence of the crâl of the Majars at Buda. The latter was beautifully written with his own hand in the Russian language, and is dated A.M. 6912. So it was written 253 years ago [in A.D. 1404]. The body of the saint is hidden beneath the pavement of the church. . . . They are now, however, constructing for him a shrine, outside in the portico. . .

§ viii. *Remarkable copper-mine. Convents of Satrahaya, Koromotrou, and Zinziraní.* On T. 14th July the patriarch celebrated mass for them, and ordained; and bestowed on the hegoumen the title of archimandrite. . . . On the morrow we went between three and four hours to the famous copper-mine (discovered in the time of the late Matthi voivode by a Servian), on the border of the country [on the river Motrou].

From Kozia hither is half a day; from Tergovist four days; and one day more from hence brings you to the frontier town of Bazaar: and then, crossing the Danube, you have on the one

side the Majars and [the country towards] the fortress of Temesvar, on the other side the Turks. But Temesvar was taken by the late sultan Solyman; and there resides a pasha. The length of Wallachia, from Fokshan to Bazaar, is about ten days' journey; in breadth it does not extend far from the Danube.

We were told that across the Danube [opposite to Bazaar] is a large city called of old Claudiopolis, but now Gladova. . . . On the bank of the Danube forming the Turkish frontier there are five pashas, of whom the chief is the beglerbey of Buda, the second the beglerbey of Bosna, fronting the Venetian territory (he rules over the sandjak of Ipcik, which is the see of the archbishop of Servia); the third is the pasha of Belgrade; the fourth of Sophia; and the fifth of Silistria.

On F. 17th July we left the miners, and returned to the lowlands of Wallachia, having finished with the mountains. We first entered the cadiship of Vidin, then that of Craiova, where the ban rules over five cadiships. We went along the bank of the river of the mines, the Motrou, three hours to a small town, where we stayed the Sunday; and thence we went on to another, where we slept.

On M. 20th July, the feast of St. Elias, five years full since our departure from Aleppo, after travelling three hours, we were met by the head of the great convent of Satrahaya (of the B. Trinity), situated on the plain. It was built by the late Matthi voivode, and resembles a huge castle. . . . After building first the church, he began a corta or palace, but turned it into a monastery. The church is painted all over, within and without. After celebrating mass there, &c., we went between three and four hours to an ancient convent of St. Prascovia, called Koromotrou. The convent was founded by St. Nicodemus, before he founded that of Tismana. . . . In the afternoon we travelled an hour southwards to a convent of St. Michael called Zinziren (*i.e.* the place of gnats). It is a dependency on the Holy Resurrection of Jerusalem [the town is on the Shil, a little above the confluence of the Motrou]. We passed two nights here, but had not even a taste of sleep for the gnats and mosquitoes. . . . We were obliged to lie down with our boots on our legs, and leather gloves on our hands, and to cover up our faces. And yet we did not escape.

§ ix. *Town and palace of Boyana. Filishan. Craiova. The*

Bogovatz monastery, and that of Iltiyani. After going an hour and a half westward, we came to the small town of Boyana. On the night of M. 27th July there was a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning. On W. the 29th we obtained our dismissal; and after two hours entered the town of Filishan. Th. 30th July we went two hours to another small town. On F. the 31st, after two hours we came to Craiova, the second episcopal see of Wallachia. Its large stone church of St. Demetrius was built by the late Matthi voivode. On Sat. the 1st Aug. we came to a convent of St. Nicholas, in a ravine to the west of the town of Bogovatz. It is a dependency of the convent of St. Barlaam in Roumelia [to which one has to be hauled up by a rope]. The monks here are relieved every three years. The church is beautifully painted all over. Hence to the second convent of Buda is a day's journey. It is called Phendones; and in it resides a metropolitan, who has jurisdiction over 500 towns and villages, all Bulgarian. In the evening (Sunday 2d Aug.) we went two hours through the forest to a convent of St. Demetrius called Shilehanie, on the river Shil: around it there is a great lake.

§ x. *Bratoshani. Brankoveni. The grand dvornik Brada. The convert Jew Athanasius. Ferkash. Karakul.* Going forth [on the morrow, T. the 4th], in the afternoon we came to Bratoshani, belonging to the grand dvornik [the chief justice] Brada, the nearest kinsman of the late Matthi voivode, and the first of the grandees of this country. The next day we came to Brankoveni, where is his palace, and a convent founded by Matthi voivode, whose origin was hence. . . . The archon made us drink many goblets . . . and asking the names of my sons, Ananias and Constantine, he drank himself, and presented a goblet to the health of each. . . . We were completely surfeited with the excess of liquor. Such, however, is their mode of hospitality. We calculated that we drank at the archon's table from seventy to eighty cups of wine. On Friday the 7th he took leave of us to go a journey; and we turned back, and came to a convent of the Angels, called Hoterâni, a dependency of the convent of St. Dionysius, on Mount Athos, and tenanted by Greek monks. . . . . Hence in an hour we reached Ferkash. On Sat. 8th Aug. we came to Karakul, a large town, with a palace recently built by Matthi bey. After vespers, matins, and mass there, we

moved on to a small town, where we slept. The whole of this road lies within view of the Danube, and within three or four hours from it. Hence, being frontier ground, its towns and villages are few. Most of the people of these districts belong to the regular army.

§ xi. *Convents of Shagarja, Calvi, Stanishti, Dragoshin, Clokojok, Glavojok, and Kamshora.* On M. 10th Aug., at noon, we came to another large convent in a forest, newly built by the same founder, like a fortress, like Bogovatz. The Danube is only an hour and a half distant. We celebrated mass in it on T. 11th; and on W. crossed the Shil in a boat, and came to the town of Shagarja, settled on the patriarch of Alexandria since the time of Radzivil voivode. In the morning of Th. the 13th we came to the Shilchanie convent. We then passed Craiova; and went by very rough and precipitous roads, among mountains and valleys, till the evening, to the strong convent of St. Nicholas, called Calvi. [There they kept the feast of the Assumption.] There they have the right hand of St. Nicholas in the act of blessing. On Sunday 16th, after the mass, we left, and came again to the difficult road, and again passed the river Oltetz, and came at night to the village of the last-mentioned convent, and celebrated there the next day in its church of St. Procopius. Then we went two hours to a convent of the Assumption, called Stanishti; whence, after performing a commemoration, we returned to the village.

On T. 18th Aug. we crossed the Aluta in a boat, and leaving the diocese of the bishop of Rimnik, entered that of the metropolitan of Tergovist. Passing over excessively rugged hills and valleys, we came at noon to the convent of the B. Trinity called Dragoshin. It is quite near to the Stanishti; but as there is no road, they have to make a circuit of half a day to go from one to the other. Returning thence, we came in the evening to the town of Banokirks; and next morning we passed the town Slatina, and the river Aluta, and came to the convent of St. Michael called Clokojok, tenanted by Greek monks from Koutloumish, on Mount Athos.

On Th. 20th Aug. we went towards Bucharest, now very near, by a very rough road through thick woods. On Sat. we reached a convent of the Annunciation called Glavojok, founded one hundred and seventeen years ago by Niagho voivode, asso-

ciated with Peter voivode. On Sunday the 23d we celebrated mass there; and after dinner we visited the mansion of the archon; and passing through the small town Petrashti, we came to a convent called Kamshora; and passed on to another of St. Nicholas; and arrived in the afternoon at Bucharest, the seat of the beys since the most ancient times.

Book XVI. *Wallachia.*

§ i. *Description of Bucharest. Village and palace of Dobrani. Remarkable corn-mill. Convent of Koman. Village and palace of Koyani.* We alighted at the convent of St. George, a dependency of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. This city is very large, and is said to have contained 6000 houses. It has forty churches and convents, and the river Dombovitsa flows through it.

We afterwards went to the corta, rebuilt by Matthi voivode. It is handsomer than that at Tergovist. We went also to a lofty eminence, where the present bey is building a large convent of Constantine and Helena; to the convents of St. Catherine (where the monks are from Mount Sinai), of the Baptist, of SS. Peter and Paul (founded by Matthi voivode, and attached to one of the monasteries of Mount Athos); to one of the XL. Martyrs (dependent of the convent of the Assumption at Jannina); and to a small convent of St. Saba, the superior of which is sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem. On M. 31st Aug. we visited the convent of the Holy Trinity, founded by the late Radzivil voivode, who ruled over both Moldavia and Wallachia. In its church are the tombs of the beys; and their portraits are over them on the wall. This convent depends on the Iviron of Mount Athos.

On the morning of T. 1st Sept., beginning A.M. 7166 (in A.D. 1657), we left Bucharest at noon, and came to the village Dobrani, where the present bey formerly resided, when he was a retired archon, before he became commander of the army. The corta or palace is large, enclosed by a wooden paling, within which are spacious handsome buildings, with recesses and domes entirely covered with the portraits of saints and the representa-

tions of wars, &c. The apartments look over an immense garden, laid out in plots, like the gardens of the Franks. Outside there is a large pool of water, with a bridge over it; and in the centre [of the garden] there is a handsome kiosk, and near it a large stone church of the Assumption.

The next day, W. 2d Sept., we went by a rugged road, through a thick forest along the border of a lake, to the river Argis. Here there was a mill belonging to the bey, yielding every year by contract a rent of one thousand Venetian scudi, besides supplying the household with meal. We wished to coax the bey to give this mill to the see of Antioch, considering such a property to be vastly preferable to any number of monasteries, which require so much labour to be rendered profitable, and so much attention in regard to the monks and servants. But unfortunately it was afterwards burned, together with the village and the palace.

We then passed over the river by a bridge, and came to a village named Gorodisch; and next day, Th. 3d Sept., by rugged roads and an extensive ravine, to a convent of St. Nicholas called Koman, founded by the late Shahrbân voivode, father of the present bey, on an island, approachable only by a boat. The whole convent court is a grassplot, with a well in the middle, and the cells of the monks around it. The Danube is very near. Late in the afternoon, returning by the same road, we came to a village overlooking the river Argis, named Koyani, where the grand postelrik Constantine has a large palace, like the palaces of Constantinople.

§ ii. *Village and palace of Viareshti. Convents of Neghoyashti and Platarasht, Tinkan, Kaldroshan, and Synagogo. Prediction of weather. Marriage-ceremony.* F. 4th Sept., passing the river in a boat, we came by noon to the village Viareshti, with an unrivalled palace of three stories, built by the sister of the domina of Matthi bey: thence in the evening to Neghoyashti to the convent of St. Michael, built by the deceased domina Helena, wife of Matthi voivode, at the confluence of the Argis and the Dombovitsa. We left on Saturday, and came at noon to a magnificent convent of St. Mercurius at Platarasht, built by Matthi voivode, he having here, in one of his wars with Vasili voivode, invoked St. Mercurius; and he gained the victory. Then the brother of the bey invited us to a village of his on an island

in a vast lake, called Troponasht. After dinner we went in two hours to another convent, also on an island in a lake, and called Tinkan. Sunday the 6th we left it, and came in the evening to St. Nicholas, on the bank of a river, and there slept. The next day we returned by the same way to the mansion of its founder. Thence we went through a ravine to a fine monastery of St. Demetrius, built by Matthi voivode, and called Kaldroshan, where are the relics of St. Metrophanes, patriarch of Alexandria. It too is in a lake. It is one of the largest monasteries. The next morning we came to another convent, the last which we visited, named from the εἴσοδια of our Lady, and called Synagogo, built by four voivodes. This too is on an island, but accessible by a long bridge. We left it on the morning of Th. 10th Sept., and, having driven rapidly, entered Tergovist in the evening, after an absence of eighty-two days. The convents we have described are all within the eparchy of the metropolitan and that of the bishop of Rimnik: but to the convents under the bishop of Bouzeo, and in those parts of the principality, we did not go.

At the end of October there came on some very cold weather, with much snow and a sharp frost for ten days: then it ceased, and was followed by a second spring, with sunshine, heat, flowers, and fresh verdure, after everything had been killed and parched by the frost. And now, after we had been burning fires both day and night, we again found the heat of the weather oppressive.

On Sunday the 8th Nov. the patriarch married Constantine bey to a Circassian slave, whom they named at her baptism Nadala (*i.e.* Cyriaca). The coronation or wedding was performed within the palace, in the harem or women's apartments above.

On Sunday 6th Dec., the festival of St. Nicholas, the bey went to a convent of that saint, near Tergovist, called Kobia. In like manner the feast of the Nativity was fully observed, as in former years; as was also that of the Baptism (6 Jan. A.D. 1658). But on the eve of this latter the news arrived from C.P. that the bey was deposed. This became the occasion of the ruin of Wallachia; of its utter desolation; and to us it was the source of indescribable alarms and horrors.

§ iii. *Deposition of the bey, and its causes. Visit of the Turkish aga. Dispatch of tribute to the Porte. War of the*

Turks and Tatars on the Principalities. The cause of the deposition was, that *last year*, when the sultan Mahomet and the grand vizir Kupriuli, an Arnaout by origin, were engaged in a war with the Frank ships at the Dardanelles, the said vizir demanded of the beys of Moldavia and Wallachia 1000 purses (*i.e.* 500,000 piastres) each, also 500,000 head of sheep and 300 horses; whereupon the beys jointly petitioned the sultan, and he accepted their excuses, saying to his minister, 'We are not yet at an end of our war with the Franks, and you wish to bring upon us another.' The provincials expected that the vizir after this would quickly lose his place, like his predecessors; but he kept it five years, and treasured up against them a store of hatred, till at length he wreaked his vengeance both on the beys and on the principalities.

According to custom, there came to the beys an aga to receive the yearly tribute. The aga and his suite usually stays about twenty days. This tribute is collected from all the grandees and captains, according to their income. The rayahs, except the farmers of government lands, have nothing to do with it. When it is collected, they send for the aga in a coach lined with red cloth, with four horses all to match, and accompanied by a led horse carrying nine purses (*i.e.* 4500 piastres) and a piece of fine cloth and satin for himself; and for his officers and servants, a purse of 500 piastres each, &c. In the mean time the bey pays to the aga several visits of ceremony.

On the morning fixed for the delivery of the tribute we were invited to the corta, whither came the aga, with all his suite, and took his seat with the bey on an elevated place overlooking the palace-yard. Then they brought forward nine covered wagons, each yoked with eight horses at least, several with ten and twelve; and the musicians began to play a tune, with drums, pipes, and trumpets, while the people crowded round as spectators. To the first wagon they brought, and deposited in it in a chest thirty-three bags of money; in each of the rest thirty-two; and the chests were locked and sealed: and all the wagons having been loaded besides with the woollen cloths, silks, and other presents, were ranged in order. The great vestiari goes with the treasure, and delivers it to the sultan's government: and this tribute-money is assigned to the payment of the janizaries, into whose hands it comes two days before

the Ramazan. The vacant space in the wagons is hired to the merchants. We sent a whole package of goods to C.P. under the care of Khori Saba, president of the convent of the Flemings. But nothing arrived at its destination; though we had conferred so many benefits on this monk during the last five years, and on the day he parted from us had given him 100 piastres for his journey. It turned out, however, that he robbed us. May God reward him according to his deserts!

The wagons then set off, and the bey accompanied the aga some distance, with drums and trumpets, &c. On the arrival of the treasure at Ruschuk, the vestiari goes with the aga to the mehkemeh, and delivers it, with legal proof of its amount. The grand vizir was at the castle of the Dardanelles, and they repaired with the treasure to his presence, where he immediately gave vent to his indignation on seeing the vestiari and the rest of the bey's delegates; and he asked the vestiari for the sheep which he had formerly demanded. The bey being informed of this, consulted the grandees, and it was agreed to send the vizir twenty purses, as their value. No sooner had this money reached him than he repeated his demand for the 300 horses, which were collected from the retired boyars, and sent. Then the vizir sent to the sultan at C.P saying, 'Arise and go to Adrianople, till I come to you, and fill your coffers with gold and piastres.' When this became known *to the allied parties*, viz. the two beys and the crâl of Hungary, they were seized with dread. When the vizir came to Adrianople, it was agreed between him and the sultan to demand from each bey, and from the crâl, 1500 purses each; and it was intimated, that should they withhold the payment, they must at least wait on the sultan to kiss his hand. Meanwhile the vizir had sent a capidgi into Hungary, with a hatti-sherif to the grandees and to the Saxons, who held the seven great fortresses (the Sieben-burgen), to the effect that if they wished to be left at peace they must depose their crâl, Ragoza, and elect another, and surrender two fortresses in the channel near to Buda, so as to open the way for the Turks by land to march at any time on Zadra or Venice. The Hungarians then held a meeting, deposed their crâl, and elected another, who, however, did not maintain himself long, for the former crâl marched against him, put him to flight, and resumed his throne.

When the vizir learned this, he was enraged; and first sent

to depose Constantine bey of Wallachia, as has been already mentioned, appointing in his stead a man of the sultan's household, named Mikhna, son of the late Radzivil voivode. At the same time that this news came (Tuesday, 5th Jan. 1658) it was ascertained that the vizir had sent a hatti-sherif to the khan and his Tatars enjoining them to rise, and march on Moldavia and Wallachia. The first thing the bey did was to give notice all over the country that the people should flee to the mountains from the Tatars: and the whole country in consequence was thrown into confusion, the farm-houses and villages being emptied of their wretched inhabitants, amidst the severe frost and the deep snow then lying on the ground.

Then the bey and the grandees, after in vain petitioning the vizir, determined to resist; and enrolled troops; the metropolitan standing from morning to night in the church, and swearing them on the holy gospel and on the cross; and above 10,000 soldiers with pay were enrolled. In all, it was reported, there were above 110,000. Besides these, the crâl of the Majars sent a considerable auxiliary force, with their field-pieces, considering that whatever happened to the bey happened to him on his account. To Khmielnitsky and the Kozaks also a request had been sent for aid.

And now the report was confirmed that Cadira aga (afterwards pasha of Damascus) had arrived at Ruschuk as aga to enthrone the new bey; and the aga sent an intimation to Constantine, that he should at once depart, since until he did, the new bey was afraid to make his entry. The bey and the whole country at this set up an outery: but so far were they from open hostilities that they still held back, to petition; and even sent to promise the requisite number of purses to the sultan, and to the vizir, to the pasha of Silistria Fazli pasha (who had married the daughter of sultan Ibrahim), and to the above-mentioned aga: for they have a very great habitual dread of the Turks; and remembered how eighteen years before they had perseveringly besieged and taken Bagdad, and more recently, about thirteen years ago, their expedition against Candia. And now there was much distress, as well as panic, among the inhabitants of the principality, and many became destitute, particularly on account of the intense cold, and the frost and snow. The peasants for their refuge fled to the tops

of the mountains; and the merchants and landholders, more particularly, withdrew to the mountainous district of Kimpolung, to the Argis and the Kozia convents, towards the mountains of the Majars. As for ourselves, we stayed on at Tergovist till the end of January.

§ iv. *Departure for Kimpolung. Sack of Tergovist by the Tatars. Hiding-places in the mountains.* At the beginning of February we took leave of the bey, and departed for Kimpolung, having previously dispatched thither all our luggage and treasure. We had scarcely established ourselves there before reports were spread of the Tatars having arrived at Brailov. They were generally said to be about 16,000 strong. On the other side the Turks, under Fazli pasha, having crossed the Danube, marched to Giurgievo in the Wallachian territory. The bey began to dig an entrenchment on the road to Kimpolung, that he might in case of need take refuge with the Majars. His domina, with the wives of the grandees, and all his movable treasure, his horses, and heavy luggage, he sent to a small town called Rokalo, above Kimpolung, on the way to Hungary. Afterwards he determined to await his enemies at Tergovist: and when he heard of the approach of the Turks to Bucharest, he sent orders to his troops there to set fire to the whole town and the corta (which was also a crooked counsel): for he greatly mistrusted the population, lest they should prove treacherous, as it afterwards fell out.

Then he changed his plan, and moved towards Bucharest; but, hearing that his commander, left there to fight the Turks, had fled, and that others of his enemies had come in advance of the Tatars on the side of [the river] Boza to the mountains near Tergovist, so as to threaten his rear, while the Turks attacked him in front, he was alarmed, and returned, and entrenched himself in a position outside Tergovist. Then again he retreated, without fighting, to his entrenchment on the road to Kimpolung, leaving at Tergovist his commander with 12,000 troops to defend it. This was on the Sunday *τῆς τυροφάγου*. And he gave permission to his own troops to take whatever was left in Tergovist of provisions and liquors. And at the very moment that they were plundering and intoxicated, lo! about 300 Tatars, in advance of the rest, made their appearance; and the whole army of the bey fled, and were pursued as far as the bey's

entrenchment. Yet the Tatars themselves were afraid, thinking that this retreat must be a feint. They then returned to Tergovist, and slaughtered about 300 foot-soldiers, mostly drunk, whom they found still there: and they plundered the town, and set fire to it, carrying away a vast number of people into captivity. When the pasha and his Turks heard of this, they hastened their march towards the capital, accompanied by the new bey. The commencement of the fire in the town was on the first night of Lent.

The Stalia convent was resolutely defended by a troop of Kozaks till nightfall; but, seeing that a corner of it was set fire to, those who could fled in the night to the mountains; and the Turks and Tatars, forcing their way in, slew 160 persons of monks, elders, and poor men who were too infirm to escape, and carried into captivity a multitude of the young and healthy. The church, which was entirely filled with chests and furniture belonging to the people, was set fire to, and totally burned. Thus we too lost some of our goods, which had been deposited there. Then they dug up the tombs of the dead, and stripped them; set fire to the metropolitan's palace and church, and to the church of the corta, and dug up the tombs of Matthi voivode and of his wife and son, and of the domina of Constantine; and stripping the bodies, and carrying away their garments, threw them abroad naked, after breaking to pieces all the tombstones. Nor did the fire cease its ravages till the greater part of the city was destroyed.

The Tatars then hastened to the mountains, to make captives of those who had fled thither: and they dragged away a great multitude, particularly from the towns built on the river Yalomnitsa, which runs from above Tergovist to Valoge, near the Danube. These towns and villages were a Paradise; but the Tatars now entirely desolated them.

The pasha, accompanied by the bey, entered Tergovist on Tuesday in the first week of Lent, 23d Feb.; and the new bey and those with him were said to have eaten flesh-meat alone, there being no bread to be found, nor any persons to make it. Afterwards they marched away on their return to Bucharest; and the pasha ordered Tergovist, walls and all, to be set fire to, to be revenged on Constantine bey, for setting fire to Bucharest, the ancient capital.

As for Constantine, he fled from his entrenchment (fearing lest his retreat should be cut off); and after first sending on into Hungary, by the Rokalo road and glen, the domina and the wives of the grandees, he, by desire of the crâl, followed them, and repaired to a castle within the city of Brashob, belonging to the crâl, called Fagharâsh, where he stopped with all his adherents. His situation was very ignominious (may God deny him eternal salvation for the deeds that he perpetrated!); and the crâl was very indignant with him for running away without fighting. Afterwards he bought for him a castle near the country of the Germans; and there the bey went to reside. Until the crâl, however, had completely drained him and his followers of all their horses, arms, and money, and of all the property he had acquired from Stefani bey, he gave neither him nor them any rest, saying: 'Whatever has happened to us, or shall happen, must all be attributed to your retreat among us.' The Tatars meanwhile arrived near to Kimpolung; and then retired, plundering, burning, and making prisoners.

As regards ourselves: The bishop of the convent gave us notice of the approach of the Tatars; and we had before dispatched all our luggage to the mountains, under the care of the said bishop, to be kept in caves and hiding-places by the peasants there. The bishop did the same with the conventual property; and the merchants, who had fled in our train, with theirs.

§ v. *Farther retreat to Corbi Pietra. Village and convent of Nikshora. Reception of the new bey. Palm Sunday at Bucharest.* As soon as we were assured of Constantine's flight from his entrenchment on the Kimpolung road, we departed in haste, early on the Sunday of Cheese-week (21 Feb.), and came in the evening to a village called Corbi Pietra (crow's rock), from a tall rock within it, standing towards the east, as if cut perpendicular like a wall, in the centre of which there is an ancient church, small but handsome; and the ancient paintings are still to be seen in it. There is a large river flowing through the village. While we were here, the metropolitan of the capital, having fled away also, joined us; and early on the Tuesday (23d Feb.) we left, to climb, with much difficulty, a mountain to a small ancient convent called Gharâdâs, depositing all that we had still with us with its superior and his peasants. The *carriages* too we gave up, to be buried in the thickets. Our horses were kept

saddled day and night. Some persons went to prepare us a hiding-place in the woods of very difficult access, known to none but themselves. In common with all the rest we were in the mean time in the greatest distress, and tortured by the liveliest fears. Notwithstanding the depth of the fallen snow, and the intense frost, no one dared to light a fire, for fear the smoke of it might be seen. When the Tatars, however, had come near to Kimpolung, by the mercy of the Almighty they turned and marched back. The convent last mentioned [in which we now were] is at the extremity of the mountain ridges towards Hungary; and beyond it there is neither any road nor any dwelling. Near to it is another village, named Nikshora (the village of walnuts). This village commands a view over the greater part of the lowlands of Wallachia, and over the towns and villages situate on the bank of the Danube.

In the mean time Michael voivode, the new bey, took up his residence in his father's convent, *i. e.* in the convent of the Trinity, at Bucharest: and the people and the military began to come to him, to tender their allegiance, and their apologies, as if they been before deterred only by the dread of Constantine: and he readily pardoned them. Then he dismissed Fazli pasha; and after he was gone he gave to sakmani chawash upwards of 40 purses for his services, and to the capidgi Bashi above 20; and discharged them. Then he sent letters throughout all the province, proclaiming peace and pardon, and calling on the fugitives to return to their homes. The news of these occurrences came to us regularly: for with some of the merchants I myself used to mount on horseback; and we used to go and learn the news at Nikshora and Corbi Pietra; and having gone as far as Kimpolung, we turned back. On the arrival of the letters from the new bey, people everywhere took confidence, more especially after it was known that the Tatars were gone off with their captives, variously reported of as being from 70,000 or 80,000 to 150,000. Many had been redeemed from their hands by the new bey, who permitted not the Turks to make a single captive; and if the latter did carry away any person, it was done by stealth, without the bey's knowledge.

After this we returned with other fugitives to Kimpolung on M. 8th March, in the third week of Lent: but we left most of our goods with the peasants, till near Easter: and it took all the

money we had remaining to pay the expenses on them: for all this time we had been living at our own cost. And thanks be to God that we were not inveigled to go with Constantine's domina into Hungary . . . for *sorely did they repent who had not left their property in Wallachia.* . . . Again I mounted on horseback, and went, with a number of others, to Tergovist, where we saw the bodies of them that had been slain lying strewed about the streets. Afterwards, by order of the bey, a large hole was dug, and they were thrown into it, and above them was raised a great mound or barrow. . . . No place to sleep in could we find, except the cellar of the convent, and other cellars; nor was any vestige whatever remaining above ground of the buildings themselves.

Then our lord the patriarch sent to the new bey a letter of congratulation; and he received it most graciously, but requested him to stay where he was, till he, the bey, should be rid of the Turks.

On Palm Sunday . . . our lord the patriarch [at Kimpolung] did not celebrate the liturgy; but on Easter-day he did.

The new bey, we were told, had resided twenty-five years within the sultan's seraglio among the Turks; and yet no one had seduced him to deviate from his creed. . . . On Palm Sunday he imitated what is done by the emperor of Muscovy, though none of the beys had ever done so before him. Drawing together, therefore, the Christian troops [at Bucharest], he went forth in his richest dress. The metropolitan of the city rode on a mule, with the gospel and the cross in his right hand; and the bey held the bridle as he walked, attended on the right and left by his footmen, with his saddle-horses led before him, and the grandees following him, each leading a horse. Thus they proceeded, notwithstanding a heavy fall of rain and an abundant depth of mud, round the whole city of Bucharest, and at length returned to the convent, where the metropolitan celebrated the liturgy.

§ vi. *Return to Bucharest. Kind and religious conduct of the new bey. His coronation. Encænia of a convent.* On the feast of St. George, F. 23d April, the patriarch went with their annual procession to an old church of the saint, at one end of the town of Kimpolung, and made an *ἁγιασμὸς*; and they returned for the liturgy. Two days later [on Sunday *τῶν μυροφόρων*,

25th April] we left Kimpolung, and came to Piteshti; and on Thurs. the 29th we arrived at Bucharest, at the convent of St. Saba. After [the halving of] the Easter festival (W. 5th May), the bey invited our master to an interview. We presented to him a Muscovite icon, a large lamp, a mirror, and some other rarities; and the bey settled on the patriarch a pension. All his conversation and all his questions were derived from ecclesiastical writings, and referred to religion. His love for meeting the patriarch and conversing with him became very great indeed; and for his greater convenience he removed us from St. Saba to lodge near him in his own convent, in the very centre of the convent church. For after the fire nothing remained standing but the churches, from their being vaulted and built of stone, and in them the people of rank were lodged.

On the fourth Thursday after Easter (6th May) we robed and went out with the bey in procession outside the city, with lighted candles, and made a *παράκλησις*, as usual; for he did not interrupt the procession for a single Thursday. We did the same on the fifth and sixth Thursdays, and returning, celebrated the mass in the convent.

On Thursday of the Ascension (May 20) we celebrated mass by invitation of the bey; and again on the Sunday (*τῶν ριη' ἁγίων πατέρων*) following; and this was in presence of a special ambassador come from the Polish crâl, and on his way to the sultan at Adrianople. He attended the liturgy with the utmost devotion; and between him and us there was established a perfect friendship.

On Pentecost Sunday (30th May) the patriarch crowned the bey, according to the form in the great Εὐχολόγιον. The chokhadar spread carpets in the church from the bey's throne to the royal doors; and after the patriarch had robed, together with the metropolitan of the city, the postelnik, with the karamash, came; and having asked permission, they entered, and laid on the altar a crown of a peculiar shape, made for the bey at C.P., long and high, like the head-dress of the Seleucians. The bottom was braided with gold wire, and it was decorated with a handsome plume of feathers, like branches of flowers, in crystal, and different kinds of jewels. It had cost 2000 dinars. They also placed on the altar a braided girdle and hanger, and a gilt mace.

When the bey came in, at the τρισάγιον, I went forth from the sanctuary with the archdeacon of the metropolitan, with the τρικήρια, to the front of the bey's chair; and we bowed to him. And now the great ban with the great logothete came and took the bey by the arms, and leading him down, advanced with him step by step, as we preceded them; and I said, first looking towards the patriarch, Κέλευσον· and then my companion said Κελεύσατε· and I repeated Κέλευσον, δέσποτα ἅγιε· to within a short distance from the royal doors, whence came forth two bishops, who, taking the bey by the arms, conducted him into the sanctuary. There they bowed to him thrice before the altar, as he knelt with his head uncovered, whilst I said Πρόσχωμεν. Our master then laid a part of his ὠμοφόριον on the bey's head, saying, 'The grace of God, which ever heals what is weak, and supplies what is deficient, promotes the Christian prince Michael, son of Radzivil voivode, to the rank of a sovereign: let us therefore now pray for him, that the grace of the all-holy Spirit may come upon him.' And we responded thrice, Κύριε, ἐλέησον. The patriarch then raised him up, and, assisted by the bishops, first invested him with the girdle; next he put on him the hanger; and then he bound him with the sword. Afterwards he clothed him with the robe of sovereignty, which was an upper cloak or mantle of brocade, trimmed with sable fur; and instead of the head-dress of sables used by the former beys, he put on him the Constantinople crown above mentioned, and fixed on it the pennache. As he put on each thing he said, 'The servant of God, Michael, is invested with so and so:' and we responded thrice, Ἄξιος. Then he blessed and kissed him: and two bishops took him and delivered him to the two archons at the door of the sanctuary, who led him up to his throne. On this our master first went forth to congratulate him, bless him, and pray for him. After him followed the bishops: after them the twelve great archons, the priests, the monks, and the deacons; and after them the rest of the state archons; till all had finished. In the mass there was also an ordination of a priest and a deacon. The concourse of the people was very great.

Afterwards we all went to a field surrounded by a bend of the river, before the gate of the convent, where there were about seventy new tents pitched for the bey, and where all his troops were drawn up. For he had received an order from the

vizir and the sultan to get ready to march with them against the Majars. And this day there came an envoy from the Majars, bringing with him the guns, fifty-three in number, which Constantine voivode had carried away; for the bey had sent to demand them; and the Majars, out of fear, returned them at once. On this day the table was not spread till the afternoon. The bey spoke Polish and Hungarian with the two ambassadors, without needing an interpreter. He speaks also, besides Wallachian his mother tongue, Greek, Turkish, and Persian.

He now began to finish the convent of Constantine voivode, which the patriarch consecrated for him on the Sunday of All Saints (6th June) . . . . The bey was never apart from the patriarch in the mornings and evenings; and was mostly with him at dinner and supper, asking him questions, and entering with him into discussions concerning affairs of religion, besides numerous other matters.

§ vii. *Invasion of the Turks into Hungary. Departure of the archdeacon from Bucharest to Galatz. He returns to the patriarch at Piteshti: makes a tour to get in money.* On the feast of the Apostles, Monday, 29th June, we celebrated the liturgy; and the bey received the holy mysteries: for he had been summoned to march with the Tatar khan, the vizir, the pasha of Silistria (Cadiri pasha, who had been sakmani chawash), and the bey of Moldavia Chapka voivode (formerly agent at C.P. to Stefani), against the Majars. For after the flight of Constantine, the vizir deposed also Stefani bey of Moldavia, and made this Chapka bey in his stead. He now brought with him a force of Kozaks, who marched out of spite to the Majars. All this movement was in consequence of its having become known to the bey Michael that the ex-bey Constantine had collected 10,000 men, to reënter Wallachia. Of this he informed the vizir, who in consequence moved from Adrianople to Sophia, and thence to Belgrade, where he halted, with 80,000 men. The pasha of Silistria crossed the Danube with the troops of the Dobroja, mostly Tatars, and entered Wallachia, and remained at Georgitsa (opposite Ruschuk) forty days, while they were collecting provisions for him. The Wallachians therefore began to petition the sultan to put a stop to this war, that their lands might not be wasted; and the Majars sent many embassies to

sue for peace. But the Turks would not listen to them; for the Saxons, who were masters of the Sieben-burgen, had revolted against the crâl, whom they hated; and, not being strong enough to overcome him, they greatly desired the Turks to come and join them, that they might appoint a new crâl, and expel the former. This was afterwards done. Then the vizir moved from Belgrade; and his advanced troops attacked the Majars to drive them from the neighbourhood of Buda, but without success. All Wallachia was thrown into confusion: reports gained ground of the speedy arrival of the Tatars; and the Majars meantime fortified all their frontier.

All this fell out to our misfortune: for the sables brought from Moscow for Constantine voivode he had never fully paid for, but still owed us nine purses of reals, and he put us off from day to day, being very covetous, and of little honesty. After his flight we should have been ruined, had not the new bey undertaken (as is usual) to pay the debts of the former. This, therefore, we were anxiously expecting: and we were looking also to another matter, namely this: Constantine and the grandees of Wallachia would not let us depart at that time, wishing us to wait till there should be a change in regard to the pasha of Silistria, who was then Melik Ahmed. He was deposed; and after him came Fazli pasha, whom the vizir put to death for refusing to make war on Constantine, Constantine having bribed him. The vizir then appointed Cadiri pasha. The whole purpose of this poor bey (Michael) was to pay us, and to expedite our journey onwards, after satisfying all our wants to our utmost desire: but the times did not favour his wishes; and he was reduced to the utmost straitness by the pressure of the Turks for tribute on the one side, and the failure of the revenue on the other. We sighed for him, especially on seeing how the capidgis from the vizir came to urge him, night and day, to make ready for the approaching campaign.

The greater part of the people again quitted their homes for the mountains, or for the islands in the midst of the great lakes on the borders of the Danube. Our perplexity was very great, and we felt ourselves utterly ruined.

Despairing of our personal safety, we could see nothing for it but to quit Wallachia altogether, though we should even be compelled to leave our property behind us. We made up our

minds to send away, first, all our heavy luggage and goods to Galatz, and thence to ship them for Sinope, that we might be quit of their care and incumbrance. And so it was done.

On F. 9th July the bey left for the camp, and our perplexity at first was extreme; but at length he recommended us to his deputy, the grand dvornik, who found for us two carriages, which we loaded in spite of the owners; and I was dispatched with them on T. 13th July, accompanied by a servant of the bey. By the mercy of God we passed the Seret, which is the frontier, without meeting the Tatars, and reached Galatz in seven days. We found a vessel from Trebizond, laden with corn, and about to return, on board of which we shipped our goods and our companions, with a store of provisions; and they set sail. Then I hired some men with muskets, and set out on my return, fearing much the Turks who were on their march to join the pasha: for they robbed and murdered by the way. But our greatest fear was occasioned by the total emigration of all the people of the country on our line of march. We found not a single person, not even a dog or any other animal, from Galatz to Bucharest. We stumbled on some dead bodies in our path; and the whole world was a blank. We reached Bucharest on the Sat. (31st July) preceding the fast of our Lady, having been forty [nineteen] days in all [in returning], but did not find the patriarch there, he having gone away, by reason of the many alarms and fears, and the emptiness of the place, to Piteshti, where I joined him.

Then I equipped myself, with servants on horseback and armed, to go and wind up our affairs wherever we had money deposited, or debts owing. . . But first I went to Tergovist, and saw the bey at the camp at Ployeshti. On this day, while on my way to him, I saw the coming up of the khan of the Tatars, accompanied by Chapka bey of Moldavia and the Kozaks. The bey offered many presents to the khan. During my visit to the bey, I gave him a letter from the patriarch; on reading which he called the dvornik, and said to him, 'Look out the money due to the patriarch, and sum up with the archdeacon the items, and pay them.'

Now the grand vestiari, *who had treacherously intrigued against Constantine voivode when sent with the tribute-money to the vizir at the Dardanelles*, rose up against this bey also; and he con-

certed with some archons that they should go, as they did go, to Cadiri pasha (of Silistria), to inform against the bey Michael, that he has been plotting against the sultan, and has made an agreement with the Majars. Now this *was true:* for the bey (to whom the vizir had scarcely allowed a moment to breathe), roused to indignation, had recently made an agreement with the crâl and the Majars that he should attack the Turks and Tatars in the rear. As soon as the pasha heard this, he was much enraged, and determined to send and inform the vizir. But the bey hastened to him, and bribed him with 60 purses. [And now, having called the vestiari into his chamber in the tent, he caused him to be slain by some of his Tatar soldiers.] They slew also the aga of the sakman, and the sobashi; and our greatest friend the bostanjik Eustratius, who fled, was pursued, taken, and beheaded: also our friend the dvornik Berza was strangled at Tergovist.

Afterwards the bey furnished me with a bundle of letters in his own hand, directed to all the places where money was due to us, to enforce its recovery; and I returned to Tergovist. Thence I went to Piteshti, and thence to Rimnik, where I recovered all the money due to us, to the amount of more than 1000 dinars.

Again I returned to Piteshti on the 1st Sept., the beginning of A.M. 7167 [in A.D. 1658], and removed the patriarch with all our effects and company to Bucharest, whence I went again to Tergovist, and finally rejoined the patriarch at Bucharest. I was riding about on horseback nearly two months, during which I recovered all I could come at of our property.

§ viii. *Final departure from Bucharest. Arrival at Galatz. Invasion of Hungary by the Tatars. Former relations between Hungary and the Porte. Recall of the vizir to Adrianople. Rebellion of Hassan pasha.* At Bucharest we lived on the hospitality of the bey's deputy; and at length, on Th. 9th Sept., we set out for Galatz, and slept that night at the small town of Sulimâni. Next day we descended upon some villages on the Yalomnitsa, desolated by the Tatars, and down the river side to a convent of St. Michael, called Slobogia Yanâki (*i.e.* the free estate of Yanâki). This Yanâki is he who built the convent of St. Saba in Jassy. It is one day from Silistria. We stayed there till the festival of the Cross (the 14th), on account of the heavy rains, and then went on; and on the morrow came to Sirât, and

passed the town of Brailov. Near it is another large town: and not far on, after passing it, we crossed a bridge over the river [Seret], which is here the boundary between Moldavia and Wallachia, leaving Brailov to our right. From the bridge to Galatz is two hours. We reached it on 17th Sept., and alighted at the convent of St. Demetrius, whence I went to Jassy, and returned.

In Galatz we stayed 22 days [to Oct. 9th] seeking for a ship to take us to Sinope [but the ships had all been taken up by the vizir, to carry his stores and munitions to the Danube for Belgrade]. The bey of Wallachia [to recover the confidence of his masters], having opened one of the passes by treachery, the Tatars poured into Hungary, where the crâl was deserted by many of his own troops. So the strength of the Majars was broken, and only their largest forts and castles remained. So they sent from Brashob large presents to the khan, to the Kozaks, to Michael, and to Chapka severally, to induce them to desist from the war; and in like manner messages were sent to them from the seven castles of the Saxons.

As to the crâl, when he perceived the treachery of the country against him, he fled, with the voivodes Constantine and Stefani, from the face of the vizir to a very strong fortress called Boda. In consequence a number of forts surrendered to the vizir, which had been in the hands of the Turks in the time of sultan Solyman, and had been afterwards regained by the Majars. Next, the prince of that part of the country, a great ban, submitted with 5000 men, and was graciously treated by the vizir, who made him crâl over the Majars, with their consent, but on condition that he should stand for three years, and go with the beys of Moldavia and Wallachia at the end of every three years to kiss the sultan's hand. . . The duty imposed on the Majars used to be a present of 12,000 dinars to the Turks, which an ambassador took every year at the feast of the Nativity. This crâl had interrupted the payment of the tribute to the Turks for many years; but the vizir now reëstablished it, at 40,000 dinars annually.

Meantime the khan and the beys ceased not to take fortresses and to gain battles, till they effected a junction with the vizir. But when the vizir's whole mind was bent upon marching to besiege the crâl, suddenly there came to him in one day, it was said, no fewer than seven couriers with hatti-sherifs from the

sultan, commanding him to repair immediately to his presence. The case was, that Abbas Hassan pasha, who from being aga of the Turkomans had been made pasha of Aleppo by the vizir, had declared open hostility against the latter, and had marched with his troops to Broussa, having with him, as it was said, twenty-five pashas. He sent to the sultan demanding to have his quarrel with the vizir Kupriuli judged by the sultan. Kupriuli had thought to winter in Hungary. Having been made sensible of the urgency of the message, he arose, in spite of himself, and returned to the sultan; and the whole army, after having taken by capitulation the famous castle named Biavofa, marched away, and gathered round the sovereign, who removed from Adrianople to Stamboul. Hassan pasha, however, defeated the troops which were first sent against him at Broussa.

§ ix. *Flight of the inhabitants from Galatz. The patriarch sails thence. Passes Ismail and Kilia.* Through our fears of traversing the Black Sea, even in the most favourable season, we had waited these two years, hoping to be able to travel by way of Roumelia. We had a great desire to visit the Holy Mountain; and the patriarch [who had been invited thither] would have gained considerable lucre from them by confessing them, and granting to them papers of absolution. And thence we might have embarked in some ship belonging to Christians on the White Sea. But to go by that route had up to the present time been utterly impossible. We saw from Galatz the fires on the mountains of the Majars, and knew what they meant.

At length we found a ship belonging to a Christian from Sinope, laden with barley; and we agreed to give him 200 piastres to take us to that port. At this time the people of Galatz began to flee away also, and crossing the Danube, made themselves reed cottages on the Turkish territory. The cause was, that when the vizir had retired, the Majars pressed heavily on the khan and his Tatars and the two beys, and they were compelled to retire also. . . .We could scarce credit our senses when we had at last stowed our luggage on board the ship, and found ourselves embarked clear of that immediate danger. We left Galatz on W. 13th Oct., and came to castle Isakchi (on our right, in Roumelia), built by the sultan Othman. The Danube here is of small breadth; but at times it was very broad, perhaps four or five miles. Then we came to Ismail. But first we had

passed a spot called Chatel (the separations), where the river divides into three channels, of Sulina, of St. George, and a third [of Stamboul], by which last we passed to Ismail, and thence to Kilia, where we heard the Mahometan azân (the call to prayer), having for six years heard only bells.

PART IX. *Conclusion of the Travels.* BOOK XVII. *Black Sea. Anatolia.*

§ i. *Ismail to Kilia. Trade in sturgeon and caviar. Passage out into the Black Sea.* Kilia [to which we came in two days from Ismail] is a large and fine castle, at the mouth of the channel of the Black Sea. Here ships are examined. Here there used to be taken yearly, between the 1st Sept. and the fast before the Nativity (15th Nov.), every morning, from 300 to 700 sturgeon. We bought one of 80 okas weight for four-and-a-half Venetian dollars: formerly it would have cost one dollar at most. A full-sized sturgeon weighs 200 okas and more. . . . Having *rowed* about eighteen miles, we came to the opening into the Black Sea, where from sixty to seventy vessels had been waiting for more than two months for a wind to sail out. . . . As we were looking at them, suddenly, early on the Sunday morning [Oct. 24?], a favourable wind sprung up. On our arrival at the buoys which mark the passage over the bar, our ship was found to be overladen; and the captain had neglected to hire and bring from Kilia a lighter. The consequence was, that in going over, the ship struck three or four times; and, had she not been newly built, she would have gone to pieces. As it was, the sentina was filled with water; and the poor sailors were employed day and night in drawing it out with buckets. As soon as we got out to sea the wind changed again.

§ ii. *Mangali. Kavarna. Coast of Roumelia. Varna. Town and convent of Sozopoli. Carbi. Ponto Heraclea. Amastri.* Luckily this change was favourable for us; and in two days and a night we ran 250 miles, past Mangali, Costanja [Kustendje, Mangali], and Caliacra, to a port called Kavarna. Here we entreated the captain to anchor; and we passed a most wretched

night; for it blew a gale; we could not sleep for the rolling of the vessel, and were ready to die with sea-sickness. The moment that day broke we implored the captain to put us on shore, and we went up to the town, on the top of the hill, and stayed with a priest till Friday (29th Oct.), at noon, as the wind had changed. When it became again favourable, the people of the ship came to take us, and we went with them, as going to the slaughter. On Sat. morning, the 30th, after sailing 27 miles, we came to Varna; and departing on M. the 1st Nov., we came to Sozopoli; and thence the wind took us 100 miles farther to Carbi [Kirpeh in Asia]. Thence again, having gone about 300 miles, we crossed the channel of Constantinople, from the Roumelian side to the coast of Anatolia, to Heraclea [really only 50 miles beyond Kirpeh], where St. Theodore Στρατηλάτης suffered martyrdom. And now we had a dead calm for eight days.

§ iii. *Coast of Anatolia. Ionopoli. Ak-Liman. Disembark at Sinope.* From Heraclea we coasted along the wooded mountains of Anatolia to Amasserah; thence to Kidros, 50 miles; thence 50 more to Ionopoli; and thence 100 to Sinope. During this whole winter season every year the merchants and travellers go in caiques from C.P. to Trebizond and the frontier of Georgia, regarding it as the most favourable season. Whenever the sea is calm, they are on the move; but the moment there is any foul weather, they pull their boats to land, and there lie still.

We arrived at Ionopoli on the Sunday (14th Nov.) before the fast of the Nativity, having reckoned upon arriving then at Sinope; but we were becalmed. At midnight, however, there sprung up a gale, which by daybreak had carried us 100 miles, to Ak-Liman, only nine miles short of Sinope, and within sight of the castle. The gale had now become a storm, and the ship was in danger of foundering. We were much frightened, and threw into the sea a piece of the παναγία. We recommended ourselves to all the saints, and especially to the martyrs Gouria, Samon, and Abib, whose commemoration it was (M. 15th Nov.), and whose aid we had invoked the preceding evening, with a παράκλησις and prayers for a favourable wind. And so to-day also they rescued us; and we arrived at the back of the isthmus of Sinope, at a port at some distance from the town, on the morning of the first day of the fast. We went ashore, hardly believing our senses, that we had reached land, after having been

pent up in the ship 35 days, of which 20 [15] in the Danube, and 15 [20] on the sea. From Galatz to Sinope we had come 1400 miles, viz. 500 to the mouth of the Black Sea, and thence to Sinope 900. Then we walked overland nine miles, and entered the Christian quarter outside the walls, lodging in the house of an archon, where we found also our luggage and our suite.

§ iv. *Description of Sinope. Battle between Hassan pasha and Murteza pasha, and defeat of the latter.* It was told us that forty years ago the Kozaks of the Don took Sinope, together with all its forts. There are here seven churches. . . . . On Thursday of the second week of the fast (25th November), the patriarch blessed oil (the εὐχέλαιον) in the church of St. Nicholas, in presence of all the clergy and laity, for a man about to start on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. For it is the custom for such here to confess, and to invite the bishop and clergy to make some holy oil for him. He distributes tapers to all who assist, puts candles in the candelabra and before the icons, lights up all the lamps, and before the beginning of the service makes metanoias to the bishop and the assistants, begging pardon of them all; and they all say, 'The Lord forgive thee!' and after that he lights his tapers, and receives the holy mysteries. Afterwards, in presence of all, he bequeaths all he has. When we were come out, they set a chair in the church-yard, and the pilgrim treated all with slices of meat, and distributed cups of brandy all round: and to all the priests and monks he made a present in money. And so he set out with the blessing of God: and we sent by him letters to our country.

On the second Sunday of the fast (28th Nov.) we performed mass in the church of St. Cyriaca; also on the third Saturday (4th Dec.), in the church of the Baptist: and on Christmas-day, as the metropolitan of the city was come from C.P., we attended mass in the church of St. Nicholas.

On the festival of the Circumcision they send here to the bishop or to the officiating priest long cakes with sweets made of boiled almonds bruised with honey. So also, on the eves of the Nativity and the Baptism, they bring him cakes, wax, incense, wine, and an offering of money, that he may make a memento for them in his prayers.

On the festival of the Baptism (6th Jan. A.D. 1659) we robed, together with the metropolitan, in the church of the Bap-

tist; and the metropolitan made many apologies before he would put on the sakkos, saying, 'It is not lawful for me to wear it in the presence of your beatitude:' and he spoke the truth: but he did not possess a phenolion. Then we went forth from the church after the matins in procession to the sea-shore; and there the service was performed as usual, our lord the patriarch reciting the prayers. After the dipping of the cross in the basin, he went, and threw, with all his force, a wooden cross into the sea, in compliance with their custom. Immediately several men, who were ready stripped, started off, and diving into the sea, brought up the cross, to which great honour was paid, in the presence of the Turks and others. After he had sprinkled them all, we returned, and celebrated the mass.

We were now disposed to depart: but reports of the hostilities between the party of Jelali Hassan pasha and Murteza pasha of Diarbekir induced us to delay. The vizir had sent orders to the latter to make war on the former. . . On information of this, Hassan pasha arose from Broussa, and marched to Eski Shehr; and with only 12,000 men, but good soldiers, meeting the army of Murteza pasha, 120,000 in number, as it advanced against him, slew of them 70,000 men. Murteza himself escaped with difficulty to Angora; and Hassan triumphantly returned towards the country of the Arabs, to Maraash and Intab, where he took up his quarters.

§ v. *Siege of Aleppo by Sidi Ahmet pasha. Departure from Sinope. Kerseh. Amison. Arrival at Œnoos.* It was Hassan's desire to get possession of Aleppo. He had a kakhia or steward, Hammamgi Oglou, whom he had appointed in his absence his lieutenant there; and he had sent repeatedly to urge him to use all his artifice to become master of the city. But the mercy of God saved Aleppo, which had already suffered punishment enough at the hands of Sidi Ahmet pasha, when he came from C.P. to assume the pashalic of that city. [For he then besieged the city forty days, and inflicted on it great loss and suffering, till at length, on the petition of the inhabitants to the sultan, he was transferred to the pashalic of Belgrade. Afterwards Ibn al Hammamgi failed in his attempt to seize the castle; and the people of Aleppo rose against him, and expelled him; and before he could join Hassan pasha, he was murdered.

As soon as the news of this reached Sinope, the inhabitants

became secure, and the roads safe: travellers and caravans were again in motion: and we prepared strenuously for our journey. Already we had thrice hired vessels for Œnoos; and at length we set out on the morning of Sat. the last day [really, in Jan. 1659, Sat. was the 29th] of January. We embarked all our goods in a caicque, which we hired for 16 piastres. We chose this kind of vessel out of the dread we felt at the idea of going on board a ship. Thus we went 18 miles to Kerzeh (anc. Carusa), and thence to a place where we christened a new ship; and crossed the mouths of two rivers, the second called Kizzil Boghaz (Mouth of the Halys). Soon afterwards we passed Samsoun (anc. Amisus) and the river Lycus, associated with St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, called in Turkish Cherkhâneh. Then we sailed by Janika; and came to an old church of St. Nicholas, on a rock, near Œnoos (or Eunieh), which we entered on the Sunday of the Carnival, having been nine days from Sinope. [The distance is 200 miles.]

§ vi. *Description of Œnoos. Trade of its inhabitants. Town and carriers of Argosti.* We stayed at Œnoos many days, waiting for a caravan from Tocat. None coming, we wrote to a town of Christians, named Argosti, near Neo-Cesarea, to hire 20 mules; and I made up our goods into packages of not more than 70 okas weight each, and covered them with sloping tarpaulins; for it was winter, and the snow was on the ground. The carriers knew only Turkish.

It was wished that we should celebrate the liturgy in Œnoos on the first Sunday in Lent; but they did not obtain the consent of the metropolitan of Sinope, who had met us among them, and had conceived some jealousy at their love towards the patriarch. This town is not within the metropolitan's jurisdiction; but he has *taken a lease of it* from the secretaries and clerical archons of the patriarch of C.P., to whose see it is attached, the revenue being collected by his officers. . . . But the metropolitan soon repented of his conduct, and begged to be forgiven. These poor people, however, extremely desirous as they were of the patriarch's mass, did not attain their pious wish.

Thus then, on Th. 24th Feb., in the second week of Lent, we set out, accompanied by all the population to a considerable distance. In three days we reached, with difficulty, the town of Argosti.

§ vii. *Description of Cesarea or Nikshar. Village of Omâla. Comâna. Tocat. Villages of Bizari and Biscâwi.* On M. the 28th we were detained by a heavy fall of snow; but early on T. the 1st March we left, and descended a steep and long valley, by a wretched narrow road, to the city of Neo-Cesarea, now Niksar [formerly Mazaca, and the capital of Cappadocia]. Then, crossing the great river Eddib, we came in the evening to Omâla, a village of Greeks and Armenians. Hence we sent on our heavy baggage by our servants, as if they were traders, to Tocat, to the khan, fearing to attract notice there, the inhabitants being chiefly Jews and Armenians. We ourselves did not set out from Omâla till the afternoon, and, passing by Comâna, entered by night Tocat, the ancient Cucusus. There we said mass on the third Sunday in Lent, 6th Feb. On M. the 7th we visited an ancient and very large church of the Assumption, in a village named Kaksi, said to have been built by Theodosius the Great. In the morning [next day] we went to visit the tomb of St. John Chrysostom, on the road by which we had come from Omâla. Before we had gone so far as to reach the village of Comâna, we were shown a heap of stones in the field by the side of the road, wherein the coffin containing the body of the saint was found. A light is continually burning within it; and around are the ruins of a convent, which must have been large. In the midst of a vineyard at Comâna they showed us an ancient cupola, in which they said was the tomb of the martyr Basiliscus, over whom the body of Chrysostom was placed: and this tomb is visited at the present day. From Comâna we went to a village called Bizari, opposite to Omâla, on the top of a hill. Between the two villages lies the road. Here is an ancient Roman church of the Festival of the Cross; and it has crosses on most of the stones. It stands on four pillars, with a lofty cupola, in which the image of our Saviour in gold (mosaic) still remains. It has also a cupola, with the portraits of the two saints, with their names in Greek. The altar still subsists in its original state. It is in shape like the base of a pillar, painted and marbled. The sarcophagus which contained the body of St. John Chrysostom is of blue marble, and is placed on the right side before the door into the third apse, close to the wall. It is said that when the Emperor Arcadius took the saint's body away, the sarcophagus was without a cover; but lately, within these sixty years, the

saint appeared to an illiterate old man, saying, 'In such a field is buried the cover of my tomb,' &c. So, early in the morning, he dug in the place (the same place which we have mentioned, with the heap of stones), and there the cover was found. . . . We performed at the saint's tomb a paráclesis, with many metánoias, and a great quantity of lighted tapers[1] . . . We returned to Tocat: and on Friday the patriarch went to another village named Biscâwi, and celebrated mass there on the fourth Sunday of Lent. There we hired fresh mules and carriers, and returned to Tocat.

§ viii. *Description of Tocat, Paolos, Sivas. Execution of Hassan pasha at Aleppo. Destruction of his followers.* We set out in company with a caravan on Tuesday of the fifth week in Lent, 15th March, having been bidden adieu by all the Christians and their metropolitan, and came to a ruined khan, near Tocat; on W. to another khan near a Christian town called Paolos; and on Th. to a new khan near the town of Yengi Shehr. On F. as we approached Sivas (Cabira) we suffered much from piercing cold and frost. There is no vegetation here till near Pentecost. We unloaded our baggage in the khan; and lodged ourselves with some of the Christians. We celebrated mass in their new church of St. George (built in the time of sultan Amurath) on the fifth Sunday in Lent (20th March). Here the XL. Martyrs suffered martyrdom. The place of the lake is now dry ground. We were now at the end of the month of March; yet the cold was so severe that we could not stir out of our apartments. Around this town are a number of convents which were formerly in the possession of *our Roman or Greek* church, but now they are in the hands of the Armenians. In this town we ascertained the truth of the report of the murder of Hassan pasha in Aleppo, and of all the pashas who were with him; as also of the arrival there of El Kebelli, son-in-law of the vizir, and appointed to be pasha of that city.

§ ix. *Departure from Sivas. Olâsh. Canghal. Elmaghair. City of Derinda.* We left Sivas early on M. the 21st March, in the sixth week of Lent, and having come to Olâsh, an Armenian village, halted there two days on account of the snow; and then set forth, and were nearly frozen on the top of Delkeli Kaya:

[1] And a few years afterwards did the bidding of the tsar and the boyars in the deposition and exile of Nicon.

and then we passed by a long avenue planted with trees, where only one can go at a time and that only one way, to Canghal. Thence next day on the road to Derinda, till the snows were passed, and encamped. Then on to Elmaghair. On the morning of Palm Sunday, 27th of March, we ascended some high mountains; and came to the city of Derinda. On M. of Holy Week we left, and passed over an immense low plain, all irrigable, to a village on the Bostan.

§ x. *Ancient city of Bostan. Hazardous passage of the Jihan. Pilgrimage of Sob. Kerabia. Zeitoon.* On T. in Holy Week we crossed the river Bostan and entered the town of the same name, anciently a renowned city (Comana of Cappadocia). The name of its river is El Ezrek, or the blue river; and it is the same as the Sihoon. We stayed two days; and on the morning of Holy Thursday we set forth; and after three hours came to the river Jihan (anc. the Pyramus), to cross it by a ford known only to the people of the country [and then too much swollen to be crossed by the mules with their packages: and we were drenched in getting across in a boat]. Early on Good Friday the caravan proceeded; but we stayed behind till near noon with those travellers whose bundles had fallen into the water, drying our goods and clothes in the sun. We then mounted, and again on this day suffered great hardship from the roughness of this road by Zeitoon, and did not arrive at the station till after nightfall. . . . . The difficulty of the route was particularly great for the patriarch, he being a corpulent man. On the morning of Holy Saturday we rose early, to traverse mountain ridges covered with deep snow. The mud was equally deep wherever the sun had taken effect. At noon we descended into the valley of Zeitoon with its vineyards, and came in the afternoon opposite to Zeitoon, and sent thither and got some wine, but could get no eggs, cheese, nor meat; for Hassan pasha's men had plundered the whole of this country.

Book XVIII. *Syria.*

§ i. *Marhash. Osman Dada. Borge. Account of Metrophanes archbishop of Aleppo. Arrival at Keliz.* On the morning of Easter

Sunday we moved forward, and again over a very rugged road, over huge mountains like walls, and coasting for the most part the river Jihan. In the afternoon we alighted at a bridge near Marhash, and began from this place to see the red soil of Aleppo, and the oak, almond, olive, and pomegranate tree in orchards. . . We left on T. morning the 5th, and came to a minaret and an old khan, where was formerly a large town called Osman Jik or Osman Dada. On W. we went through mud and clay and the waters of the rice-grounds. Then we entered the famous Durenda pass; and on emerging from it we arrived at the top of the mountain where the road divides to Intab and Keliz; and the caravan here divided. We went on with those going to Keliz; and soon came to the vinegrounds and to the town of Borge, celebrated for its tower. In the evening of Th. I alone arrived at Keliz, as a courier [and found that we had been given up for lost, so that they scarce believed their eyes when they saw me].

I immediately wrote letters to Aleppo and Damascus, and the other towns of Syria; and I desired my sons, Ananias and Constantine, to come to see me *from Aleppo*, it being seven years all but three months since I had parted with them. For we had determined to go first to Damascus; but, the news of our return spreading, we were obliged to go to Aleppo, the metropolitan Metrophanes, that ravening wolf, who was conscious of his crimes, excusing himself from coming to meet us on the plea of his being sick.

§ ii. *Solemn entry into Aleppo. Conduct of the archbishop of Emessa. Visit of the metropolitans.* We celebrated mass at Keliz on the Sunday of St. Thomas, 10th Apr., and stayed fifteen days. The patriarch at length consented to go to Aleppo; but on condition that he should collect among them his proper dues; and that whatever he spent in the service of the pasha, and all the presents, should be at their cost. We set out therefore from Keliz with few things, and alighted at the village of Bilirmon near Aleppo; [which becoming known, all the Christians came out to meet them.] We entered the city on the evening of Th. the 21st Apr., met by the Christians of all sects, so that, but for the janizaries who walked before us with staves, we should not have got through the crowd.

The metropolitan too came to meet us, quaking and trembling at his condition, and lamenting it audibly: and God is wit-

ness, that, from the change of his person and countenance, we should not have known him. He came walking, supported by four bearers, as he knelt and supplicated; and, through the closing in of the crowd, he was nearly trampled on by the people's feet. As it was too late to go, according to custom, to the church, we went at once to the metropolitan's palace, where we reposed ourselves, and threw off the cares of travelling.

On the eve before the following Sat. we made a procession of all the priests and deacons at the introit, in the vespers, according to the custom of the country, in honour of St. George; and on the morrow (23d Apr.) celebrated the mass of his festival with a grand procession, and a distribution of wax-lights to all applicants; and the Christians (God bless and prosper them!) met together in great solemnity to do honour to the patriarch, whom they vied with each other in entertaining at dinner and supper. Against their metropolitan they still came with complaints, and the patriarch lamented their case; while the metropolitan himself continued stretched on the bed of sickness.

Our messenger to Damascus was now returned, and had brought us news of their joy, with letters requesting that the patriarch would speedily come to them, to take in hand the reins of government. At the same time they also complained of the metropolitan of Emessa, *a second Judas* . . . For they had invited him to dwell with them as deputy; and he went and celebrated in the patriarchal see, occupying the patriarch's throne, and wearing the sakkos, *ordaining*, and standing at the *καθέδρα* (*i.e.* the chair behind the altar), *all without the permission of the owner of the see.* They accused him of celebrating unlawful marriages for money, and of perpetrating great enormities, greater even than those of the metropolitan of Aleppo. When he heard of the approach of our lord the patriarch, he was confounded; for he had been continually reporting of us that we had been killed, and could never possibly return; and telling the people that he was now the person to exercise patriarchal authority over them, thus *ungratefully proving treacherous to his lord and master, who had ordained him priest, and consecrated him bishop.* And as the metropolitan of Aleppo was in the habit of drunkenness, so this man fell a prey to avarice.

Afterwards he fled from Damascus to the convent of Sidenaia, and wrote to the governors petition upon petition against the in-

habitants of Damascus, until we sent him a letter summoning him to Aleppo. Hither also repaired to salute us Kyr Meletius metropolitan of Therapolis, Kyr Nicholas metropolitan of Acre, and Kyr Neophytus metropolitan of Ladikia. In the mean time letter upon letter came from Damascus, beseeching the patriarch to come to them, till at length we determined to do so; and having sent for the rest of our baggage from Keliz, we began to pack up. On this some of the Christians of Aleppo came in to ask us to take away their metropolitan from them, that they might breathe and rest, during his absence, for a while. Then the patriarch held *a meeting* on this account, and on the affairs of the vakeels (the economes or wardens of the church), *all of whom he deposed from their offices, substituting others:* and on reckoning the debt remaining due by the church of Aleppo, they found it to be 7000 piastres. All the church property, the vestments, and the vessels for mass were in pledge with the creditors: and all these depredations had been committed by the metropolitan, over and above the sum paid to him and for him by account. What, then, could the patriarch do with him? He gave him into the hands of the just governor to requite and punish him. And now he asked the patriarch that he might go with him to Damascus; but the patriarch refused; and we left him to the care of the imps of Satan.

§ iii. *Departure for Hemah. Arrival at Damascus. Reconstruction of the patriarchal palace.* We left Aleppo in company with the Mecca pilgrims on Thursday [Tuesday] the 21st June; and at Hemah we heard good news [of the decapitation of two grandees, who were hoping to pillage us, at Damascus].

When we arrived at Emessa the wicked metropolitan of that place, that second Arius, came out to meet us; for he had got away from Sidenaia by deceit and hypocrisy: but we made him no reproaches: on the contrary we smiled on him, and took him with us, and comforted his heart, that we might obtain our purpose, and accomplish our judgment on him before his enemies, by assembling a synod on his conduct and person. When we were gone two days from Emessa, I in private began to allude to his sinful acts, one by one; but he met my reproaches by evasions and denials.

At last we entered Damascus on the morning of F. 1st July, and were met by the Christians with all veneration and joy.

We first of all waited on the pasha (as we also waited on all the chief magistrates of the city), with presents of wax-tapers, sugar, and cloths. Then we commenced paying our debts, and paid in this way about 15,000 piastres. The patriarchal house also claimed certain sums of money, and cloth, and musk, and fur, &c. We expended on the pasha, and on the rest of the servants of the grandees, more than 3000 piastres. The house of the patriarchate and the court enclosure were ruinous. We therefore razed them to the ground, and built a new palace, suitable for ourselves, with cells for the clergy, and porticos, and a garden with lemon and orange trees, and a pond, at an expense of about 3000 piastres.

§ iv. *The patriarch's khan is rebuilt at Damascus. Decease of the metropolitan: and erection of a diran khanah at Aleppo.* There was opposite to the patriarchate a khan, which had been bequeathed to it, and over it stories and apartments for the poor: but it had latterly become an abode for prostitutes. But I expelled them at once; and having levelled the whole building to the ground, I rebuilt it from the foundations, making it two stories high, the lower story consisting of nine roomy workshops, the upper of eight. And whereas the yearly rent of the khan before had been only 25 piastres, it now rose to more than 120. On this khan we expended about 2000 piastres.

In our absence the aga had settled in the old patriarchal palace, and it was with great difficulty we expelled him. The workmen were employed *about two years* [till A.D. 1661] in rebuilding the palace; but the khan we completed first in only 80 days.

Soon after our arrival at Damascus there came the metropolitan of Saida, the metropolitan of Beirout, the metropolitan of Baalbec, and the metropolitan of Therapolis, to salute the patriarch; and his beatitude dismissed them in their various directions to collect the *noria*, or contributions for him, as usual. He himself went on a visit to Sidenaia, on Th. the 1st of Sept., the opening of A.M. 7168 [in A.D. 1659]: and I stayed in his place at Damascus.

Six days after the festival of the Cross [on T. Sept. 20], a courier reached us from Aleppo with the important and welcome news that the metropolitan of Aleppo had died on T. the 13th, after a short illness. All rejoiced at his death.

At that time the patriarch determined that he would this year

concoct the holy myron or chrism; because there remained of that made by the patriarch Joachim, son of Ziâdah, not more than one gallon: and we now therefore wrote down the names of the drugs and aromatic roots in a book, and began to buy and collect them, sending to obtain from Egypt the oil of balsam.

At the commencement of the fast of the Nativity, Sat. 15th Nov., I went to Aleppo, where I remained till Sat. the 10th of March, A.D. 1660. I had begun there also to build a *divan khanah*, which was absolutely requisite, and two vaults for *prisons*, and storehouses. . . . I was building in Damascus what I have mentioned at the same time that in Aleppo they were carrying on this building in my absence. I then passed back to Damascus in company with the pilgrims for Jerusalem, and rejoined my father, and received his blessing.

§ v. *Preparation of the holy myron, and its several concoctions.* Having collected all the materials and utensils for making the holy chrism, for the week of the Passion, we pounded the drugs in the mortar for five concoctions. We pounded the parts for each concoction, and placed them in a large paper by themselves, writing the name upon them. [The ingredients of each of the five concoctions are then given; the preparation and boiling of them was begun on the Monday, and completed on the Wednesday.]

§ vi. *Consecration of the myron. Erection of a new pulpit. Verses of Ibn Oddib.* On the forenoon of Holy Thursday, 19th Apr., the patriarch came into the church, and poured the myron into new glass vessels, while all, bareheaded, were chanting the troparia, and the psalm 'The Lord is my shepherd,' &c., and we put them aside in rows. Then the bishops and priests and deacons went and robed with the patriarch; and came and took the vessels, singly and in couples, in procession, with wax-lights preceding them, and seven pairs of fans, with which the deacons fanned, behind them; and all chanting the psalm 'Have mercy upon me, O God,' &c., till they entered with them into the inner church of St. Mary, and having placed them on the holy table, they began the mass, in which they were carried round before the holy gifts at the great introit; and having then been blessed, they were deposited under the holy table till the morning of Easter Sunday, when we took them and placed them in the place where the myron is kept.

For this Easter festival I made a new pulpit, with four handsome gilt pillars, and a cupola, in the inner church of St. Mary; and I read in it, for the first time it was used, the gospel for Easter. We expended on it above 400 piastres.

A certain priest of Damascus, Yohanna Ibn Oddib, composed some verses on all these circumstances, celebrating the patriarch Macarius, and saying [amongst other things]: 'When the death of the late patriarch, Euthymius the Greek, the Sciote, was at hand, he sent and called to him to Damascus Kyr Macarius the Aleppian, and appointed him his successor to the apostolic see of Peter, the supreme in station, with the consent of the bishops of the province, of the dignified priesthood, of the assembly of the clergy, and of the whole congregation of the orthodox. This was on the 11th of Oct. in A.M. 7156 [in A.D. 1647]. He stayed in Damascus about nine months, and then went forth to visit his province. He returned to Damascus from Aleppo, after he had been two years patriarch, and again resided there three years, after which he set out for Aleppo, purposing to go into the country of the Christians, in company with his son, the archdeacon Paul, and those of the priests, deacons, and disciples who joined them. The reason was, the accumulation of debts and pledges oppressing his see, through the conduct of the fraudulent. He was absent full seven years, during which he encountered all manner of evils and hardships. But God brought him back in the end, after hope had been cut off; and on Friday, the 1st of Tamouz in A.M. 7167, our affliction ceased. . . . On the eve before the 1st of Nov. the archdeacon his son sent letters to Beirout, and brought us thence a beautiful stone white and polished, with which he renewed the holy altar in the sanctuary of the Mother of God. Then he collected vessels, drugs, &c. for the concoction of the holy myron. He began the operation on the Great Monday, and continued it till Holy Wednesday in the evening, when it was completed. It was boiled in the presence of the whole body of bishops and dignified priests, and of the deacons and ministers and monks. The patriarch was robed in his omophorion and epitrachelion, and read the gospels, with Glorias, Kyrie eléisons, and Alleluias. So also the bishops, vested in like manner, read, together with the priests, the gospels, epistles, and psalms in chant. Some of the priests and deacons sat attending to the fire: others were stirring the mixture, not

neglecting at the same time to glorify God. The deacons especially were fanning with their fans, and singing Alleluia. And now the church of St. Nicholas became like a royal garden, being beautified and perfected in the midst of this great and splendid mystery. . . . On Holy Thursday, which was the 16th of Nisan [really in A.D. 1660 it was the 19th: the boiling of the myron had been begun on the 16th, which was Monday] of A.M. 7168 [*i. e.* in A.D. 1660], the patriarch made a grand procession; and the bishops and priests carried the vessels with all reverence. . . . They removed the myron from the church of St. Nicholas to the inner church; and placed it on the main altar. At the great introit they carried it round the whole of the great church, and returned to the bema: and after the patriarch had read over it the appointed prayers, we deposited it under the splendid main altar. On Holy Saturday the archdeacon set up a new gilt pulpit, in the great inner church; and in it he read the gospel of Easter, for the first time, in the mass celebrated that day in this church. Afterwards the vessels of the myron were carried to its proper store; which is behind the door of the chapel of SS. Cyprian and Justina. On the vessels I wrote the date in large letters. This was all done in the year of the Incarnation 1660. Well done then, the three things made new for us—the holy table, the divine myron, and our preacher's pulpit! And we thank our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and pray him, by the intercession of his most blessed Mother, to prolong to us the life of our lord the patriarch, and to preserve the worthy archdeacon his son, prospering all his good intentions, and increasing his piety and grace: may he continue to him his offspring, his beloved *Ananias, the deacon;* and give him joy of his admirable son Constantine!' &c. &c.

§ vii. *Synod on the metropolitan of Emessa. His excommunication, and death.* As regards the metropolitan of Emessa, Ibn Amish, it may be proper not to omit mentioning what befell him. For we assembled on account of him a synod, at which were present Meletius metropolitan of Therapolis, Philip metropolitan of Beyrout, Jeremiah metropolitan of Sidon, Nicholas metropolitan of Acre, Neophytus metropolitan of Latakiah, Gerasimus metropolitan of Zabdani, and Gregory metropolitan of Hauran, all the priests of Damascus, all the clergy, *and the ayans* (the heads of the laity), in the church of St. Nicholas. And all

judged him, and established against him, *to his face*, . . . various enormities and evil practices. And all unanimously sentenced him to *suspension from the sacerdotal office, and excommunication*, till repentance. The form of this was written in an ἱστατικὸν, which we sent to the whole patriarchal province (ἐπαρχία): and all rejoiced at it; for he was to all of them a razor with his tongue. This was the form:

'Praised be God for ever!—Macarius, by the mercy of God patriarch of Antioch and of all the East. This Sunday, 28th Aug., in A.M. 7167 [in A.D. 1659], a holy synod was held, in the presence of me, who have put my signature at the top and bottom, and in the presence of the bishops of the province of Antioch, in the city of Damascus, in the church of St. Nicholas, whose signatures and seals are attached at the end: and their synod and judgment were directed against Athanasius the metropolitan of Emessa: That he had come to Damascus and occupied the patriarchal chair, without the command of the patriarch, and without their counsel or consent; that he had celebrated mass in the patriarchal church, and put on his robes outside the sanctuary in the narthex; that he had ordained priests and deacons without the permission of the lord of the see; that he had uttered falsehoods against his brethren the bishops; that he had celebrated unlawful marriages in the city and in the country, and pronounced them lawful on receiving money (this charge being proved against him, *to his face*, in presence of the said holy synod, the priests of the city, the several orders of ecclesiastics, and the ayans of the congregation): moreover that he had gone to the Sidenaia convent, had mounted to the καθέδρα, and had celebrated mass there without permission, after the priests, clerks, and ayans of the congregation had sent to forbid him: but he would not refrain. Before this, many enormities had been witnessed against him, and registered of him in the journals, having been proved to his face: Wherefore I, Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, in conformity with the ordinances of the Christian law, by authority of the Almighty, *and of the sultan*, have adjudged that this man, viz. the abovementioned Athanasius, be cut off *from all and several the degrees of the priesthood, having no power nor authority for the celebration of mass, or any other priestly function, nor to put on the epitrachelion.* And *should he transgress our prohibitions*, let him be

anathematised and excommunicated from the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and from the holy assemblies of the Church, until he return and repent, and make satisfaction for what he has plundered to himself from the patriarchate, from the church, from the funds, from the fees, from the living, and from the dead.—And hereupon the holy synod separated. Farewell.'

After this the metropolitan fled from Damascus by night, and went to Aleppo, where he remained a year and two months, when he died, excommunicate, on Wednesday the 21st November in A.D. 1660.

§ viii. *The patriarch makes a visitation of his province. Great dearth of provisions. New registration for the kharatch at Damascus.* The patriarch, having stayed at Damascus a year and four days, departed in the night of Th. the 5th July [A.D. 1660] for Sidenaia, whence he passed to Raas, Beirout, Therapolis, and Hemah, occupied with the affairs of his flock. At Aleppo he arrived on T. the 7th May, A.D. 1661, having spent the Easter holidays at Hemah, and consecrated for them a metropolitan, Neophytus of Scio, who had been deacon to the former patriarch, Euthymius his countryman. This was on M. in Easter week, A.M. 7169 [15th Apr. A.D. 1661], in presence of Antonius, metropolitan of Baalbec, and Gerasimus, metropolitan of Zabdani. The patriarch's coming to Aleppo caused great joy. For there was there a pasha called El-Khaski, a great tyrant and extortioner. And this year there had happened a great dearth, extending over most countries, even to Roumelia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, as we were told: so that the makkuk (11 lbs. and a quarter) of wheat in Aleppo reached the price of 100 piastres, and could not be had; and so of other grain. The like was the case in Syria: only God was merciful to Damascus in its pasha, Ahmed, son of the vizir Kupriuli, who sent and brought from Egypt a great quantity of corn, rice, and other grain; a thing which had never been done before: for it had never been the practice for wheat to be exported from Egypt: but he, being a vizir, the son of the grand vizir, had it given to him. If it had not been for this the people would have eaten one another. While the pasha of Damascus was doing such acts of bounty, El-Khaski at Aleppo was doing quite the reverse: and the patriarch, through fear of his tyranny, was wasting his days at

Hemah, and in the country round about. But the sultan and the vizir, being informed of his tyranny, were enraged against him, and sent and took him, and put him to death; and joy came to Aleppo and its inhabitants, among whom the patriarch now appeared without fear. As for myself, I remained as my father's deputy at Damascus; waiting on the pasha, the son of the vizir, as usual, and associating with all his agas and kakhias.

At this time the pasha, the son of the vizir, determined on a fresh registration of the Jews and Christians subject to the kharatch, or capitation-tax. Now the patriarch had sunk from the kharatch of Gaza 141 names, in the time of Abshir pasha: for this pasha loved him much: and every pasha of Damascus is authorised to sink the kharatch of Gaza 101 names and more. They therefore all petitioned the patriarch, who did for them as has been said, leaving only 40 names. But he had to expend for this 2000 piastres. And for the Christians of Damascus he sunk 120 names, for those of Kara 15, for those of Mazonia 15; and this cost him from 4000 to 5000 piastres. Afterwards, owing to the absence of the patriarch these years, the defterdar, who collected the kharatch, took yearly from them, over and above their assessment, 1000 piastres and more, till now. In the new registration the mutribgi of the pasha, who took the census, was attended by a secretary who was an associate of ours; whose heart we contented; so that he wrote according to our desire. The capitation kharatch of the Christians of Damascus was at this time 480 names (married men possessing property being alone on the list). Only I had to expend a large sum of money. If I had not been present this year at this affair, the burden would have increased much: but through the aga's great love for us and his intimacy with us, contracted by means of gifts, presents, and entertainments, he would not listen to the speeches of our enemies nor of the heretics, who, out of their hatred and jealousy, whispered the most malicious insinuations against us. Thus terminated the registration, both the defterdar being content with us, and all the kakhias and agas of the pasha, who had each of them recommended us to the favour of the mutribgi.

§ ix. *The son of the vizir is made grand vizir. The archdeacon regulates various church matters. He rejoins the patriarch at Aleppo.* Soon afterwards the pasha was sent for by his father, to be made grand vizir in his own room. In two days he arrived at

Hemiah, and travelled day and night to Adrianople, where he saw his father, at whose death he was appointed to succeed him.

During this year that I was vicar to the patriarch in conjunction with Kyr Nicholas, metropolitan of Acre, five of the priests of Damascus died. At the beginning of the patriarchate of our lord Macarius, there were thirty priests, of whom fifteen have now died. [The archdeacon buried becomingly those who died; and made various regulations and reforms, which he relates.]

This year I had incurred great loss and expense on account of the extraordinary dearth, and also on account of the kharatch, as has been mentioned. And the twelve months were not elapsed before my breath was gone; when, panting with labour and anguish, I made an effort to escape; and went forth from Damascus on the evening of Thursday 4th of July, four days after the pasha Ahmed, the son of the vizir, and in company with his kakhia, Salih aga, who had orders to follow him with his heavy luggage, goods, and treasure. Between this officer and me there had existed much intercourse . . . Thus I departed with him from Damascus, in company with others of our friends; and we entered Aleppo with him on Monday the 15th of July. Here we rejoined my father the patriarch, and received his blessing. May he long continue in an old age abounding in good works, with tranquil mind, released from debt, and free from unpleasant apprehensions!

Δόξα πάντοτε τῷ Θεῷ.

APPENDIX I.

THE patriarch Macarius and his son and archdeacon Paul, when they came into Muscovy in 1654, and found it governed only by two men, the tsar and the patriarch Nicon, as if they had but one will for the repression of evil (p. 131), heard that in time past under the tsar Michael, and when Alexis first came to the throne, the state of things had been very different: that the voivodes and boyars then were tyrannical and corrupt. And in one place the archdeacon writes that when the tsar Alexis came to the throne 'he put to death *all* those iniquitous voivodes, and set other new officers in their stead, who are in constant dread of him: for he loves to shed blood in the execution of justice' (p. 68). For since '*all*' seemed to fear the tsar and to fear the patriarch, and '*all*' loved the tsar and loved the patriarch 'almost as much as Christ himself,' tyranny and corruption seemed to have been destroyed (p. 71, 164). Nevertheless, in another place he implies that *some* of those who had deserved repression and punishment might still be in existence, and that the just severities of the tsar had not reached *quite* to *all*. The tsar, he writes in the place alluded to, 'has now overpowered those who formerly despised his youth, and has brought them quite low, and has put to death *most of them*,' that is, *not perhaps quite all*. But though in these places he speaks only of the tsar, he elsewhere hints that that strength and severity which made all the bad to fear and to dissemble, and which had rendered them in a manner invisible, was owing more to the personal character of Nicon than to that of the tsar. 'By all,' he writes, 'that we could observe of the grandees, they do not much fear the tsar: they fear rather this patriarch, and by many degrees more' (p. 166). However, it is not to him but to other sources that we must have recourse if we would understand the truths alluded to under his imperfect and distorted statements, and estimate the power of some of those who had neither been slain nor brought very low, though their wickedness and corruption was held in abeyance while Macarius was in Russia (from 1654 to 1656) by the influence of Nicon.

To this end, after prefixing an account of the coronation of the tsar Alexis, we will subjoin some extracts from a writer who gives an account of the first troubles of the reign of Alexis, of their causes, and of the concessions and punishments by which they were appeased. He also gives a list of the boyars, okolniks, and others who were members of the council, or who presided in the more important prikazes (*i.e.* public offices and courts) in the year 1654, when the war was undertaken against Poland (see above, p. 83). And he illustrates, no less than the writer of the Travels of Macarius, the independence with which the patriarch Nicon acted within his own sphere, and the heartiness with which he was then assisted by the tsar (see pp. 111, 131, 156, 157).

I. *Of the Coronation of the tsar Alexis Mich.* (*then in his 17th year*), 28 *Sept.* 1645.

Sim. Bas. Volhinsky and Athanas. Narbekoff of the *Zemski dvor* made the high place, and the kaznachey Bogdan Min. Doubrovsky, with the diaks Dan. Pancratieff and Almiaz Ivanoff, laid down the purple cloth from the *Kazenni dvor* on the platform, and from it to the royal doors: and they placed two great benches and Persian carpets one on either side. The *postelnik* Iv. Mich. Anitchkoff and the *straptchis* Plemiannikoff and Panin took in the imperial gold seat, a gift of Shah Abbas: and they set on the left the patriarchal chair and cushion (brought from the patriarchal treasury by the subdeacon Theodore): and they set three nalois (ἀναλογεῖα). After *vsenoshni* (the vigil service) in all the churches the patriarch Joseph caused the bells to sound, and assembled the clergy in the patriarchal dvor, and went with them from the krestovaia palata (the entrance-hall) of the patriarchate to the church, all in splendid mandyas &c., and the metropolitans &c. went behind him. The protodiacon with the clerks met him with the incense and with lights at the door.

At the second hour the tsar came out from his own chambers and went into the middle golden hall of the signature, where the boyars and the people of the council were to meet him, the voivodes, kniazes, and people of the prikazes being in front of the said hall, in the corridor. And he sent thence to the Kazenni dvor for the holy cross and the barma, and for all his imperial robes, his imperial *boyar* Basil Iv. Streshneff (the sceptre), the kaznachey Bogdan Min. Doubrovsky (the apple or globe), and the secretaries of his council Ivan Gavreneff (gold dish with jewels), Mich. Volosheninoff (stand for the apple), and (the confessor) the protopope of the church of the Annunciation *Stephan*[1] *Bonifatieff* (to bring the cross and barma and chain on his head in a dish) with two deacons: and they returned by the porch of the Annunciation and its stairs to the *krasnoe krilitso* (the red stair) of the palace. The tsar kissed the regalia, and covering the cross and the barma, gave them on the dish to the protopope, and the crown he gave to Lucian Stepan. Streshneff (and the sceptre and apple to those named before), and sent them into the church: and after them, in honour of them, he sent his boyar Basil Petr. Sheremetieff, and many dvorianins. They went through [the covered porches of] the church of the Annunciation, and upon a raised way or platform to the door of the cathedral of the Assumption, where the patriarch met them, and sent two archbishops to meet them outside on the raised causeway opposite to the *granovitaia palata's* middle window: and at the south doors themselves the patriarch went out on to the roundouk (the raised platform) to meet them. When all was placed in readiness, the patriarch sent back Sheremetieff to announce that it was so. So the tsar went, preceded by the said Sheremetieff and by the okolniks and stolniks, viz. 1. Prince Yak. Koud. Cherkassky, 2. Pr. Greg. Sound. Cherkassky, 3. Pr. Mich. Mich. Temnin-Rostofsky, 4. Pr. Bas. Andr. Golitsin, 5. Pr. Mich. Nik. Odoefsky, 6. Pr. Theod. Nik. Odoefsky, 7 Mich. Iv. Morozoff, 8. Peter Mich. Soltikoff, 9. Pr. Boris Iv. Troekouroff, 10. Basil Iv. Sheremetieff,

[1] Perhaps alluded to (but if so, inaccurately) at p. 110 and p. 324.

11. Peter Bas. Sheremetieff, 12. Basil Bor. Sheremetieff, 13. Pr. Youry Petr. Yanossoff Rostofsky, 14. Ivan Theod. (senior) Streshneff, 15. Ivan Theod. (junior) Streshneff, 16. Rodion Matv. Streshnëff, 17. Nikephor Serg. Sobakin, 18. Basil Bas. Boutourlin, 19. Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, 20. Ivan Iv. Kolicheff, 21. Basil Yak. Golochvastoff, 22. Athanasius Iv. Matiushkin.

Stephen the protopope of the Annunciation went before the tsar with holy water, and sprinkled the way to the churches: after the tsar went the boyars, okolniks, doumnie liudi (people of the council) and stolniks, strapchis, Moscow dvorianins, and diaks, and dvorianins from the towns, and dieti-boyarskie, and people of all classes: and on either side of the tsar went okolniks and golovi (heads) of the streltses, and other officials in great number. On the stairs, to keep guard, there were heads of the streltses, and thence to the church on both sides, and with them sotniks and many streltses on both sides. At his entry they sang a πολυχρόνιον. When he had gone about and done his reverence [to the holy tunic, the relics, and the icons] while the patriarch was waiting for him at the grille [of his stand or stall], the patriarch came down out of his place and blessed him with the cross and with the holy water, and he stood at the grille of the patriarchal place, and the boyars &c. behind him. And the patriarch stood facing towards the icon of our Lady of Vladimir (*i. e.* at his proper place) and bade the protodiacon Gregory begin the moleben (παράκλησιν), the tsar still standing during it at the patriarchal place, at the grille.

After the moleben, the Ἄξιον &c., the τρισάγιον, and the troparia, before the double ἐκτενῆς, the tsar and the patriarch went to their raised platform at the west end, and sat there; and the bishops &c. sat on either side. And on the right of the tsar on his platform stood his governor and blijni komnatni boyar (*i. e.* lit. *near*, chamber boyar) Boris Iv. Morozoff, and the postelnik Ivan Mich. Anitchkoff, and the strapchis; and opposite him, to manage the robes &c., stood his doumni diak of the Posolski prikaz, pr. Gregory Bas. Lvoff: and the other boyars and grandees stood at the platform on the right side in their order. And on the left on the platform there stood the protodiacon Gregory, and the black deacon of the riznitsa (the vestry), and the lesser group of poddiaks; and below, on the left, Abramius, kellar of the Troitsa monastery of St. Sergius, and others, of the greater monasteries.

Then the tsar rose and spoke, demanding his consecration; and the patriarch spoke in return. Then he took the cross, and put it about the tsar's neck, and placed his hand on his head, and after the short ἐκτενῆς said a prayer with these words in it: 'Sow in his heart thy fear, that he be gracious to obedient subjects: keep him in the pure faith; show him *a scrupulous observer of the commandments* of thy holy Catholic Church, that he may judge thy people in righteousness and thy saints with judgment, and may save the children of the poor, and be made an heir of thy heavenly kingdom,' &c.[2]

Then the patriarch sent for and put on him the barma; after which there was the short ἐκτενῆς and a prayer.[3] Then he sent for the crown, and set it on the tsar's head; and taking him by the right hand he set

[2] See the *Replies of Nicon*, &c. p. 242. [3] Ibid. p. 244.

him in the imperial place and blessed him, and went out and did obeisance to him, and stood.

Then the patriarch sent for the sceptre and the apple, and gave them to the tsar: and the metropolitans and archbishops came in front, and blessed with their hands, and did obeisance. And the patriarch blessed the tsar, and taking him by the right hand set him in the imperial seat, and sat down himself in his own seat. After that they rose, and there was bidden the great ἐκτενὴς with prayers for the tsar, his sisters, the patriarch &c., and a prayer [to the B. Virgin] was said by the patriarch; after which the tsar and the patriarch and the bishops sat down, the boyars &c. still standing: and the patriarch bade the protodiacon Gregory proclaim aloud the πολυχρόνιον, and the protodiacon did so, standing right before the tsar: and the protopopes and priests sang within the altar the same; and then the right choir; and lastly the left choir of the singers.

Then the patriarch rose, called to him all the bishops and all the sacred synod, and congratulated the tsar, and wished him sons of sons upon his throne, and generation after generation for ever. And the tsar returned their good wishes. Then the boyars in like manner did their obeisance, and offered their salutations; and after them all the people.

Then the patriarch addressed to the tsar an instruction:

[In the *Replies* &c. of Nicon, pp. 245-249, this instruction is given almost at full; but one or two passages omitted may be supplied here. One is this: 'For ye, O kings, are the servants of God. And why then do ye not keep the law, nor walk in the counsel of the Most High? Why do ye judge unrighteously, and for interest subvert the truth? seeing that Christ has chosen you to be in his own stead upon earth, and has exalted you, to set you in *his* throne, and has placed mercy and life in your hands. It is your part then, having received such a commandment, to be the improvers and correctors of mankind. And every righteous prince has an angelic and priest-like office; but he that is violent and unjust to his servants makes himself into a devil: for it is the power of the devil that reigns in his flesh, when he is insatiable of filthy lusts, and *when his heart swells with vain haughtiness and pride.* Wherefore upon such there shall come terrible irresistible destruction: for the wrath of the Lord shall be kindled, and the mighty ones shall be the more mightily tormented.' Another passage is as follows: 'Thou art exalted in power and authority; but thy power is established by [the consent and support of] men. Thou art set a king; be then a king inwardly, *over thyself.* For it is not he who is *called* lord or king that *is* one, but he who has a right mind. If this be not in him, it is to no purpose that he bears outwardly the titles. Does a man receive great authority? he has need then of great understanding. But if thou sayest to thyself, Have I not the sword? have I not power to take away men's possessions? I will reply to thee: Yes! thou hast all this: but thinkest thou that thou mayest boast thyself herein at will as one that has to render no account? Thou art much mistaken. "Hearken, ye kings of the earth! Thus saith the Lord: Thou shalt not justify the wicked for interest, nor commit iniquity in judgment: for the judgment of God is true. Cursed is every one that judgeth unrighteously: for the wrath of God shall be upon them: it shall not be appeased for

ever: and the fire shall devour the houses of them that make gain by injustice: but they who hate corruption shall be preserved." And again king Solomon says: "I say unto you kings: Comfort the afflicted: deliver them that are wronged from the hands of the mighty: for these, when oppressed by the rich, have recourse to you as their protectors." Blessed is he who shall attend to these words, and *not regard the persons of great men* in judgment. For inasmuch as he delivers them that are wronged out of the hands of the unrighteous, he shall be delivered himself at the terrible judgment of the great day before the righteous judgment-seat of Christ.']

After the instruction the patriarch blessed the tsar with the cross. Then the tsar and the patriarch went down from the platform; and the patriarch made the dismissal of the moleben (the παράκλησις), and blessed the tsar with the cross, together with all the sacred synod; and the tsar went up to his ordinary imperial place, on the right-hand side.

Then the patriarch went up again to his platform, and gave the bidding to begin the liturgy; and he himself said the introit.

At the lesser introit he kissed the gospel, and went up into the sanctuary, and sent the gospel to the tsar, who, putting off his crown, went down, kissed it, and then returned to his place. He also put off his crown while the deacon read the gospel, and went down and kissed it afterwards, and then returned and resumed his crown.

At the great introit he again put off the crown, and made three reverences; and the metropolitan of Novgorod, Aphthonius, came and blessed him with the cross, and he then put it on again. The tsar went up to the royal doors, and the patriarch blessed him with the cross, and put upon him a chain, and he returned.

At the Ἐξαίρετως &c. [the anthem sung at the consecration] he put off the crown and made a reverence, and put it on again, and stood with it till the anointing and the holy communion.

When the doors opened, the diaks of the *Kazenni dvor* spread cloth of scarlet and gold from the tsar's place to the royal doors, and the postelnik laid over it a carpet at the royal doors. Presently the patriarch sent the protodiacon and another to call the tsar: and the tsar went up and again gave his crown to be held upon the gold dish by Lucian Stepan. Streshneff, the sceptre he gave to Bas. Petr. Sheremetieff, and the apple to Iv. Petr. Sheremetieff, who stood near. The tsar kissed the icons, beginning with our Lady of Vladimir. Then the tsar was anointed; and afterwards he was communicated [*not* within, but at the threshold of the altar], Morozoff holding the linen cloth, and girding the tsar with it. Afterwards the tsar resumed his crown: and the patriarch went in; the doors were shut; and he communicated the metropolitans and all the clergy.[4] The tsar returned to his own place.

[4] There is a note on this, as if it were to be understood from the text here that the tsar on this occasion was communicated, contrary to the order of the ritual, *before* the clergy: 'Note, that the tsar *Theodore* at *his* coronation kissed the icon of the Saviour first, and then was taken *within* the doors to be communicated: and he was communicated from a disk and chalice of St. Antony the Roman [brought by the tsar Ivan Bas. from Novgorod]: and all the priests were communicated before the tsar.'

After the prayer behind the ambon the tsar went up without his crown, and received three of the prosphoræ which had been used; viz. that of the *Agnetz* [whence the host was taken], that of the B. Virgin, and that of the Baptist, and the mixed wine and water; and having received these, he went back: and the patriarch ended the liturgy.

And after the dismissal the patriarch went to the tsar, the metropolitan of Novgorod, Aphthonius, going after him with a prosphora, and all the clergy: and the tsar came down; and the patriarch taking the prosphora gave it to him; and they all congratulated him: and the tsar invited them all to eat bread: the patriarch blessed him with the cross; and he left the church by the south doors towards the cathedral of the Archangel.

When he issued out, on to the raised causeway or platform, the boyar Niketa Ivan. Romanoff thrice scattered gold pieces; and the strapchi Mich. Alex. Rtischeff held the purse with the gold. He went along the boarded way *to the church of the Archangel* [where are the tombs of the former tsars and grand princes], the okolniks, stolniks, strapchis, doumni diaks, and diaks of the prikazes going before, and behind him the boyars and the special dvorianins [*i.e.* those of the council], and behind them the other dvorianins, and people of all ranks: and the protopope of the church of the Archangel received him there, and blessed him with the cross, and the deacon said the ἐκτενής.

As he went out thence from the west doors money was again scattered to the people thrice, and they went to the *church of the Annunciation*, where the protopope Stephen received him, and the deacon bade the ἐκτενής, as before.

Then he went to his palace by the same stair by which he had come up from the church of the Archangel: and when he stepped from the last step on to the platform or planked way they scattered gold pieces again thrice. And he went past the middle steps [of the church of the Annunciation] by the planked way to the krasnoe kriltso (the great stair of the palace) and so to his own chambers: for all was now finished.

The cloth from the ways was carried back to the Kazenni dvor, but that of the tsar's platform was left to the people to carry away to their homes.

The patriarch and the bishops returned to the krestovaia palata of the patriarchate.

When it was time, the tsar came from his wooden living rooms to the granovitaia palata [a stone hall, opposite to the cathedral] and sent them word. So the patriarch said the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν &c., and went: and before the patriarch there went his riznichey (sacristan) with the cross on a dish, and holy water: and the patriarch went in a sledge to the great stair of the palace, followed by the rest on foot, and preceded by the singers and clerks singing verses (στίχους) with the lanterns and waxlights &c.: and they all went up to the corridor before the granovitaia palata; and the tsar came out to meet them at the door. And the patriarch blessed the tsar with his hand; *but* the tsar did *not* kiss the patriarch's hand and klobouk. Then they all went in, the clergy first; and the patriarch said the Ἄξιον ἐστὶν &c., and blessed the tsar with the cross, and sprinkled him with the holy water. The patriarch prepared the panagia

[*i.e.* the cake of bread so called]; and the tsar made him sit at his own table, a sagene off: the other church dignitaries (*clasti*) sat at another table to the left hand from the Annunciation; the boyars at the boyars' table to the right hand of the tsar, called the krasni stol, all *without places*.

II. *From Olearius' account of two Embassies sent by the Duke of Holstein to Muscovy* 1633-1639, *the 2d enlarged Schleswig ed. of* 1656; *translated by De Wicquefort, Paris*, 1656, *and by John Davies, London*, 1662 *and* 1669.

After the coronation of Alexis, Morozoff changed the quality of governor into that of favourite and chief minister, and had the same power in affairs as he had had over the prince's person during his father's life. He began his establishment with the great employments, which he bestowed on *the kindred of the tsar's mother*, for whom the prince had a great veneration: but under that pretence he kept them at a distance from court, which, as also the chiefest places of public trust, he in the mean time filled with his own kindred and creatures, who wholly depended on his fortune. He permitted not any other to come near the prince's person, whom he would often get out of the capital city under pretence of hunting or some other diversion; so to beget in him a dislike for business, that he might have the management of all things. He thought the only way to make sure of him would be to get him a wife; and to that end he brought him acquainted with a gentleman's daughter, who was an extraordinary beauty, but of mean extraction. It was his design to marry her sister, by that means to interest the tsar more nearly in his support. The father of these ladies was one Elia Danilovich Miloslafsky, who was very much regarded by the favourite, not only on account of his two fair daughters, but also for his constant attendance on him. So that upon the confidence he had of his affection and fidelity, he one day took occasion to speak to the tsar of him, and thence to celebrate so highly the beauty of those young ladies that it raised in him a desire to see them. The tsar sent for them under pretence of a visit to the tsarevnas his sisters, and having seen them, he was so taken with the beauty of the elder, that he immediately sent to tell Miloslafsky that he would marry one of his daughters. Soon after they carried rich presents to the intended bride, and a good sum of money to the father, who, with others of the relations, could not, without that supply, have appeared at the marriage of his daughter. They were married on Shrove-Sunday, in the year 1647, but without any noise, lest the consequences of that solemnity might be frustrated by charms. Eight days after, Morozoff was married to Miloslafsky's second daughter, and so became brother-in-law to the tsar.

Elia Danilovich Miloslafsky was no sooner advanced to this new greatness, but he would have all the world to take notice of it. He pulled down a wooden house that had been given him in the Kremlin, near the palace, and built a sumptuous one of stone in its place. He displaced by degrees the old officers of the house, and brought in his own kindred and creatures, who, being no less necessitous than the chief of their family, let slip no opportunity of advantaging themselves. Among others, he made one Leontius Stepanovich Plescheëff chief judge of the city of Moscow, in that court or prikaz which they call the *Zemski dvor*. No concussion,

no extortion, but this man would undertake. He thought it not enough to receive presents, but would reduce both parties to the utmost extremities. He suborned false witnesses, whose employment was to bring in charges against those who were rich enough to redeem themselves from his persecutions, imprisoning and oppressing them till they purchased their liberties with the ruin of their estates; and of these instruments of his tyranny one was named Peter Tichonovich Trachanioutoff, who was also his brother-in-law. This Peter was one of those whom in Muscovy they call okolniks, out of which number are chosen the boyars; and he was over the Poushkarski prikaz, that is, over the armourers, artillerymen, and all the mechanics of the arsenal, who were very much oppressed by him. For, instead of paying them monthly, as they are wont to do in Muscovy (where all that are in the tsar's service are so punctually paid, that if they come not the first day of the month for their money, it is sent home to them), he, on the contrary, kept them several months without it, forced them to compound, and to give acquittances for the whole sum, though they received but part. Besides, trading was obstructed, monopolies granted, and no employment could be had, but by dearly purchasing the favourite Morozoff's good will. One got a patent prohibiting the farther use of the ordinary ells, purposely to oblige the people to buy iron ones with the tsar's mark upon them; but instead of selling these at eightpence or tenpence a-piece, as they were worth, they could not be had under a crown, by which means was raised a vast sum of money, since it was made obligatory to have them all over the kingdom. Another devised the trick of raising the poud (that is, 40 Russian pounds) of salt to thirty pence, which before cost but twenty. But instead of making advantage from this, they found at the year's end that the dearness of the salt had so hindered the sale of it, that the tsar's revenue was not only much diminished, but abundance of fish was lost for want of sufficient salting; so that had it not been their design rather to oppress the people than to promote the tsar's service, they would soon have done away with that new impost. The inhabitants of Moscow, who had lived very quietly under the preceding reign, could not but discover their resentment of these pressures. They had their assemblies about the churches, at the hours when their devotions brought them thither, and resolved at last to petition the tsar. And since no one person dared to undertake to deliver a petition to him, they appointed a day to give it him themselves, as he should come out of the Kremlin, to go to some church or to his diversions. Their main spleen was against Leontius Stepanovich Pleshcheëff, and they desired that his place might be supplied by some person of honour, of whom they might expect more justice. They had their petition ready, and sought two or three times an opportunity to present it to the tsar; but the boyars who attend him on those occasions took it from them, and making only a report of it, as they had been instructed by Morozoff, the petition was not answered, nor the people relieved. This happened so often, that the people at last resolved to take some other course, and to make their complaints by word of mouth upon the first opportunity that should offer itself. On the 6th of July 1648 they took advantage of a procession which the tsar made to a monastery in the city called the Srietensky. The people were got together in the public place before the Kremlin, to see

him pass by, as they were wont; but at his return they broke through those that attended him, came up to him, laid hold of his bridle, stopped him, and entreated him to hear the complaints they had to make concerning the injustices and violences committed by Pleshcheëff, desiring there might be put into his place some person of integrity, who should better fill so important a charge. The tsar, though somewhat startled at their procedure, still kept his countenance, and seemed not a little troubled at the grievances of his good subjects: he promised that he would examine how the matter stood, and that they should receive satisfaction. The people desired no more, and were going away well satisfied with that answer, when some boyars, friends of Pleshcheëff, must needs give the people abusive language, thrust some with their horses, and struck others with their whips; whereat being incensed, they so pelted their lordships with stones, that they were forced to make all the speed they could to the Kremlin, whither the people pursued them so vigorously, that all the guard could do was only to stop them till the others were gotten into the tsar's apartments. This resistance of the streltses rather inflamed than abated the people's fury, who threatened to force the tsar's dwelling, and take away all they found there, if Pleshcheëff were not immediately put into their hands. Morozoff came out into a balcony, and endeavoured to appease the people, exhorting them in the name of the tsar to go all to their homes, and make no farther tumult. But they told him that they had as much to say to him as to the other. Accordingly some went immediately to his house, which was forced, ransacked, and demolished in a moment, having cast out at a window one of his servants, who would have made some opposition. Their animosity was such that they spared not even the images of their saints, for which they are wont to have a great veneration. Yet did they show some respect to Morozoff's wife, and thought it enough to take away her pearls and jewels, which they cast into the street, and to frighten her a little, by telling her that had they not looked upon her as sister-in-law to the tsar, they would have cut her in pieces. Among other things they broke his rich coach, which, besides the expense in other things about it, had all silver even about the wheels. Some got into the cellar and knocked out the heads of the strong-water barrels, which taking fire consumed all those who had made themselves drunk. This was the prologue to the ransacking of several other houses afterwards, as those of Pleshcheëff and Trachanioutoff, of the chancellor [the diak in the Bolshoi Dvoretz, *i.e.* the prikaz of the palace], and all that had any relation to or dependence on the favourite, which afforded them such a booty, that they sold pearls by handfuls, and so cheap that for thirty crowns a man might have bought a handful, a black fox-skin or a pair of sables for two shillings and sixpence, and stuffs of gold, silver, and silk, in a manner for nothing.

Nazari Ivanovich Cheestoy, chancellor in the prikaz of the Bolshoi Dvoretz under Morozoff and under Elia Miloslafsky, had farmed the imposition upon the salt, and lay sick in his bed, in consequence of an accident that had happened to him three days before, when, meeting with a mad ox, his horse started, and threw him so violently that he was in some danger of his life. But hearing that Morozoff's house had been ransacked, and not doubting but they would come to his, he hid himself under a

heap of birch-wood, which they at the proper season lay up in store, to serve the stoves; and to take off all suspicion, he caused himself to be covered with some flitches of bacon: so that he had certainly saved his life, had he not been betrayed by one of his servants, who, making his own advantage of his master's misfortune, obtained a good sum of money, and got away with it to Nijny-Novgorod. The enraged multitude took him out by the heels, and dragged him downstairs into the court, where they cudgelled him to death. The body was thrown upon the dunghill, and the house so pillaged that there was not anything left. While these disorders were committed in the city, they had the time to barricade themselves in the Kremlin against the audacity of the people, who continued all night between the 6th and 7th of July in arms, in such an attitude as showed that they only expected daylight to begin again. Whereupon orders were sent to the German officers and soldiers to meet at several rendezvous in the city, and to come in to the tsar's relief at the Kremlin. They marched with drums beating and colours flying, and the Muscovites, instead of opposing them, gave them way, and told them they had no quarrel against them, and knew them to be men of honour, who approved not the abuses of the government. Being got into the Kremlin, they took up their posts as guards, and the tsar sent out kniaz Nikita Ivanovich Romanoff, whom he knew the people much respected, to endeavour to put an end to the assembly. He came to the people cap in hand, and told them that he thought they ought to be satisfied with the assurance which the tsar had made them the day before, that he would remedy the disorders of which they complained; that his majesty had commanded him to tell them as much, and to advise them to go every man to his home, that he might the better perform what he had promised them. This message was well received, and the people made answer, that they were not dissatisfied with the tsar, but with those who, under his name, abused his authority; but that they would not stir till they had delivered up to them Boris Ivanovich Morozoff, Leontius Stepanovich Pleshcheëff, and Peter Tichonovich Trachanioutoff, that they might revenge on their heads the mischief they had done to the whole empire. Romanoff gave them thanks for the kind answer they had made to his proposition, and told them he would acquaint the tsar with the zeal and affection which they expressed towards him; that he doubted not but order would be taken for the execution of those three lords, but that he could safely take his oath that Morozoff and Trachanioutoff had made their escape; and as for the third, he should be immediately put to death. Accordingly Romanoff was no sooner returned to the tsar, but word was sent to the people, that Pleshcheëff was coming to be sacrificed, and that the other two should come likewise as soon as they were found, and that they should send for the executioner to do his office. He was soon found, being at the gate of the Kremlin with his servants, whence he came about a quarter of an hour after, leading Pleshcheëff to the public place to cut off his head. But the people spared him the trouble, falling upon him with cudgels so outrageously that they dispatched him in a moment. They dragged the body through the dirt, accompanying it with all the curses imaginable; till at last a monk, whom the deceased had ordered to be cudgelled, cut off his head. Morozoff had indeed made his escape; but

meeting with wagoners and some of the people searching after him, he was so fortunate as to avoid them, and by by-ways to get into the Kremlin. And that it might not be thought the tsar had consented to the escape of the others, there were some sent after Trachanioutoff, who was taken near the monastery of Troitsa, twelve leagues from Moscow. He was brought, on the 8th to the Zemski dvor, that is, to the same place where his brother-in-law had sat as judge, which the tsar hearing of, he commanded his head to be cut off. This execution wrought so much upon the people, that, being informed how Morozoff had been met in the country, and none knew what was become of him, they forebore farther pressing the tsar to give them what he had not, and, about eleven o'clock in the morning, went every man to his home. In the afternoon several houses in the quarters of Dmitrovskay and Tverskay were set on fire, whither the people, which had not yet cleared the street, ran; not so much to quench the fire, as to steal. It made such havoc in a short time that it consumed the whole quarter of Zuargorod, reducing to ashes all the houses within the White Wall; to the river Neglina, and getting over that river, into the tsar's taverns, it got into the stores of his strong-waters, and grew so violent that it was feared it would have consumed the Kremlin. Nobody tried to prevent it, those whose duty it was having got so drunk, that, lying along in the streets, the vapours of the fire they had in their bodies, together with the smoke of that which was then on its way to burn down the whole city, choked them as they lay. About eleven o'clock at night some strangers, looking with no small astonishment on the fire in that house where they kept the strong-water for the tsar's provision, perceived at some distance a monk coming towards them with a great burthen, which by his puffing they conceived must needs be very heavy. Being come near, he called to some, desiring them to help him to cast into the fire the body of the abominable Pleshcheëff, which he dragged after him, it being, as he said, the only way to quench it: but the Germans refusing to meddle with it, he fell a-swearing and cursing, till some Muscovites did him the good office, and helped him to cast the carcass into the fire, which immediately began to abate, and some time after went out, before they left the place.

Some days after this accident the tsar treated the streltses with strong-water and hydromel; and his father-in-law, Elia Danilovich Miloslafsky, invited divers citizens to dine with him, and spent several days together in entertainments. The patriarch also enjoined the priests and monks to endeavour the settlement of unquiet spirits, and to press upon them the respect and obedience to which their consciences oblige them. All thus quieted, and the tsar having supplied the places of those who had been executed with able and approved persons, he took the opportunity of a procession to speak to the people, in the presence of Niketa Ivanovich Romanoff, and told them that he was extremely troubled to hear of the injuries and violence done by Pleshcheëff and Trachanioutoff under his name, but contrary to his intention; that he had put into their places persons of integrity, and such as, being acceptable to the people, would administer justice equally and without corruption; and that they might not fail therein, he would have an eye over them; that he repealed the edict about the impost on salt; and that he would as soon as possible

suppress all monopolies; that they should enjoy all their privileges, which, if there were need, he would augment. Whereupon the people having smitten their foreheads and given his majesty thanks, the tsar resuming said that it was true indeed, he had promised to deliver up to them the person of Boris Ivanovich Morozoff, and he acknowledged that he could not absolutely justify him; but he could not either resolve to condemn him: that he hoped the people would not deny the first request he made to them, which was, that they would pardon Morozoff only for that time for what he might have done to displease them: that he would be answerable for him, and durst assure them that Morozoff should so behave himself for the future that they should have reason to speak well of him: that if they would not have him to be any longer one of his council, he would dismiss him: but that he desired them to look upon that lord as one who had been a father to their prince, and one that, having married the tsaritsa's sister, must needs be extremely dear to him; and consequently that it would be very hard for him to consent to his death. The tears which concluded this discourse of the tsar discovered the affection he had for that favourite, and so moved the people that they all cried out, 'God grant the hossoudar a long and happy life! God's will and the tsar's be done!' The tsar thereat was overjoyed, thanked the people, and highly commended the zeal and affection they expressed for his estate and person. Some few days after, Morozoff appeared in public, among those who attended the tsar on a pilgrimage which he was making to the monastery of Troitsa. He went uncovered from the Kremlin to the city gate, saluting the people on both sides, and bowing low with great humility; and from that time he took every opportunity to gratify and assist those who addressed themselves to him in any business they had at court.

The story we have related confirms the truth of what we have said elsewhere, that the Muscovites, how submissive and slavish soever they may be, will endeavour the recovery of their freedom when the government becomes insupportable to them and casts them into despair. I shall here add another later example, which will be the less tedious, in that it hath some connection with the preceding, and relates very much to what we have seen, much about the same time, in all the other countries of Europe.

The tsar of Muscovy sent in the year 1649 a solemn embassy to the queen of Sweden, the chief person whereof was the okolnik Boris Ivanovich Poushkin. He had order, among other things, to accommodate the difference, which seemed to threaten those two states with an inevitable war, proceeding hence, that the subjects of both crowns left their own habitations, and got into the other kingdom, to avoid the payment of their debts. And seeing that for thirty-two years that account had not been cleared, and that there were more Swedes in Muscovy than Muscovites in Sweden, it was provided in the treaty, made by Poushkin at Stockholm, that for the first thirty years there should be a liquidation of all accounts, and for the two other years the tsar should pay to the queen and crown of Sweden 190,000 rubles, that is 390,000 crowns, part in money, part in rye, and that the payment should be made in the spring of the year 1650. Accordingly John de Rodez, being come at that time to Moscow in the quality of commissary for the queen of Sweden, received in kopecks and

ducats 300,000 crowns, and order was sent to Theodore Emilianoff, a merchant of Pskoff, to provide as much rye as should amount to 90,000 crowns. This interested man caused all the rye, wherever it was, to be seized, and permitted not private persons to buy so much as a bushel without his permission, which good leave of his they were forced to buy at a dear rate. The inhabitants of Pskoff were so impatient under this oppression, that they not only quarrelled at the avarice of the Swedes, but charged Poushkin with dishonesty in his employment, and treason towards his sovereign. They said that Morozoff held correspondence with the foreigners; and presuming that this communication had ended contrary to the tsar's intention, they endeavoured to engage the city of Novgorod in their quarrel, and went so far, that some of the chief merchants being for them, the voivode [and the metropolian Nicon] had much ado to prevent an insurrection of the whole city. Both these and the others resolved that they would stop the money when it was to be transported into Sweden, and that they would no longer endure the treaty about the rye, because it would in all likelihood starve the country. With this intention they sent three deputies to Moscow, to wit, a merchant, a Kozak, and a strelits, with order to ascertain whether this treaty was made and put in execution with the tsar's consent. In the mean time, without expecting the return of their deputies, they ransacked Emilianoff's house and tortured his wife, to make her confess where her husband, who had made his escape, had laid up his money. The voivode came, in hope to prevent disorder; but he was forced out of the city, and the neighbouring nobility invited to come in and join with them against monopolies and patentees. These three venerable deputies were no sooner come to Novgorod but the voivode caused them to be put into irons, and so sent them to Moscow, whither came at the same time the voivode of Pskoff and the merchant Emilianoff. Intelligence was brought that those of Pskoff had robbed and abused a Swedish merchant; whereupon the tsar sent back the voivode, and with him a boyar, to endeavour to prevent the farther spread of these disorders. Those of Pskoff, who at first would not receive them, at length opened their gates; but it was to put the voivode in prison, and to affront the boyar, who had the imprudence, at so unseasonable a time, to treat them with so much severity, that the people fell upon him with cudgels, and pursued him to a monastery, where he was so beaten that he was given over for dead.

However, the tsar pursued the execution of the treaty made with Sweden, and paid money instead of the rye, sending along with the Swedish commissary a good convoy of streltses, who were to bring him to the frontiers of Sweden. He gave order at the same time to Ivan Niketich Khovianskoy to assemble the nobility of the neighbouring provinces, and the foot regiments of Colonel Carmichael and Colonel Hamilton, which made up above 4000 men, and to besiege the city of Pskoff. The inhabitants at first pretended to stand out; but their courage and strength soon failed them, so that they were forced to make an accommodation, at the cost of the authors of the sedition, who were put to death or sent into Siberia.

These disorders have occasioned a great change in the affairs and government of Muscovy: for though Miloslafsky and Morozoff have much

credit, and the patriarch also a very great authority, about the tsar, yet have the other princes and boyars a great hand in public affairs, and execute their charges every one according to his birth and employment. There are commonly some thirty boyars about the court, though in Shouisky's time there were numbered seventy. In the year 1654, when the war of Smolensk was resolved on, there were present at the deliberations of that important affair twenty-nine boyars, whose names were these:

Boris Ivan. Morozoff (the tsar's preceptor, brother-in-law, and favourite), he died in 1662.
Niketa Ivan. Romanoff Yourieff, d. 1655.
Ivan Bas. Morozoff, in 1655 became a monk, Joachim.
Prince Ivan Andr. Golitsin, d. 1654.
Prince Niketa Ivan. Odoefsky, d. after 1676.
Pr. Yakoff Koud. Cherkassky, d. 1666.
Pr. Alexis Niketich Troubetskoy, cr. 1646, d. 1663.
Gleb Ivan. Morozoff, d. 1662.
Basil Petr. Sheremetieff, d. 1659.
Pr. Boris Alexandr. Repnin, d. 1670.
Michael Mich. Soltikoff, d. 1672.
Basil. Ivan. Streshneff, cr. 1646, d. 1661.
Pr. Simeon Basil. Prozorofsky, cr. 1646, d. 1660.
Pr. Theodore Simeon. Kourakin, cr. 1646, d. 1656.
Pr. Youry Petr. Yanossoff Rostofsky, d. 1661.
Ivan Ivan. Soltikoff, cr. 1646, d. 1671.
Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, cr. 1649, d. after 1676.
Gregory Gavr. Poushkin, cr. Oroujnichoy 1646, d. 1656.
Pr. Theodore Theod. Volkonsky, cr. 1651, d. 1665.
Laurentius Dmitr. Soltikoff, cr. 1647, d. 1660.
Elia Danil. Miloslafsky (the tsar's father-in-law), cr. 1648, d. 1668.
Basil Basil. Boutourlin, cr. 1652, d. 1656.
Pr. Michael Petr. Pronsky, cr. 1648.
Pr. Ivan Niket. Khovianskoy, cr. 1649.
Pr. Theodore Your. Khvorostinin, cr. 1653, d. 1656.
Basil Boris. Sheremetieff, taken prisoner in 1661, still in Crimea in 1669.
Niketa Alex. Ziuzin, cr. 1653, exiled in 1665.

The twenty-four okolniks are the following:

The Prince Andrew Theod. Litvinoff Mosalskoy, d. 1664.
Pr. Theod. Andr. Khilkoff, cr. 1647, d. 1657.
Nikephor Serg. Sobakin, cr. 1646, d. 1656.
Pr. Dmitri Petr. Lvoff, cr. 1646, boyar in 1655, d. 1660.
Pr. Basil Petr. Lvoff, cr. 1648, d. 1657.
Pr. Simon Petrovich Lvoff, cr. 1652, captive in 1659.
Pr. Ivan Ivan. Romodanofsky, cr. 1648, b. 1657, d. 1671.
Pr. Basil Greg. (junior) Romodanofsky, cr. 1646, b. 1655, d. 1671.
Pr. Stephen Gavr. Poushkin, cr. 1649, d. 1656.
Pr. Simon Ivan. Pojarsky, cr. 1647, captive in 1659.
Bogdan Matv. Khitroff, cr. 1648, b. 1667, d. after 1676.
Peter Petr. Golovin, cr. 1652, d. 1654.
Ivan Andr. Miloslafsky, cr. 1648, b. 1657, d. 1663.

Pr. Ivan Ivan. Lobanoff Rostofsky, cr. 1649, boyar 1661, d. 1664.
Pr. Dmitri Alex. Dolgorouky, cr. 1651, b. 1671, d. 1674.
Pr. Peter Alex. Dolgorouky, cr. 1653, d. 1669.
Simeon Lucian. Streshneff, cr. kraichi in 1646, boyar in 1655, d. 1666.
Ivan Theod. (the elder) Streshneff, cr. 1654, d. after 1676.
Michael Alex. Rtischeff, was kraichi 1646, postelnik 1650, d. 1673.
Procopius Theod. Socovnin, cr. 1650, d. 1662.
Pr. Boris Ivan. Troekouroff, cr. 1654, b. 1673, d. 1674.
Alexis Dmitr. Kolicheff, cr. 1654, d. 1661.
Basil Alexandr. Choglokoff, cr. 1650, d. 1667 at Olonetz.
Ivan Bas. Alpherieff, cr. 1654, d. 1655.

The persons of greatest quality next the boyars and the okolniks are those called doumnie dvorianini; and these are six in number, to wit:

Ivan Athan. Gavreneff, cr. 1651, d. 1662.
Theodore Kouzmich Eleazaroff, cr. yaselnik 1652, d. 1664.
Bogdan Theod. Narbekoff, cr. 1649, d. 1655.
Jdan Bas. Kondireff, cr. yaselnik 1651, d. 1667.
Basil Theod. Yanoff, cr. yaselnik 1653, d. after 1676.
Athanasius Osip. Pronchischeff, cr. 1654, d. 1671.

The chancellors and secretaries of the council are:

Almiaz Ivanoff, chancellor (secretary to the Posolsky prikaz, for the posts, and stranger merchants), was doumni diak in 1655, cr. pechatnik 1667, d. 27th April 1669.

Simon Ivanovich Zaborofsky, was doumni diak in 1655, dismissed 1664.

Hilarion Dmitrievich Pronchischeff.

These are the names of the lords who at this day have the principal charges, and govern the whole empire of Muscovy, as well in the council of state as for private causes.

The highest office is that of dvoretskoy, or grand master of the palace, who has the oversight and direction of all the tsar's household. After him comes the oroujnichey, who has the oversight of the arms and horses which are for the tsar's peculiar service, as also of the harnesses and other ornaments which are used at entrances and public ceremonies. These two officers precede all the other boyars, okolniks, &c.

The tsar's councillors are divided among a number of offices or chanceries which they call prikazes [at once *offices* of administration and *courts* exercising jurisdiction], as the Posolski prikaz, the Razriadni prikaz, the Pomiestni, &c.

1. In the *Razriadni prikaz* there is a register kept of the family and qualities of the boyars, and all the gentlemen of Muscovy, as also of all exploits of war, and the advantages or losses which the tsar receives thereby. Ivan Athan. Gavreneff (A.D. 1643 to 1662) is its president.

2. The *Posolski prikaz*[5] is the place where they regulate the affairs of ambassadors, as also the posts of the empire, and what concerns foreign merchants. Almiaz Ivanoff (the secretary of the council) is the president over this court.

3. In the *Pomiestni prikaz* there is kept a register of all the manors

[5] The Posolski pr. is here put first, but in truth it was not till 1692 that it took precedence of the Razriadni prikaz.

held by homage; and suits concerning the same are judged. There are also received the duties payable to the tsar from the said manors: it is under the direction of Theodore Kouzmich Eleazaroff.

4 and 5. In the *Kazanski* and *Sibirski* prikazes the causes of the provinces of Kazan and Siberia are judged, and an account is kept of the skins and furs which come from those provinces to the tsar. The boyar prince Alexis Niketich Troubetskoy (A.D. 1646 to 1663) is president of those two prikazes. Nik. Iv. Odoefsky held both from 1643 to 1646, and then Troubetskoy, in 1646, had the Sibirsky.

6. In the *Dvortsovoi Soudni prikaz* are judged the differences between the tsar's servants, and what concerns his house: it is under the boyar Basil Bas. Boutourlin, who is the dvoretskoy.

7. The *Inozemski prikaz* is for such military officers as are foreigners, whose causes are there tried, and who in time of peace there receive their orders from Elia Danilovich Miloslafsky, the tsar's father-in-law.

8. The *Reitarski prikaz* judges the causes of the Muscovite cavalry and there in time of peace they receive their orders and pay, to wit, sixty crowns per an. for every horseman; under the presidency of the same Elia Miloslafsky. This cavalry consists for the most of gentlemen, who have very little of estate, yet hold manors by homage and fealty.

9. In the *Bolshoi Prikhod* all the receivers of the tsar's duties give in their accounts once a year. The boyar kniaz Michael Petr. Pronsky, who is over this prikaz [in 1654 it was the prince Theodore Theod. Volkonsky], sets a tax on foreign corn and wine. He hath also the oversight of weights and measures all over the empire. It is also his place to pay those foreigners who are in the tsar's service.

10 and 11. The *Vladimirski Soudni* and the *Moskovski Soudni* prikazes have for president (Oct. 19, A.D. 1654 to 1657) the boyar kniaz Gregory Simon. Kourakin [in Vladimirski Soudni pr. 1654, Oct. 19, to 1657; in Novgorodskaia Rozriad in 1659], who, in the former, judges the kniazes and boyars; in the other, the gentlemen and officers of the court.

12. The boyar kniaz Boris Alexandr. Repnin presides in the *Razboini prikaz*, and judges robberies, murders, and other criminal causes.

13. Peter Tichon. Trachanioutoff was president in the *Poushkarski prikaz*, and had the oversight of founders, furbishers, artillery-men, armourers, smiths, and carpenters, who wrought for the arsenal; but his place is now given to the boyar kniaz Youry Alex. Dolgorouky, not only to judge of differences between them, but also to receive their work, and pay them their wages.

14. The *Yamski* prikaz is for the regulation of posts and post-masters, and the payment of their salaries; as also to give passes to those that desire them, and that are to have their carriage upon the tsar's account; under the okolnik Ivan. Andr. Miloslafsky.

15. The diaks, secretaries, clerks, captains of the gates, and messengers of the several prikazes have their particular judge, who is the okolnik Peter Petrovich Golovin, in the *Chelobitni prikaz* [*i.e.* the prikaz for personal petitions and suits].

16. The *Zemski dvor*, or *Zemski prikaz*, is for the judgment of all other *civil* causes between the citizens of Moscow. There are paid the duties arising from places and houses that are sold, as also the rates levied

for the repairs of bridges, gates, fortresses, and other public buildings; under the direction of the okolnik Bogdan Matv. Khitroff.

17. The kholops, that is to say, slaves, have a particular court, where they make their declaration when they are sold, and where they take out a certificate when they redeem themselves, or recover their liberty any other way. This is called the *Kholopi prikaz*: its president is Stepan Iv. Islenieff [Dmitri Petr. Volhynsky in A.D. 1654].

18. The place where an account is kept of all the stuffs, as brocade, velvet, satin, damask, &c. which are for the use of the court, and whereof garments are made which are for the use of the court and for the tsar to present to foreign ambassadors, and other persons of quality, is called the *Bolshoi Kazni prikaz*.

Under this magazine is the *Bolshaia Kazna*, *i.e.* the treasury or exchequer, where all the money that remains at the year's end is put into the tsar's coffers, under the oversight of Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, who is also president of the prikaz where are judged the causes of the tsar's principal merchants and factors, which is called *Kazenni dvor*.

19. The okolnik kniaz Ivan Theod. Khilkoff (1654 to 1657) is the judge of all ecclesiastical persons, as well secular priests as monks, *who are obliged to submit to the temporal jurisdiction, unless it be in privileged cases*, in the *Monastirski prikaz*.

20. The tsar hath a very vast structure designed for the stones, lime, wood, and other materials which are for his own use, which place is called the *Kamenni prikaz*; and there it is that the dvorianin Yakoff Ivan. Zagrinjsky (1654-1657) decides the differences between carpenters, masons, and other workmen, and pays them for their work.

21. The revenue of Novgorod and Nijny-Novgorod is paid in at the prikaz called the *Novgorodskaia Chetvert*, where the particular receivers of those two cities give in their accounts. Sometimes the causes of the inhabitants of those two places are judged in this prikaz. For though ordinarily there lies no appeal from the voivodes, yet those who mistrust the success of their business by the partiality they observe in the voivodes, may remove their causes to Moscow. The secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff is the president of it [as being from 1654 to 1658 chief secretary in the Posolski prikaz, to which this was subject. But the secretary separately in this was then Andrew Nemiroff].

22. The provinces of Galitz and Vladimir have also their particular prikaz for the like purposes; it is called the *Galitski i Vladimirski prikaz*: its president is the okolnik Peter Petr. Golovin [not mentioned in *Drevn. Russk. Biblioth.*, nor this union with Vladimir].

23. The moneys arising from all the taverns and kabacs of Muscovy are paid in at the place called *Nocaia Chet*, where all those who keep public drinking houses are obliged to take the wine, hydromel, and strong waters they retail, and to give an account of the sale of it. There they also punish those who sell any without license, as also those who sell or buy tobacco, if they be Muscovites, the Germans and other foreigners being permitted the traffic and use of it. The okolnik Bogdan Matv. Khitroff (1654-1665) presides in this prikaz.

24. The boyar and master of the ordnance, Gregory Bas. Poushkin, under whose jurisdiction are Kostroma, Yaroslaff, and other cities of

those quarters, receives their accounts and decides their differences in the *Kostromski prikaz*, as the okolnik kniaz Dmitri Bas. Lvoff does those of Oustiog and Kholmogori in the *Oustiojski prikaz*.

25. The same Gregory Bas. Poushkin keeps the jewels of the crown, and hath the oversight of the German goldsmiths, who make gold and silver plate, and sell precious stones, and hath his office for those things in the *Zolotni i Almiazni prikaz*. He hath also a key to the tsar's magazine of arms, and administers justice to those who are employed about arms for his particular use, and pays them, in the *Oroujeynaia Palata*.

26. The physicians, apothecaries, surgeons, and operators, and all of that function, are obliged to smite their foreheads [*i.e.* make their suits] in the presence of Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, who is over the *Aptekarski prikaz*.

27. The *Tamojni prikaz* is for the receipt of all duties of entrance into the city of Moscow, which is kept by one of the *gosti*, accompanied by two or three assessors, who give in their account thereof to the prikaz called the *Bolshoi Prikhod*. These gosti are changed every year.

28. The payment of the tenth penny towards the war is made to the boyar kniaz Michael Petr. Pronsky, and the okolnik Ivan Bas. Alferieff, in the *Sbora desiatoi dengi prikaz*.

29. The affairs that have no peculiar prikaz have a general one, called the *Sliskoi prikaz*, under the superintendence of kniaz Youry Alex. Dolgorouky [really under the boyar prince Boris Al. Repnin].

The patriarch hath his own particular prikazes; to wit, that of the *Razriad*, where is kept a register of all the church goods, and where are the charters and archives; the *Patriarshi Soudni prikaz*, where the patriarch hath his spiritual jurisdiction; and the *Patriarshi Kazenni prikaz*, where the patriarch's revenue and treasure is kept. He hath also his ecclesiastical judges and officers, who give him an account of all their actions.

At present the patriarch of Muscovy is chosen by the other prelates, who meet in the great church within the Kremlin called the Sobor, and name three persons, of the most eminent for learning and good life, and present them to the tsar, who, after some conference with the prelates, proceeds, jointly with them, to the election; unless those that are named be all of such eminence that they are at a loss which to make choice of, and so are forced to decide by lot, which course they took at the election of this last patriarch. He was a prelate of the second order [*i.e.* who had been originally of the secular clergy], and was named, with two others, upon the reputation of his good life. The lot falling upon him, all those of the first order were discontented thereat, so that they put it to the lot a second time, in which also it fell again to him; but the ambition of the other competitors appearing still in their countenances, the grand duke was pleased to comply with them, and to put it to the lot a third time, which fell in like manner to the same person, upon which all acquiesced. His name is Nicon, and he had been before metropolitan of *Rostoff and Yaroslaff*, and is now about forty-five years of age[a]. . . . . He has built

[a] An inaccurate account hitherto. Having been born in 1605, Nicon in 1654 was 49 years of age. In 1650, when he was 45, he was still only metropolitan of Novgorod.

him a house of stone (A.D. 1655). He keeps a good table, and is of so pleasant [cheerful and humorous] a disposition that he discovers it even in those actions which require the greatest gravity.

The patriarch's authority is so great that he in a manner divides the sovereignty with the tsar. He is the *supreme judge of all ecclesiastical causes*, and absolutely disposes of whatever concerns religion with such power that in things relating to the political government he reforms what he considers prejudicial to christian simplicity and good manners without giving the tsar any account of it, who, *without any contestation, commands the orders made by the patriarch to be executed*. . . Some four or five years ago [it was in 1654 or 1655] the patriarch *burned* five wagons of musical instruments [of organs]: only Boris Nikit. Ivan. Romanoff kept his. He hath under him four metropolitans, seven archbishops, and one bishop.

Justice is administered in the prikazes we have spoken of. The boyar who presides there hath his secretary and assessors, and finally determines whatever comes before him.

Heretofore the Muscovites had but few laws and few customs, according to which all causes were decided. They concerned only attempts against the tsar's person, treasons against the state, adulteries, thefts, and debts between private persons. The decision of all other affairs depended on the breast of the judge. But in the year 1647 [1648] the tsar assembled together the most famous men of the empire, and caused to be set down in writing, and to be published [in 1649], detailed laws and ordinances, whereby the judges are to regulate themselves. They were printed in folio, under the title of *Sobornoe Oulojenie*, that is, General Right [Code] for the direction of the boyars.

The tsar's court has this in common with those of other princes, that vice takes place of virtue, and gets nearer to the throne. Those who have the honour to be nearest to his person are withal more subtle, more deceitful, and more insolent than the others that have not. They know very well how to make their advantages of the sovereign's favour, and they exact the greatest respects and the humblest submissions imaginable from those who make their addresses to them; which the others render to them as much to avoid the mischief they might do them as for the good they expect from them.

APPENDIX II.

I. At p. 75, 77 it is related, though with some confusion and inaccuracy, how the emperor and the patriarch Nicon, after a synod had been held at Moscow in the spring of 1651, to consider the propriety of correcting the church books, wrote a letter to Parthenius [really Paisius' patriarch of C.P. on this subject, sending XXVI. Questions on ritual matters; and how they banished Paul bishop of Kolomna for refusing to subscribe the decree of that synod: also at p. 170, how after that synod, when Arsenius Souchanoff had returned from his first mission to the East, they sent him again to Mount Athos and to C.P., to obtain old MSS. and printed

books. The patriarch of C.P., besides a separate letter addressed by himself to Nicon personally, sent in his own name and in the name of all the synod of C.P. a reply to the xxvi. Questions, which reached Moscow in 1655, and was printed by Nicon in his Skrijal in Oct. 1656. What here follows is extracted or abridged from that book, part i. p. 639 to 760.

Paisius &c. to the most entirely blessed and most religious patriarch of Moscow and of Great *and Little* Russia, and of many provinces inland and on the sea, and of all the Northern region, Kyr Nicon, our brother and fellow-minister and colleague, and conjoint primate [over the bishops] of Christ's Catholic and Apostolic Church *of the East*, grace, peace, and mercy, &c.

Having received your letter by the hand of our beloved son Manuel, we rejoiced and gave thanks, and we still rejoice and give thanks daily. For thence we know thy distinguished piety towards God, and that *divine and burning zeal* with which thou art inflamed in matters touching the orthodox faith and the ritual of our Church . . *which also the common fame of such as come from those parts proclaims;* as also it proclaims thy superior understanding and blameless sobriety of mind, with all other energetic virtues, &c. . . May the divine grace preserve thee for many years to feed thy sheep as thou hast begun even to the end, so as to please God, &c. . . We, knowing thee to be such, with joy answer thy questions by the grace which the Holy Ghost may give us.

We pray thy entire beatitude, if there appear at first sight to be anything in our answers which does not agree with your customs, that you do not immediately fall into some unnecessary doubt, if you do not write again to us, but consider our purpose, which is, that we may be ever united as in one faith and one baptism, so also in one confession, saying ever the same thing with one mouth and one heart, without differing among ourselves in anything. For Christ also prayed his Father that they might be all one, as many as should believe in him. And Paul commands the same, saying: 'This one thing I beseech you, brethren, &c., that ye all speak the same thing,' &c.

This I say (fol. 664) because I see in the letter of your superlative beatitude that you complain very much of a discrepancy caused by certain customs existing in some churches; and thou hast a misgiving that these differences of forms destroy the unity of the faith: in respect of which matter we praise thy thought: for he who fears the transgressions of small errors will keep himself from great. But we would modify thy intention. For of heretics indeed we are told that after a first and second admonition we are to avoid and reject them, &c.: and in like manner of schismatics, even though they profess to agree with us in faith. But if there chance to be some discrepancy between one church and another in some matters of order, not necessarily affecting faith, but small matters, as, for instance, in the *time* of celebrating the liturgy, and the like, this causes no separation, so long as only there be preserved the same faith, &c. For our Church did not take all at once from the very first that form which she has now, but gradually [with a quotation from Epiphanius] . . . and in different churches and at different times certain forms and customs were introduced. So, for instance, there were no *antiphones* [in the

liturgy] before St. John Chrysostom; and before the time of the hymnographers John Damascene, Cosmas, and others we sang neither *troparia*, nor *kanons*, nor *kontakia*. All that, however, did not produce divisions between the Churches when there was preserved unchanged the same faith, and they were not accounted either heretical or schismatical. So also now one ought not to think that our orthodox faith is perverted if one performs his office with some slight difference from another in things unessential, that is, not touching the dogmas of faith.

Necessary things we have comprised in the *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church* in the vulgar tongue; and we, all the bishops &c. of this region, have subscribed it, together with the then sitting patriarch [in A.D. 1643], Parthenius the elder. And the other three patriarchs, when they came afterwards to C.P. at different times, acknowledged it. And if ye also desire to have it, as ye needs must, in order that all our five patriarchates may be united in one and the same accord, we will send you an accurate copy of it. But now we write only about your questions: and first of the order of the liturgy.

[After this the patriarch of C.P. goes into all the xxvi. Questions sent by Nicon in order, and answers them: the most important of them are vii. viii. ix. xxiv. and xxv.

i. In this Answer, which is the most diffuse, Paisius explains briefly the composition and the mystical sense of that order of the divine liturgy which was then observed over all the East, beginning thus: 'The purpose of the service is not only to make the bread to become the Body of Christ, but also to commemorate the whole mystery,' &c.

ii. Respecting the hour for celebrating the liturgy: 'You do well,' he writes, 'to celebrate it at the third hour of the day: but this may vary: and at Easter and Christmas and the Theophany the liturgy is celebrated early; and on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday it is celebrated in the afternoon, towards evening' (fol. 694).

iii. 'When the lampadarius lights the lantern to call the bishop to the church, we say,' &c.

vi. 'A patriarch or a bishop never celebrates [as such] without a deacon and at least two priests. Or else he celebrates only as a simple priest.'

vii. In this Answer he writes: 'Ye write to us of disputes which have arisen among you in reference to the order of the celebration of the divine mysteries. As regards such disputings we entreat, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, thy beatitude to pacify them by thy discretion. For the servant of the Lord ought not to contend (2 Tim.), especially in things unessential and not relating to the dogmas of the faith. *Counsel* them to receive this order which we send [or describe] to you, and which is observed in all the *Eastern* Church, which has come to us by tradition without the least change. And we have this praise, that while the other Churches which have separated from us [those of the Occidentals especially are meant] have received and receive daily many novelties and new doctrines, we, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, have corrupted nothing, till the Seventh council came and *sealed us up*: and such as are our old MS. books, such also are the new. But if any of your ritual observances be found to disagree with ours in necessary matters—if they will not agree to you in

necessary things, so as to differ only in such things as the Τυπικὸν (the Directory-book or *Oustav*) leaves to the will of the superior—write to us again, and we will judge of such points synodically.'

viii. ix. These two Answers relate to Paul the bishop of Kolomna and the protopope John Neronoff, respecting whose contumacy in refusing to subscribe the decree of the synod held at Moscow in the spring of 1654 the tsar and the patriarch Nicon had consulted the patriarch of C.P. in their Questions. 'Of the bishop of Kolomna Paul,' Paisius writes, 'and of the protopope John Neronoff ye say that they do not agree with you, but keep to their own books, their own liturgy, and their own sign of the cross; that they even revile our patriarchal prayers and liturgy, and claim to obtrude upon us their own novelties and secret [obscurely originated or altered?] prayers, as a correction.' As to these their accusations we answer that all these things are signs of heresy and schism: and he who says such things or believes them is an alien from our orthodox faith. And so either let them agree and receive unfeignedly what our orthodox Church holds and teaches, or else, after a first and second admonition, if they persist and refuse to be corrected, let them be rejected; that is, do ye [the tsar and Nicon] *depose* and *excommunicate* them by cutting them off from the sheep of Christ, that they feed them not with a poisonous food. And in so doing ye shall have us also and all our synod unanimously with you.'

x. Of opening the holy or royal doors of the altar or sanctuary: *i.e.* when they are to be opened or to stand open, and when they are to be shut or to remain shut, during the church services. In xi. there is nothing needing to be noticed.

xii. 'Of the oblation of a malignant priest:' and the answers which follow to xvii. are about certain details in the order of the ritual.

xvii. Of putting relics of saints in all churches under the altars, and of using *Antiminsia* or corporals with relics enclosed in them. [See the *Travels of Macarius*, p. 174, concerning the synod held at Moscow after the reception of these Answers from C.P. in the fifth week of Lent 1655, when the decisions embodied in them were accepted synodically and decreed to be of force in Russia. The six following Answers are similar to those unnoticed above; one or two of them are mentioned in the *Travels of Macarius;* and one is an answer to the question whether the men and the women ought to have their places apart in the churches.]

xxiv. 'How ought Christians to make the sign of the cross? *Answer.* We all have the ancient custom and tradition of doing our reverence by putting together the first three fingers to symbolise the Holy Trinity, by whose enlightening grace the mystery of the economy of the Incarnation has been revealed to us; and we have been taught to glorify one God in three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and to be crucified together with the cross of our Lord Jesus the Son of God.'

xxv. 'How ought bishops and priests to bless? *Answer.* As God promised with an oath to Abraham that all the nations of the earth should be blessed in his seed, which is Jesus Christ, IC XC, so, for this reason, the Church blesses all, figuring by the hand of the priest the name of the Messiah, viz. IC XC. With whatever fingers any one figures these four letters, there will be no difference, so long as both he that blesses and he

that is blessed have it in their thought that a blessing comes from Jesus Christ by the hand of the priest. However, it is more proper to put together the fingers in that form in which they portray Christ himself giving the blessing; that is, to put together the second and third fingers so as to make the IC, and the first, the fourth, and the fifth so as to make the XC.'

In conclusion, after all his Answers, the patriarch Paisius says, among other things: 'The Lord of peace and consolation, *who uniteth together what is sundered in one and the same unity of the faith*, give to our churches the grace to abide in this unanimity, and to keep it inviolate to the end of the world. And as for any past transgressions, may the Lord forgive you for them by us the least of his servants, and give you grace and success for their correction, and *for growth in improvement*. And pray for *us* also, that we may be delivered from *secular tyranny*,' &c.

After the subscription of the patriarch Paisius there follow those of 'Meletius Syrigus the hieromonach [theologian of the great church], who wrote the above,'[7] and of ten others, viz. '1. Job the economus, 2. N. the protosyngellus, 3. N. the sakellarius, 4. N. the chartophylax, 5. N. the rhetor (preacher), 6. N. the sceuophylax, 7. N. the protekdicus, 8. N. the protonotary, 9. N. the logothete, and 10. N. the record-writer.'

Besides this letter or synodal act the patriarch Paisius sent to Nicon another separate personal letter of his own, which began thus:

'Most blessed and most holy patriarch of the most exalted city of Moscow and of all Russia, Kyr Kyr Nicon, beloved brother in the Holy Ghost and fellow-minister of our humility: Touching all that of which thou hast written to us we make answer: Let the books be corrected, most blessed brother, as is fit. Since God has given light in your time that all inaccuracies should be purged out and corrected, I rejoice at this, as the Lord liveth; and I have thee engraved on my heart for the merit and the intelligence which God has given thee. And in sincerity we praise thy beatitude for this, that thou ceasest not to prove and search out in the things of the Church what is profitable to the soul and conducive to salvation, as a true pastor and faithful steward of God giving anxious heed to dispose well, and to feed thy spiritual and rational flock with pure, unadulterated, and solid food, and being most zealous to preserve the performance of every sacred act according to the order of the great church' (*i.e.* the patriarchal church of C.P.).

Then he tells Nicon that he sends to him the synodal answers given above, and desires of him 'that this same synodal act be made known to all the Russian clergy, in order that they may perform the offices and all sacred acts according to the order of the great church of C.P.; that we may have no sort of discrepancy, as true children of one and the same mother, the *Eastern* Apostolic Catholic great Church of Christ; and that the foul lips of the heretics [*i.e.* especially of the Latins] may find no pretext for accusing us of any difference, but that we may stand in true concord as columns, firm, immovable, unbroken.'

[7] He also had been employed by the patriarch Parthenius of C.P. in 1643 to revise and correct in the synod of Jassy the '*Orthodox Confession*' of Peter Mogila metropolitan of Kieff, which was then synodically approved in the name of the whole *Eastern* Church, and which is recommended to Nicon in the present missive of Paisius of 1654-1655.

'Moreover,' he adds, 'I have heard that in the ritual order followed in your church there are still some other things not in accordance with the order of the great church of C.P.; and I wonder how it is that thou dost not ask about them. And especially I have heard it reported as if there was an interpolation[8] of words which we have not made by you in the Creed itself. . . . We desire with all our heart that this may be corrected.' [With a view to this correction the patriarch also appended to his letter the Creed in Greek, copied literatim from that which was composed by the fathers of the First and Second œcumenical councils. See in the Preface to the Slujebnik of the Moscow synod of 1655, and in the *Ouriet Douchovni*.]

II. At p. 171 it is written that in 1655, in the fifth week of Lent, the patriarch Nicon held a synod for the reformation of certain innovations and improprieties in their religious customs; the same, that is, as had been already treated of in the synod of 1654, but for the correction of which there were now also available the answers received from Constantinople. There was also the additional question about the practice of rebaptising the Poles, which had been blamed by the patriarch of Antioch, according to his son and archdeacon, who mentions this as the last of those seven heads which he notices as discussed in the synod. By this same synod also was prepared that new edition of the Slujebnik, or missal, which he also mentions, the Greek standard with which the Slavonic text was then compared being a copy of the liturgy brought to Nicon from C.P. in 1653 by the ex-patriarch Athanasius Patellarius, and the explanations which are mentioned in the *Travels of Macarius* being those given verbally by the same Athanasius, and taken down from his lips.

In the Skrijal of Oct. 1656, after the insertion of the act of the synod of Moscow of 1654, and of the answers sent by the patriarch Paisius from C.P. in 1655, there is mention made also of the synod of Moscow held in 1655, thus: 'The epistle &c. of the holy Eastern Church, of Paisius archbishop of the throne &c. of C.P., written in conjunction with the patriarchs of the East and of the South &c., was forwarded to them [*i.e.* to the tsar and the patriarch Nicon], and to all their bishops, together with the ecclesiastical heads about which the most holy patriarch of Moscow Kyr Nicon had inquired and had asked for answers.' And these answers having been sent to Moscow, and received there in the spring of 1655, he, the patriarch Nicon, without delay [in the fifth week of Lent] called a council by order of the tsar Alexis Mich. &c., and proposed, with the advice and blessing of all the sacred synod, to correct the church books, in order to agreement with the Eastern Church. And in this they all agreed, and they all subscribed, as may be seen here' [*i.e.* in the Skrijal of Oct. 1656].

III. At p. 279 it is related how Nicon, at the festival of the Theophany in 1656, blessed the water only once on the eve, and not again on the morning of the festival itself, having discovered in some book of those obtained from Mount Athos a testimony of Euodius formerly patriarch of C.P. that

[8] Nicon, however, had himself in some indirect way drawn the attention of the patriarch Paisius to this inaccuracy, which consisted chiefly in the addition of the adjective *istinnii* 'true' in the clause relating to the Holy Ghost. See the *Travels of Macarius*, p. 174, where 'a wrong inflection' should be 'a wrong addition.'

so it should be done; and the same fact is alluded to again at p. 315, 316, where it is also said that in this instance, contrary to his general practice, Nicon paid no attention to the advice of the patriarch of Antioch. The following is the text of a synodal constitution put forth by Nicon on this subject, 29th Dec. 1655, beginning with an extract from the

'*Letter of the patriarch of C.P. Paisius &c. written in* A.M. 7163.

"Most entirely blessed and most holy patriarch of the most exalted city of Moscow and of all Russia Kyr Kyr Nicon, brother beloved in the Holy Ghost and fellow-minister of our humility. Touching all that of which thou hast written to us we make answer: Let the books be corrected, most blessed brother, as is fit. Since God has given light in your time that all inaccuracies should be purged out and corrected, I rejoice at this, as the Lord liveth; and *I have thee engraved on my heart for the merit and the intelligence which God has given thee.* And in sincerity we praise thy entire beatitude for this, that *thou ceasest not to prove and search out in the things of the Church what is profitable to the soul and conducive to salvation, as a true pastor and faithful steward of God giving anxious heed to dispose well and to feed thy spiritual and rational flock* with pure, unadulterated, and solid food, and *being most zealous to preserve the performance of every sacred act, according to the order of the great church* [*i.e.* the patriarchal church at C.P.], that we may have no sort of discrepancy, as true children of one and the same mother, the *Eastern* Apostolic Catholic great Church of Christ; and that the foul lips of heretics [*i.e.* especially of the Latins] may find no pretext for accusing us of any difference, but that we may stand in true concord as columns, firm, immovable, unbroken."

'Those things which are necessary, and which were not all explicitly taught by our Saviour in his verbal instructions, he directed his disciples to teach, and he at the same time with a threat commanded all men to observe the same; as Mark the evangelist testifies, saying: Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature: he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned. So also the apostles, speaking of those things that are necessary, strongly charged their disciples to keep them; as Paul, when he writes to the Galatians and exhorts them not to swerve from that which had been delivered to them. Therefore, now, imitating herein the divine pattern, the great hossoudar the most holy Nicon, patriarch of Moscow and of all Great, Little, and White Russia, continually both counsels himself and encourages in consultation the religious hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. &c. and all the sacred synod, that he [and they] would be pleased to make correction and to restore in all points the true ecclesiastical tradition whereinsoever it may have been impaired; that so we may be freed from all danger of incurring that curse of the holy fathers which is written and confirmed in canon i. of the Seventh holy œcumenical council thus:

"They who have obtained the pontifical order have for their touchstones and directions the forms of the canonical constitutions, which we receiving joyfully in accord with David, who prophesied of the divine revelation, sing to our Lord and God, saying: I have had as great delight in the way of thy testimonies as in all manner of riches: Thou hast com-

manded justice: make me, O Lord, to understand thy testimonies, and I shall live. And if the prophetic voice enjoins us to keep the testimonies of God for ever, and to live in them, it is plain that they abide unshaken and unmoved for ever. For Moses also, who saw God, declares that thus it is: To them nothing may be added, and from them nothing may be taken away. And the divine apostle Peter, exulting in them, cries out: Into which things the angels also desire to look. And Paul says: Even though we or an angel from heaven preach to you anything else than that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema. These things being so, and being so witnessed to us, we, rejoicing in them as one who should have found great spoils, affectionately embrace the divine canons, and confirm their injunctions entire and unquestioned; those, that is, both of the canons put forth by the holy trumpets of the Spirit, the most honourable apostles, and those of the Six holy œcumenical councils, and those of the local synods assembled for the enactment of such constitutions, and those of our holy fathers. For all, being irradiated from one and the same Spirit, have decreed such things as were expedient. And whom they anathematise we also anathematise, and whom they depose we depose, and whom they excommunicate we excommunicate, and whom they put to penance we also put to penance. For 'without covetousness, content with what we have,' this is what he who mounted into the third heaven and heard unspeakable words, even the divine apostle Paul, distinctly cries aloud."

'We too, therefore, by the grace given us of the most holy and life-giving Spirit, are bound, following the holy and god-loving fathers, to correct the errors which have been introduced by the ignorance of some, that the order of the holy Eastern Church may be kept firmly and immovably. Thus (to give one instance among others) as respects the order of the service for the vigil of the holy Theophany, directions how to go out to the baptistery are [to be found] written in the old Greek and in the old Russian MS. Typica. And if any one after this our order presume to think otherwise, and not to make the blessing of the water on the vigil of the Theophany, that is, on the 5th of January, as the holy fathers have appointed and confirmed, but on the festival itself of the Theophany, *as in time past*, not submitting themselves to the tradition of the fathers, let them incur ecclesiastical censure, that is, anathema and excommunication.

'This constitution, which has been made with the common counsel of the most religious hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. &c., together with his father and beadsman the great hossoudar the most holy Nicon archbishop of Moscow and patriarch of all Great, Little, and White Russia, with the metropolitans, and archbishops, and bishops, and with the archimandrites and the hegoumens, and with all the sacred synod [of the clergy], has been subscribed in the year of the world 7164, Dec. 29 (A.D. 1655).'

'The humble Nicon, by the mercy of God archbishop of the capital city

of Moscow and patriarch of all Russia; the humble Jonah, by the mercy of God metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslaff [and with the same style, '*The humble*' &c. and '*by the mercy of God*' &c. the following]: Pitirim, metropolitan of Sarai and Podonsk; Laurentius, archbishop of Tver and Kashina; Alexander, bishop of Kolomna and Kashira; the humble Joseph, archimandrite of the Choudoff; Sergius, archim. of the Novospass; Theodosius, archim. of the Simonoff; Euthymius, archim. of the Khoutinsk; Nicanor, archim. of the Sabbine monastery; Dionysius, archim. of the Bogoyavlensky at Rostoff; Sabbatius, archim. of the Spassky at Novgorod; Joseph, archim. of the mon. of Tichvine; Moses, hegoumen of the Nikitsky; Michael, protopope of the great sobor (*i.e.* of the patriarchal church and cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow); Nicephorus, protopope of the sobor of the Archangel; Silas, protopope of the Spassky sobor in the palace; Peter, protopope of the Sretensky (the sobor of the Purification or ὑπαπαντὴ) in the vestibule of the palace; Adrian, protopope of the Rojdestvenni sobor (the Nativity of the B.V.) in the apartments of the tsaritsa in the palace; Joachim, protopope of the sobor of the Vosnesensky (*i.e.* of the convent of the Ascension in the Kremlin); Alexander, protopope of the Spass in the palace; Clement, protopope of the Nikolsky; Constantius, protopope of the Pokrofsky.'

It is to be observed that the synod held at Moscow in A.D. 1667, under the patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, disallowed and annulled this decree of the patriarch Nicon. See the *History of Paisius*, &c. p. 207. In Nicon's time the practice of blessing the water twice had become general in all the four Eastern patriarchates; and in making the above decree of 29 Dec. 1655, in favour of returning to an earlier practice, his reforming spirit overshot somewhat its own *immediate* mark, viz. that of correcting local errors and abuses, so as to restore conformity with the Greek Church.

IV. Again, at p. 321 it is written that, on Sunday the 11th of May in 1656, Nicon held in the patriarchate a synod, in which the patriarch of Antioch and the primate of Servia were present, to discuss over again the practice of rebaptising the Poles, and to renew the decree made against it in the synod of 1655: also that the patriarch of Antioch wrote out and subscribed with his own hand a portion of a book obtained from Mount Athos, containing the decree made on this subject by a synod held at C.P. in 1484. To this synod there is an allusion made also in the *Skrijal*, printed in Oct. of the same year 1656: for after the account given of the synods of 1654 and 1655, it continues thus: 'And they asked those Eastern bishops who were present, viz. the patriarch Macarius of Antioch and the metropolitans of Servia, of Nicæa, and of Moldavia, who subscribed, as may be seen here.' And then there follows a heading, 'Question of the great hossoudar Nicon with the synod to Macarius patriarch of Antioch &c., Of the manner of putting together and holding the fingers to make the sign of the cross &c.: and, Answer of the same patriarch Macarius,' &c., in which answer he says that 'those who do otherwise are heretics, to be excommunicated and anathematised.' Signed by 'the humble Macarius &c. and by Gabriel archbishop of Ipeik and *patriarch* of Servia, and Gregory metropolitan of Nice, and *Gideon archbishop of Souchava and all Moldavia*,' &c.

V. The *Skrijal* being connected with the synod of 1656 as the *Slujebnik* was with that of 1655, some extracts from its preface and from its title of contents shall be here subjoined, so as to show what other pieces or documents were printed in it besides that explanation of the liturgy, to the Greek original of which alone the title of Πίναξ (*skrijal* or *table*) belongs.

'As Alexis Mich. &c. autocrat of all Great, Little, *and White* Russia, labours for [the welfare of the state, &c.], so Nicon the *divinely-elected* most holy patriarch of Moscow, primate in the *divinely-originated* hierarchy, is given by God as an illuminator, for the enlightenment of all Great, Little, and White Russia, &c.

'As the patriarch Jacob in old time, so he now removes the stones of ignorance lying on the minds of men, as from the well's mouth, to water the flock, &c.

'This godly book of *Explanations of the Liturgy* has by his care been now translated from the Greek into Slavonic, and printed. . . . in Oct. A.M. 7064.'[9]

And there is mention made of 'some self-willed men, wise in their own conceits . . . who dare to murmur against the primate, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.'

Then, after the 'Headings' or table of contents, there follow cxxi. other chapters concerning the Church and the Liturgy, to fol. 768. Of the chapters concerning the liturgy which belong to the original Greek Πίναξ nothing need be said here. But those prefixed or appended by Nicon, eleven in number, are as follows:

i. Missive of Paisius patriarch of C.P. and his synod in reply to certain questions [twenty-six in number] on divers necessary ecclesiastical matters [received at Moscow early in 1655, after the arrival there of Macarius patriarch of Antioch and Gabriel primate of Servia].

ii. Question addressed by the *great hossoudar* the most holy Nicon archbishop of Moscow and patriarch of all Great, *Little, and White* Russia, to the patriarchs of the Eastern Church [Macarius] of Antioch and [Gabriel] of Servia, as to how one ought to hold the fingers of the right hand in making on oneself the sign of the cross.

iii. A sermon of Damascene, monk of the studium and subdeacon, for the adoration of the cross on the third Sunday in Lent, fol. 768.

iv. With what fingers of the right hand one ought to make the sign of the cross, fol. 793.

v. A treatise by Nicholas Malaxas, protopope of Nauplia, explaining what is signified by the way in which the priest's fingers are put together and held in the act of blessing the people, fol. 817

vi. A discourse by the Greek monk Maximus, of keeping firmly the symbol of the faith [*i.e.* the form of the Creed], fol. 850.

vii. Synodal act of the synod held [in the spring of A.D. 1654] under the tsar &c. Alexis Mich., and while the primacy of the holy catholic and apostolic church of the Assumption at Moscow was held by the great hossoudar the most holy Nicon archbishop &c.: Wherein also is contained the act of the synod of Constantinople, held in the time of the religious

[9] *i.e.* This would be in Oct. A.D. 1655: but it was really in Oct. 1656, which requires A.M. 7065: the *synod* had been held in May preceding, and so in A.M. 7064.

tsar and grand prince Theodore Ivan. autocrat of all Russia [in A.D. 1593], on certain ecclesiastical matters [and for the final canonical institution and recognition of the patriarchate of Moscow].[10]

viii. Answers of Athanasius archbishop of Alexandria to cxxxvi. questions of the prince Antiochus [or rather of Antiochus Doucas] concerning many important points and doubts occurring in the holy Scriptures, and needful for all men to understand. [See the *Replies* of Nicon, p. 82 and 665.]

ix. Of the same holy father,[11] Discourses, and Explanations of the Parables in the gospels.

x. Concerning certain questions relating to the Divinity and the Incarnation of the Son of God.

xi. A Treatise of the humble Gabriel of Monembasia, metropolitan of Philadelphia, concerning the Seven holy Mysteries [*i.e.* the seven sacraments].

APPENDIX III.

At p. 75, 77, 110, 111, 151, 169, 175, 322, and 325 there are allusions to the first beginnings of the schism of the Starobratsi, occasioned by Nicon's correction of the Church books, and to the condemnation and punishment of some of its originators. On this subject we insert an extract from a *History of the Russian Schismatics* by Macarius, who at the time of its publication was vicar-bishop of Vinnitsa and rector of the Spiritual Academy at St. Petersburg.

The double Alleluia seems to have been introduced by some at Pskoff only in the 15th century: possibly they may have learned it from the Latins, as cases are found [at Pskoff] of priests even using Latin chrism.

The opinion of its being right to use two fingers [in making the sign of the cross] they foisted into five books, viz. the Psalter of the Sequences, the Psalter for learners, the Lesser Catechism, the Book of the Faith, and the book of Cyril of Jerusalem. The patriarch Joseph, according to Ignatius bishop of Siberia and Tobolsk (in his third Epistle against the schismatics, ch. xiv. fol. 62), so crossed himself; and under him the books were printed. *Nicon himself did so too;* and when blamed for it by the Eastern prelates, justified himself by the printed books (Ignat. Ep. iii. ch. 19, fol. 67, 8). And again he writes: 'Only the *very old* people

[10] Respecting the previous acts of 26 Jan. 1589 and of May 1589, see Mouravieff's *History of the Russian Church*, p. 129-131 and p. 289-321; and the *Replies of Nicon*, p. 14, 15, 46, 231, 656-658; and Paisius' *History*, &c. p. 29, 30, 158. For the act of 8 May 1590 (brought in 1591 by Dionysius metr. of Tirnovo to Moscow) see Mouravieff, p. 132 and 325-345; *Replies of Nicon*, p. 15, 658. For the final synodal act of 1593, see the *Replies of Nicon*, p. 46-54 (where the act itself is given at length from the Skrijal), 232, 659; Paisius' *History*, &c. p. 30-31. Of the claim made at first for the patriarchate of Moscow to have the *third* place, though it obtained in fact only the fifth, see Mouravieff, p. 132, the *Replies of Nicon*, p. 54, and the *History*, &c. of Paisius, p. 31, 158.

[11] Really these works are by a much later Athanasius, as Nicon's own quotation from them, alluding to the domination of the Mahometan Saracens, plainly indicates.

did not receive that Armenian custom.' See too the *Discourse* of Nicon in answer [to the partisans of that opinion] in his Skrijal of 1656, fol. 2.

In 1649 there came [to Moscow] Paisius patriarch of Jerusalem; and he remarked, according to Nicon, divers innovations, especially this of the two fingers: and he said of this among other things to Nicon (whom *he consecrated* abp. of Novgorod), and no doubt also to the patriarch Joseph and to the tsar, that 'all this was a departure from the order of the Orthodox Eastern Church.' The tsar and the patriarch without delay sent the kellar of the Troitsa Arsenius Souchanoff to observe how all was done in the East; and he wrote a full account of his travels or pilgrimage, describing not the order of the books, but the actual ceremonies, and admitting that they went [in their processions] 'against the sun,' and crossed themselves with three fingers. Still, though not to the extent that the Raskolniks pretend, he shows himself prejudiced against the Greeks.

Meanwhile, in 1651, there came to Moscow Gabriel metropolitan of Nazareth, and made remarks similar to those of Paisius.

Again, in 1653 there came the ex-patriarch of C.P. Athanasius Patellarius, who afterwards died and was buried at Lubni, where his body still lies uncorrupted (see the *Vichodi Hossoudarey Tsarey* at those years, and the *Discourse* above mentioned of Nicon): and he again made the same remarks.

In the same year the fathers of Mount Athos wrote to the tsar Alexis, that in 1649 *a monk named Damascene* having bought books printed at Moscow containing the doctrine of the two fingers, they, with the blessing of Parthenius, then patriarch of C.P., had held a synod, and had burned them, and had anathematised all who should so cross themselves (Pitirim in the *Praschischa*, *Answer* 68).

All this alarmed the patriarch Joseph, so that he began to fear that they would deprive him (perhaps for his incautious confidence in the correctors and editors of the books); and he died in great sufferings, Apr. 15, A.D. 1652. As the metropolitan Ignatius says: 'They had published that last book, the *Ouchetni Psaltir*, with the Armenian doctrine of the two fingers in it, when he soon died of *remorse of conscience*' [a play upon the words *grija* and *grizenia*, the first of the two meaning *hernia* or *rupture*, of which the patriarch really died].

In 1653 Arsenius returned; and on the 26th of July he presented his report to the tsar Alexis and to the new patriarch Nicon. His Προσκυνητάριον (Macarius writes) I have used in two MS. copies, one imperfect (MSS. Acad. Lib. No. 317), and one complete. Another work, entitled *Disputes of Arsenius with the Greeks*, which circulates among the Raskolniks, is not really his.

The Raskolniks did not begin to cry out against Nicon before 1654; and Arsenius Souchanoff was not among his enemies, but was sent by him in 1654 to Mount Athos and the East for the collection of books; and again to Jerusalem, to take the measures of the church there. Some people in Moscow too knew that the books which had been printed were faulty, and desired to have better. The boyar [strapchi] Rtischeff in 1648 set up near Moscow a poustin (a hermitage), to which he brought learned monks from Kieff and Little Russia to work at translating from the Greek, and editing useful books for the Church. At the head of these

was Epiphanius Slavenetsky (see the Life of Rtischeff in the *Old Russ. Libr.* part xviii. p. 401, and *Memoir of Epiph. Slavenetsky* in the *Dict. of Russ. Eccl. Writers*, by Eugenius, part i. p. 179), who boldly told the patriarch Nicon himself of the faultiness of the former editions, especially of the Slujebnik. But Nicon did not take the matter up at once, no doubt owing to a sense of its weight; and he let them go on printing nearly in the same form as before under Joseph; whence it is that many books printed under Nicon are received by the Raskolniks; for instance, the *Apostolarion* of 1652, the *Sviatui Triod* (the Πεντηκοστάριον) and the *Kanonik* of 1653, the Gospel, and the *Obschia Menea* (Commune Sanctorum), the Psalters, &c. At length, as he was devoting several days to an examination of the patriarchal library, he found there a Greek document, a missive respecting the institution of the patriarchate in Russia, written in 1589, and another Greek letter or book sent from a synod of the œcumenical patriarchs held on account of the same matter at Constantinople in 1593. While reading this latter Nicon was especially struck by the words of the patriarchs: 'It is a duty also that we should abolish every novelty within the borders of the Church, since we see that innovations always become causes of trouble and division; but that we should adhere to the rule of the holy fathers, and receive all that we have been taught and that we have received from the beginning, and keep it unimpaired, without any addition or diminution . . . . and that so in all things great Orthodox Russia may abide in concord with the œcumenical patriarchs.' These words struck him; and he 'began to fear' (see his preface in the *Slujebnik* of 1655, and what follows). . . And first of all he looked to the Creed; and observed that two Greek copies of it which he had before him, one in the same synodal act of 1593, the other worked on a sakkos brought to Moscow by the metropolitan Photius (1407-31), did not contain the word '*istinnago*' (ἀληθοῦς, *veri*) of the Holy Ghost, while the Slavonic creeds printed in our books all had it. After this he looked through the Slujebnik, collating it with the Greek, and found many discrepancies. Then he went on to the other books in like manner, and found similar discrepancies. (See preface to the Slujebnik of 1655.) Then (having thus satisfied himself of the necessity) he at once undertook the great work of correcting them all.

First he made known his intention to the tsar Alexis, and asked him to convoke the pastors of the Church for consultation on the subject. A synod met in 1654 in the palace in consequence, the history of which is given in the same preface to the *Slujebnik* of 1655 (see Stroeff, Supplement to his *Account of the old Printed Books*, p. 151-156, and in the preface to the *Duchovni Ouciet* of the patriarch Joachim). The act itself of this synod is printed at the end of part i. of the *Skrijal* of Nicon, A.D. 1656. There were present at it five metropolitans, viz. Macarius of Novgorod, Cornelius of Kazan, Jonah of Rostoff, Silvester of Kroutitz, four archbishops, viz. Marcellus of Vologda, Sophronius of Souzdal, Misael of Riazan, Macarius of Pskoff, and one bishop, Paul of Kolomna, also eleven archimandrites and hegoumens, and thirteen protiereys (archpriests), and the tsar's syncleto.

Nicon made an address to the synod, quoting the documents mentioned above; after which there was read out in full the act of the synod of C.P. of 1593; and so all heard the Creed read without the word '*istinnago*,' as

well as those alarming words of the synod which had so much moved Nicon, that the Russian Church must in all things conform to the Greek, and be in accord with the four œcumenical patriarchs; and that they must root out all novelties, &c. Then Nicon continued: 'And so I am bound to denounce to you the innovations directed in our Church service-books,' &c.; and instancing two of the most notorious (viz. the *Absolution* which the priest pronounced for *himself* before the beginning of the liturgy, and the *Dismissal* (the ἀπόλυσις) which he uttered to all the Church standing at the royal doors after the ending of the hours, before the liturgy), as directed in the printed books. He concluded thus: 'And respecting this I ask you for a judgment: Are we to follow the new printed books, or the Greek and our own old MSS. books, which agree together?' And the synod replied in favour of conforming to the Greek books and to the old Slavonic MSS. And after each time [of putting the same question on each point] he obtained the same reply.

But when, at the last, the tsar and the patriarch made order to write all that synodal act for the sake of perfect confirmation, that for the future there should be a correction made in the printing of the divine books according to the old paper MSS. and the Greek books, *Oustaves* (Τυπικά), *Trebniks* (rituals), *Slujebniks* (service-books or missals), Εὐχολόγια and *Horologia*, and proposed to all present to confirm the written act by their subscriptions, it then appeared that not all as yet had sincerely expressed their consent to the determination of the synod. At least among the subscriptions we do not see the name of one of the bishops, viz. Paul bishop of Kolomna, nor the names of two of the archimandrites present, of one of the hegoumens, and two of the archpriests, viz. Adrian archim. of the Troitsa, and Misael of Loutsk, Antony hegoumen of the Borisoglebsk at Pereyaslaff, Stephen Bonifatieff protopope of the sobor of the Annunciation, and Joachim protopope of the sobor of the Ascension. Both the documents and the lists of names are printed in the synodal act in the *Skrijal*. The Raskolniks pretend that Paul of Kolomna, instead of subscribing, wrote these words: 'If any one take away aught from the commonly received traditions of the holy Catholic Church, or add anything to them, let him be anathema!' thinking so to strike the soul of Nicon.

The tsar and the patriarch did not halt when they had begun. They gave orders to send to Moscow from different places in Russia the oldest Slavonic books translated from the Greek, and written 500 years before or even more: and forthwith such books were sent from the Troitsa, the Yourieff, and the Khoutinsk monasteries, from that of St. Joseph of Volokolamsk, &c. &c. Not content with these, and wishing the correction to be not only of their own will, but also with the counsel of the œcumenical patriarchs, the tsar and the patriarch sent in the same year 1654 to C.P. the Greek Manuel with letters from themselves, in which they submitted to the patriarch Paisius XXVI. questions respecting the order of the church services in certain details, and respecting certain errors (see Sim. Denisoff's *Vertograd Duchovni*, the article *Of Paul bishop of Kolomna*, &c., and the Preface to the *Slujebnik* of 1655). Paisius convoked a synod of twenty-four metropolitans, one archbishop, three bishops, &c. &c. This synod considered all the questions; and in 1655 there was sent to Moscow for an answer the synodal act itself. This act, in the form of a Letter

from the patriarch of C.P. to the patriarch Nicon, is very remarkable. [It has been given above partly from this *History of Macarius*, partly from the *Skrijal* itself, at p. 408; so it is not here repeated.]

Thus strengthened, but thinking the Greek and Slavonic old books found in Russia insufficient, they sent with large alms Arsenius Souchanoff to Athos, and to other places [in the Levant: see above, p. 170] to collect books. Before long there were sent to Moscow from the monasteries on Mount Athos as many as 500 MSS., among which there was a Gospel 1050 and another Gospel 650 years old, a Psalter 600, a Slujebnik 600, another Slujebnik 455, and divers other books 400, 500, and 700 years old. At the same time the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Servia, and many metropolitans and archbishops of the East, in consequence of letters of request addressed to them from Moscow, sent thither not fewer than 200 other old copies of different church books.

Then the tsar and the patriarch determined to convoke in Moscow a fresh synod, [which met in the fifth week of Lent 1655, and] in which, besides our own clergy, there were present the patriarch of Antioch Macarius, and the patriarch [as he styled himself] of Servia, Gabriel. This synod met in 1655; and it continued to hold its sessions (to judge from what it did) during no short time. The sittings began with the reading of passages from the gospel and from the canons of the holy apostles and of the œcumenical councils. Then were read the acts of other councils, viz. of that held at Moscow in 1651, ordering the correction of the Moscow church books, and of that of C.P. held under Païsius, confirming the same order of the synod of Moscow. The present synod accepted in the fullest way and reaffirmed the decrees of those preceding synods, and proceeded forthwith to the examination of the books themselves, Greek and Slavonic, which had been collected in so great quantity. The patriarch of Antioch Macarius added a collation of his own Εὐχολόγιον, and of some others. The synod 'found the old Greek to agree entirely with the old Slavonic books; but in the recently printed Moscow books it found many discrepancies from the old Greek and Slavonic, and many errors.'

When the errors were read out in the hearing of all, the synod unanimously decreed that it should be so as was decreed by the synods held previously in 1654 at Moscow and at C.P. And, to make a beginning, the fathers of the synod themselves began to correct the *Slujebnik*: and 'having thoroughly corrected this holy book, and made it to agree with the old Greek and Slavonic,' they made an order that it should be printed at Moscow in the same year 1655. Not intending that the correction should stop there, the synod made an order that the same should be done with all the other books, and so closed its sessions.

Instead of the old editors who had been employed under the patriarch Joseph, such as the protopopes Ivan Neronoff and Abbakoum, the priests Lazarus and Niketa, the deacon Theodore, and others, there were now chosen learned men who knew Greek and Latin as well as Slavonic, viz. Epiphanius Slavenetsky, Arsenius, Damascene, and others. There were called from the Solovetsky the Greek hieromonach Arsenius, and the hieromonach Jacob (surnamed the philosopher), and the archimandrite Dionysius, who had come from Mount Athos, with his companions: and this last was almost the chief corrector, as he verified the books translated

by Epiphanius. So a *Sbornik* [*i.e.* a book of collections] from the fathers was published in 1656.

Nicon, having already the answer of the patriarch of C.P. about the sign of the cross, took the opportunity afforded by the presence of the patriarchs Macarius of Antioch and Gabriel of Servia, and Gregory metropolitan of Nice, and Gideon metropolitan of Moldavia, to ask them about the same. So he first wrote to them a letter in which he spoke of his own strict obligation to feed the spiritual sheep committed to him, and informed them that 'some raise a dispute' [respecting the manner of making the sign of the cross]; 'and some cross themselves with the three fingers of the right hand, whom we suppose to do rightly,' says Nicon, 'but others with two fingers,' &c. They unanimously replied: 'We have received the tradition from the beginning of the faith, from the holy apostles and the holy fathers and the seven holy œcumenical councils, to make the sign of the venerable cross with the first three fingers of the right hand: and whosoever of orthodox Christians makes not the cross so, according to the tradition of the Eastern Church which she has held from the beginning till now, he is a heretic, and an imitator of the Armenians. And for this cause we hold him to be excommunicate from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and to be accursed.' And this answer they all subscribed, each with his own hand.

Then, when on the day of the commemoration of Meletius patriarch of Antioch (12 Feb.) the tsar was at matins in the Choudoff monastery[12] with all his synclete, and the patriarch of Antioch Macarius and other bishops were present, when they read from the *Prologue* the story of St. Meletius, how he at first showed the people three fingers, and there was no sign, then he put together two and applied one to them, and from his hand there flashed fire, Nicon publicly asked the patriarch Macarius what that story meant? And Macarius replied: 'Men of all the orthodox brotherhood, hear! I, being the successor and inheritor of the chair of this holy Meletius, know for certain that this holy Meletius showed the three fingers first separated from one another, whereupon there was no sign. Then again he did it, not merely showing the three fingers, but also putting them together; and by this he also showed a sign (of the Blessed Trinity in unity). And if any one make not with these three fingers the sign of the cross on his forehead, such a one is an imitator of the Armenians; for the Armenians so cross themselves.' That was not all. On the Sunday of Orthodoxy the tsar being in the cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow with all his synclete, when the choirs sang 'Everlasting remembrance!' to all them who have contended for Christ, and to all opposers 'Anathema!' the patriarch Macarius, standing near to the tsar and his synclete and to all the sacred synod, and showing the first three fingers of his right hand put together, cried aloud, 'With these first three fingers every orthodox Christian ought to cross himself; but whoever does it according to the writing of Theodoret and his lying tradition is accursed.' The same curse was repeated by Gabriel the patriarch of Servia, and by Gregory the metropolitan of Nicæa.[13]

[12] See above p. 302; but this circumstance is not there mentioned.

[13] See above, p. 151, 152, where something of the same kind is related to have taken place before in 1655; but in 1656 it is only mentioned that Nicon on the Sunday of Orthodoxy preached about things contrary to the cross of Christ, p. 307.

Lastly, on the 25th of April 1656, Nicon, with the permission of the tsar Alexis, summoned all the Russian prelates to meet at Moscow, and opened the synod with a long address. 'More than once,' he said, 'our humility has been reflected upon by prelates who came from the East to Moscow, as by Athanasius (Patellarius) ex-patriarch of C.P., Paisius patriarch of Jerusalem, Gabriel metropolitan of Nazareth, and others; and I have been much blamed by them for not correcting the service-books, and for other ecclesiastical matters, among which there is also this, that we make the sign of the cross with two fingers, according to the writing of Theodoret; whereas that has been introduced into the printed and written books only of ignorance, and by no command either of any tsar or any patriarch, and by no synod of bishops. And aforetime among us all crossed themselves with three fingers, to symbolise the Holy Trinity, as many may still be seen to do who know not the writing of Theodoret, but are simple men and women who keep to the old custom. Therefore we, the patriarch Nicon, seeking not our own benefit, but also the benefit and salvation of our spiritual children, and perceiving that there is now much among us, partly in the sacred books and partly in ecclesiastical forms, not agreeing with what was of old under our predecessors, determined to learn the truth on the basis of the divine scriptures.' Then, having mentioned how a vast multitude of Slavonic and Greek MSS. had been collected and brought to Moscow for the correction of the newly-printed books, and that such correction is now in progress, Nicon again applied himself in particular to the teaching of the pretended Theodoret and Maximus the Greek about the sign of the cross, and expressed his own judgment of that doctrine thus: 'It bids men to hold three fingers together, viz. the thumb and the fourth and fifth fingers, in honour of the Trinity, and to put together the other two, viz. the forefinger and the middle finger, and hold them out, bending the middle finger a little, to symbolise the two natures of Jesus Christ. But such a tradition cannot be admitted by the Church. For it improperly expresses both mysteries. Neither do the three fingers, that is, the thumb with the two small fingers, properly confess the mystery of the Trinity; nor do the two, that is, the forefinger and the middle, properly indicate the mystery of the incarnation of God the Word. By the three above-mentioned fingers it is plain that there is indicated an *inequality* between the Persons of the Blessed Trinity. If any one is to take the thumb to indicate the Father, and the two little fingers to indicate the Son and the Holy Ghost, then he will necessarily confess the Father to be *greater* than the Son and the Holy Ghost; and consequently he will be a follower of the heretic Arius, who lessened the Son in comparison with the Father. The two remaining fingers, the forefinger and the middle, of which the one is put out straight and the other bent in a little, by no means indicate that two natures are united in Christ in one person. On the contrary, showing that in Christ there are united two natures, they show that in him there are also two *persons*, as was taught by the heretic Nestorius, who for some time was really supported by Theodoret (if only that tradition of the collocation of the fingers which is being considered were really to be ascribed to him).' After this Nicon stated that in 1654 he had also, among other things, asked the patriarch of C.P. Paisius respecting the sign of the cross, and

had received from him a synodal answer to the effect that men ought to cross themselves with the first three fingers of the right hand: that in 1656 [1655] he asked about the same other orthodox hierarchs who were then at Moscow, viz. Macarius patriarch of Antioch, Gabriel [metropolitan] of Servia, Gregory of Nicæa (and [now also in addition] Gideon of Moldavia),[14] and received from them a like answer in writing: that *afterwards* in the Choudoff monastery [12 Feb. 1656] the patriarch Macarius, at the commemoration of St. Meletius of Antioch, explained to the people a well-known story of him, and bade them make the sign of the cross with the first three fingers: that, lastly, the same patriarch Macarius, together with the [metropolitans] of Servia and of Nicæa, solemnly confirmed the doctrine of the three fingers on the Sunday of Orthodoxy in the cathedral at Moscow.

The fathers of the council, having heard Nicon's address, and having carefully considered the *Answer of the patriarch Paisius, which he laid before them*[15] about the sign of the cross, the similar answer of the patriarch Macarius and the rest that were with him, and, farther, a *Discourse of the subdeacon Damascene about the Cross*, enacted the following canon:

'If any one hereafter of set purpose will not submit to make the sign of the cross on his forehead as the holy Eastern Church has from of old received, and as now the four œcumenical patriarchs, with all the Christians under them found in all parts of the universe, practise it, and as here in old times orthodox Christians used to make it, till the printing of the *Discourse of Theodoret* in the *Psalter of Sequences* of the Moscow printing-press, so as to make it with the first three fingers of the right hand, to symbolise the consubstantial and undivided and equally-worshipped Trinity, but persists in doing what is a scandal to the Church, viz. putting together the two little fingers and the thumb (under which form there is hinted an inequality in the blessed Trinity), and extending the two great middle fingers (in which they indicate two natures and two persons, according to the heresy of Nestorius), or persists in making the sign of the cross in any other way, we, following the holy fathers of the seven œcumenical councils and the other local synods, and the four œcumenical patriarchs of the holy Eastern Church, account such an one to be altogether cut off from the Church, [and reject him] together with the writing of Theodoret. And as in the Fifth council they anathematised his lying writings, written so as to favour the Nestorian heresy against Cyril of Alexandria and the original faith, so we also anathematise them.'

At the same synod Nicon submitted the *Skrijal*, which had been translated from the Greek, and was *just then*[16] printed by his order, having been

[14] See above, p. 318, 322. The metrop. of Moldavia came to Moscow just before Easter, 6th April 1656, and was himself present, as well as the patriarch Macarius of Antioch, and Gabriel the primate of Servia, in the synod of 11th May, when Nicon spoke these words.

[15] He had laid it also before them already in the synod of 1655: but this repetition of synodical discussions and decrees on the same subjects is frequent. So too the question of rebaptising the Poles had been already discussed and decided in 1655; and the decree made on that subject now in 1656 will be reenacted, after a fresh discussion, in 1667. See above, p. 174, 321, 322.

[16] It exhibits itself, however, as the date of its completion in its preface 'October 1656.'

sent to him in 1653 by the patriarch of Jerusalem Paisius. The fathers caused the book to be read to them in the synod during many days, and found it to be not only blameless, but also worthy of all praise, and very valuable. In confirmation of these their sentiments they all subscribed the *Skrijal*, with all its contents, as well as the above-recited canon respecting the sign of the cross, each with his own hand. The synod ended June 2, 1656 (its acts are printed in the same book, *Sloro Ouciestch*). After Nicon himself there subscribed three metropolitans, viz. Macarius of Novgorod, Cornelius of Kazan, and Jonah of Rostoff; four archbishops, viz. Marcellus of Vologda, Laurentius of Tver, Joseph of Astrachan, and Macarius of Pskoff; one bishop, viz. Alexander of Kolomna; twenty-two archimandrites, nine hegoumens and economes and vicars. The book was written originally by the Greek hieromonach John, son of Nathanael, and translated by Arsenius the Greek. Among the appendices to this *Skrijal* there were printed also the *Act of the synod of Moscow* of 1654, and that *of the synod of C.P.* of the same year; the *Answer* of the patriarch of Antioch Macarius and of the patriarch of Servia Gabriel, respecting the sign of the cross, and the *Discourse* on the sign of the cross of the subdeacon Peter Damascene: also a Discourse in the way of questions and instruction (*Sloro Vopros i Ouciestch*) or answers against those who contended for the two fingers: also a Treatise by the archpriest Nicholas Malaxas on the collocation of the fingers in blessing; and another of Maximus the Greek and his disciple Zenobius on the inviolability of the Creed, and the prohibition to make any change or addition to it, such as the addition of the word *istinnago* (ἀληθοῦς, *veri*, *i.e.* true or very), with testimonies of the old synods and fathers to the same.

So Nicon published a second book also, after the *Slujebnik*, not of himself alone, but with the approval of all the Russian bishops and all the sacred synod. And these two books, the *Slujebnik* of 1655 and the *Skrijal* of 1656, served as a foundation.

Besides [what he wrote and published in] 1654, Nicon in the preface to his *Skrijal* of 1656 speaks of 'certain unlearned and wilful men, or rather superstitious zealots for disorder,' to whom the work undertaken appears 'odious,' and who 'with evil malice' dare to murmur against the patriarch. These men were, first, Paul, whom the Raskolniks call the '*captain* of their *noble army*' [and who had now been deprived of his bishopric of Kolomna] (see Denisoff *Vinograd R.* in the article on 'Paul of Kolomna,' &c. fol. 23); and with him the archpriest of the Kazan church at Moscow, John Neronoff. Their opposition had been so bold, that Nicon had been obliged to refer about them to Paisius. Soon they were joined by Abbakoum protopope of Yourievetz Povolsky (he lived at Moscow with Neronoff, and often officiated with him in the Kazan church, as he says in his own *Life*), Daniel protopope of Kostroma, Longin protopope of Mourom, and others who had been correctors and editors under the patriarch Joseph. First they assembled, and wrote and presented to the tsar Alexis a '*common petition* against the great disturber Nicon,' accusing him, first, because in 1654 he forbade the reverences or *poklons* to the ground (*i.e.* prostrations) in Lent, except four, and ordered that the rest should be made by bowing only as low as the girdle: secondly, because he had ordered all to cross themselves with three fingers instead of

two. The tsar paid no attention. Abbakoum in his *Life* says: 'We, together with Daniel, wrote from books extracts about the propriety of crossing oneself with two fingers, and about the poklons, and we presented what we had written to the tsar. Much was therein written. But he hid it, I know not where. *It is supposed that he gave it to Nicon.*' Then they began to make an outery against the bipartite or four-ended cross, with which Nicon ordered that the prosphorœ should be sealed, and against the triple Alleluia. The protopope Neronoff went on purpose daily to the Kazan sobor, and suffered none there to sing the Alleluia thrice: and when he appeared before the patriarch, he disputed with him warmly. But what they most laboured for was to spread abroad the idea that the former books were all right. And, as Nicon had not acted of himself alone, they pretended that the Greek patriarchs were no longer orthodox, and that the Greek books had been corrupted *by the Latins*. Abbakoum says that he [Nicon], and his books, and his partisans, 'are preparing the way for antichrist.' And again he says: 'A wolf-pastor in sheepskin, a precursor of antichrist, an enemy of God, an enemy of Christ, an instrument of the malicious devil, a cursed apostate.' And in another article or book against 'the cross-oppugning heresy,' he writes: 'In our land of Russia there has arisen a great sorcerer, the measure of whose height and depth is the abyss of hell. . . . But we, with our fathers and brethren, not keeping silence, began to expose that heretic and precursor of antichrist,' &c.; and much more and worse abuse of him.

Paul was a near relative of Ananias or Antony, an hieromonach of the Youngensk monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian (now in the government of Kazan), *on whom the lot is said to have fallen for the patriarchate, and who had to give way to the tsar's wishes in favour of Nicon.* Hilarion or Ivan, son of this Ananias, and afterwards metropolitan of Souzdal, had been married to a sister of Paul. Hence, Paul being disappointed, both he and Hilarion had a deep grudge against Nicon. The rest, Neronoff, Abbakoum, Daniel, Longin, &c. had been displaced by Nicon from their office of correctors (see Pogodin's *Observations* on the origin of Nicon and on that of his opponents in the *Moskvitanin* of 1854, No. xix. 5). Epiphanius Slavenetsky in the *Skrijal* of 1656 says of them: 'For these men had been darkened to the damage of their souls by the dark mists of prejudiced *hatred* and *envy*, or of *weak ignorance*,' &c. And again: 'Some, either inspired by *hatred*, which perverts the judgment, or darkened by *weak ignorance*,' &c.

Nicon at first sought to convince and instruct them, calling them to him, and entering into discussion with them, as they themselves confess (see Denisoff's account of Paul, fol. 24; also *Supplement* to the *Acts of the Historical Commission*, v. 457). But when he saw that they were obstinate, and tried to draw away the people and to produce a schism, and openly called the Eastern Orthodox Church heretical, he determined to use stronger measures. Paul was degraded, and is said even to have been afterwards corporally punished, and exiled to the Paleostroff monastery. Abbakoum says he was *burned* by Nicon in the borders of Novgorod. In one MS. he is called 'the pontiff martyr Paul;' and it is even said that this was in 1656. But Simon Denisoff relates that Paul was in the Paleostroff monastery *no short time*; that afterwards the innovators

(not naming Nicon) removed him to the borders of Novgorod, and burned him to death on a pile of wood (fol. 26). Here it is to be noticed once for all, that the civil punishments inflicted on the leading schismatics were executed by the civil tribunals, at the instance of the civil government, not by sentence of the patriarch Nicon or of any other spiritual authorities. (See the *Three Letters* of Ignatius of Tobolsk against the Raskolniks, fol. 71.) Some say that Paul lived to 166⁷, and was then sent to the Paleostroff; but of this there is no proof at all. Ivan Neronoff was confined in the Simonoff-Spassokamensk at Vologda; and at last repented, as did Gregory Neronoff. Daniel was sent to be imprisoned at Astrachan, and he died there. Longin was banished to Mourom; Abbakoum, though (at the tsar's intercession, as the Raskolniks pretend) he was *not* degraded, was banished in 1656 with all his family to Dauuria in the depths of Siberia. The patriarch Philaret also had (equally with Nicon) in 1610 called in the old Oustaves (Directory-books, Τυπικὰ), and with complete success. Perhaps Nicon too would have succeeded; but in 1658 he withdrew to Voskresensk, in consequence of having lost the favour of the tsar. In the course of three or four years from the beginning of the undertaking he had printed five or six books. Besides the *Slujebnik* and the *Skrijal*, there had been printed before his retirement a *Shornik* (*i.e.* collection) of Prayers, and the *Triod for Lent* in 1656, and the *Irmologion* translated afresh from the Greek by Epiphanius Slavenetsky, and the *Gospel* in 1657, and the *Psalter of Sequences* and the *Trebnik* in 1658.

His enemies, and especially the would-be champions of antiquity, triumphed, and expected that his work would be annulled. The Russian bishops under Pitirim (a personal enemy of Nicon), though they continued to correct and to print (by their synodal order there was printed the *Sviatui Triod*, *i.e.* the Pentecostarion, corrected by Epiphanius Slavenetsky, the *Anthologion*, the *Menæa Communia*, and the *Menæa for the twelve months*, and others: See Strœff's *Descript. of the old printed books of the Tolstoy Library*, &c.), yet *could not act with the same authority*. By degrees some at Moscow began openly to speak against Nicon and the new books. They succeeded in getting the tsar to pardon the protopope Abbakoum, who had been exiled under Nicon to Siberia; and he, after six years of exile, returned [in 1662] to Moscow. Here he found much sympathy among the nobles and courtiers, and obtained some most zealous and devoted followers, as Isaiah the dvoretskoy and favourite of the boyar Soltikoff, the boyarina Theodosia Morozova, one of the ladies nearest to the tsaritsa and very rich, her sister the princess Eudocia Ourousova, the noble lady Maria Danilovna, and with them as their constant instructress the nun Justina. Abbakoum spread his false doctrine both by word and by letters. In a letter to Morozova he writes: 'Thou wert the wife of the boyar Gleb Ivan. Morozoff, an honourable widow, at the highest point in the order of the tsar's ranks, near to the tsaritsa. Thou hadst of serving-men for thy house 300; thou hadst of peasants 8000: of property in thy house there was to the value of 200,000 or 250,000 [rubles?]. Thou hadst for heir to all this thy son Ivan. Glebovich Morozoff: of friends and relations in Moscow thou hadst a very great multitude. Thou didst ride to them in a carriage, in a very costly carriage, adorned with inlaid work and silver, and many high-bred horses,

six or twelve, to it, with jingling chains. Behind thee of servants, men and women, there went a hundred or two hundred; and sometimes as many as three hundred men attended thee as a guard of honour.' He wrote against the correction of the Creed, against crossing oneself with the three fingers, against the correction of the books, and the church singing, and forbade his disciples to receive the sacraments from conforming priests. He petitioned the tsar 'to remove Nicon from the patriarchate, and to restore the old orthodoxy.' He was so audacious, and made such a stir, that in spite of his protectors he was twice banished from Moscow at the instance of the spiritual authorities, first to the sea-coast at Mezen, where he remained a year and a half, and again to the Boroff-Paphnutieff monastery, where he was kept in chains a year. He was aided by another ex-corrector Theodore, deacon of the cathedral of the Assumption, who attacked all [that had been done], and even accused the Eastern patriarchs of having apostatised from orthodoxy. He was confined in the Pokrofsky monastery: but even there he went on, and wrote a '*Refutation against the Innovations of Nicon*,' and a *Petition* to the tsar 'to issue a command to lay aside the traditions of Nicon, and to adhere to the old ancestral piety unchanged.' Their chief abettors at Moscow were the archimandrite of the Pokrofsky monastery Spiridion Potemkin, the hegoumen of the Zlatooustoff Theoctist, a disciple of John Neronoff, Kapiton and Dositheus, two monks of the Tichvinsky-Nikolsky, Joseph Istomin, Abramius, Isaiah, Cornelius (who had been an under secretary of Nicon's), Theodore, and others. Some, as Dositheus and Cornelius, went to the Kozaks of the Don near Olonetz, &c., and the monk Joseph Istomin, who was banished in 1660 to Siberia, became, after Abbakoum, one of the chief disseminators of schism.

The pope Niketa in Souzdal, and the pope Lazarus in Romanova, openly exhorted the people not to receive the books; and both of them composed and presented petitions to the tsar, Niketa with xxx, Lazarus with lxx. articles, showing the pretended innovations and heresies of Nicon's books, especially of the *Skrijal*, and calumniating Nicon himself as having 'altogether abandoned the Christian faith, and embraced the impiety of the Jews, and the heresies of Arius, Nestorius, Macedonius, Dioscorus, Apollinaris, Marcion, and Marcellus; and he has perfectly fallen in love with the god-forsaking Roman heresy.' They reviled the Greek patriarchs, bishops, and all the people *as not having holy baptism*, and the Greek books as being full of heresies and corruptions. Imitators sprang up in divers parts, who appropriated to themselves the opinions of Abbakoum, Theodore, Niketa, and Lazarus; in the parts about Kostroma the monk Kapiton (who could neither read nor write); in Mourom the archimandrite of the Spassky Antonius; in the Cyrilloff monastery the monk Joasaph, who left the monastery, and went about leading a vagabond life. Near Vladimir a certain John, once a compositor in the printing-house under the patriarch Joseph; near Nijny Novgorod Ephrem Potemkin, a monk of the Bizukofsky monastery; the monk Abramius of the monastery of St. Joseph of Volokolamsk, who went thence to Moscow on purpose to present a petition to the tsar against Nicon; in the Solovetsky the hieromonach Theoctist, who was there in exile, and who there wrote his treatise '*On Antichrist, and on his mystical kingdom*;' the monk

Gerasimus Thyrsoff; the monk Epiphanius, &c. &c. Also Alexander bishop of Viatka, though he had himself subscribed in the synod of 1656 which approved the *Skrijal* and all its contents, sent nevertheless to Moscow, in 1663, to the tsar a letter of complaint against Nicon, reviling in it the correction of the Creed, and generally the service-books, and the regulations made for the church ritual. (This was because Nicon had, with the consent of the tsar, changed his diocese, and had removed him from Kolomna to Perm in 1657. See the *Ancient Russian Library*, iii. 401, and *Supplement* to *Acts of the Hist. Comm.* v 483.) The tsar Alexis, receiving all these petitions, and seeing that nothing as yet done had availed to stop them, determined to call a synod in 1666 'against those schismatics and disturbers of the holy Orthodox Catholic Church who have recently sprung up.' This synod began in 1666, and held twelve sessions. (Its acts have been printed in the supplement to the *Acts of the Historical Comm.* v. No. 102, p. 439-67.)

At the first session there were present only the bishops, in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate, who determined previously to ascertain that they were themselves agreed on a basis for judging. So they read out first the Creed of Nicæa. Then there were proposed three questions: i. How ought we to think of the four patriarchs? are they orthodox? ii. How ought we to think of the Greek books printed and manuscript? iii. What are we to think of the synod of Moscow held in 1651? To these questions all answered unanimously, and all subscribed the same answers, and appended to them the Creed.

In session ii., held Apr. 29 in the stolovaia (*i.e.* the banqueting-hall of the granovitaa palata), in presence of the tsar and the synclete, the tsar made an address, and read as an excellent and most convenient instrument for extirpating schisms the tome of the Chrysobulla sent by the four œcumenical patriarchs to the tsar Theodore Ivan. [in 1593], and asked whether they all thus held the Creed[17] and the rest of the doctrines. Pitirim [the metrop. of Novgorod] in the name of all replied, &c. In the other sessions, which were all held in the krestovaia hall without the presence of the tsar and the synclete, they went to work in detail.

In session iii. the bishop Alexander was forced to submit, and to give a promise that henceforth he would coöperate not with insubordination, but with the truth.

In session iv. the protopope Abbakoum stood out obstinately, and reviled them as being all heterodox: so he was anathematised and degraded, May 13: and, after fresh but equally fruitless admonitions, he was sent by the civil power to the Poustozerski Ostrog.

In the session v. the petition of the pope Niketa was read; and he too, being obstinate, was anathematised; and he was sent to be confined in the Ougreshski-Nikolaefsky monastery, whence soon afterwards he sent in his submission.

In session vi. the deacon Theodore, also obstinate, was anathematised and degraded; and he was sent to the Ougreshski-Nikolaefsky monastery, whence, like Niketa, he sent a letter of repentance. This enraged Abbakoum against him. But he soon relapsed: and presently, after fresh

[17] Imitating in this what Nicon had done before, as also in the use that he made of the sakkos with the Creed worked on it in pearls.

admonitions, he had his tongue cut out, and was sent into banishment, to be confined in the Poustozerski Ostrog.

In session vii. Ephrem Potemkin submitted himself to the synod, and made a sincere profession of repentance.

In session viii. the hieromonach Sergius likewise, and the monk Serapion ex-protopope of Smolensk, were absolved.

In session ix. there was read the petition of Lazarus, who stood out, but had some months allowed him within which he should repent.

In session x. professions of repentance were obtained from the hieromonach Gregory Neronoff, from Theoctist hegoumen of the Zlatooustoff, from Gerasimus Thyrsoff monk of the Solovetsky, from Antony archim. of the Spassky of Mourom, from the hieromonach Abramius, and from Sergius Soltikoff hegoumen of the Bizukoff monastery.

In session xi., which was the last, a general *Instruction to the Clergy* respecting the schism was written and subscribed; and this was sent about all Russia. In this, besides exhortations to receive the books corrected by the patriarch Nicon, and after his deposition approved by the synod, they added instructions about the prosphora, respecting the four-ended cross, &c., respecting baptism, chrism, the eucharist, the collocation of the fingers in making the sign of the cross, and in blessing, the Prayer to Jesus, the triple Alleluia, &c.

The same synod revised and printed, May 7, 1666, the book entitled the *Staff of Rule, of Confirmation, of Instruction, and of Correction, composed*[18] by Simeon of Polotsk, in which the petitions of the priests Niketa and Lazarus are refuted point by point; and it added a constitution as follows:

'We, all the bishops of the empire of all Russia, metropolitans, archbishops, and select men of all the other ecclesiastical orders, archimandrites and hegoumens and protopopes, having assembled in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate, have examined minutely during a long time the newly corrected and newly-translated printed books, and have compared them with the old paper Slavono-Russian MSS. books, and we have found nothing discordant or corrupted, or contrary to our orthodox faith, in the newly-printed books, but all in agreement with the old Slavono-Russian paper MSS. books, in which we saw also the holy Creed without the addition, such as it is also in the newly-printed books, and the *Alleluia* prescribed to be sung thrice; and of the sign of the cross to be made with the three fingers, and of the Lord's prayer, and of the order of the holy liturgy, and the rest of the ritual, we find all in the old Slavono-Russian paper MS. books to agree with what stands in the newly-corrected printed books.

'And inasmuch as Nicon, in time past patriarch, made order to correct the books, and to translate them, not of himself alone, but by command of the most religious hossoudar our tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. &c., and with the blessing and counsel and consent of the most holy œcumenical patriarchs, and with the consent of the bishops of all the Russian empire and of all the sacred synod, it was decreed synodically to correct the books from the Greek and from the old Slavono-Russian paper MS.

[18] Paisius Ligarides, in his *History* &c. p. 108, writes that he himself *composed* the book by command of the emperor and the synod, and that Simeon of Polotsk *translated* it from his Latin into Russ.

books, which old Slavono-Russian paper MS. books we also ourselves have now examined and looked through accurately, in presence of our hossoudar &c. [the tsar Alexis Mich.] and of all his synclete, in his imperial palace, and have set forth and read and attested, from which also we have shown some things in the krestovaia hall of the patriarchate to all the priests of the capital of Moscow, as the Creed without the addition, the triple Alleluia, and all the rest, just as in the newly-corrected books,' &c. (Supplement to the *Acts of the Hist. Comm.* v. p. 456, 481-583.)

Some months later, Nov. 2, 1667 [1666], there came to Moscow the patriarchs Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch, &c. They, in conjunction with a synod of Russian and Greek bishops, judged and condemned (Dec. 1-12) the patriarch Nicon, and imputed to him many offences, for which he was deprived of his rank. But no one imputed to Nicon that he had corrupted the church books in printing them, or had impaired the ancient faith or the ritual; though that alone would have been a sufficient cause for condemning him. Not only so, but a little later the Moscow synod presented to the Eastern patriarchs all their constitutions made in 1666 respecting the schism and the newly-printed books; and the patriarchs fully confirmed those constitutions, and said: 'The newly-translated and corrected printed books are accurate, and in conformity with our Greek books.' On the 10th of Feb. 1667, there was elected to the chair of Moscow a new patriarch, Joasaph II. The same constitutions were then offered to him also; and he too blessed and confirmed them. Then the synod of all the three patriarchs, the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, both Greek and Russian, and of all the other clergy, put out a common synodal decree and *Injunction*, by which it was commanded to the orthodox Christians of Russia: i. To obey in all things without any doubt or gainsaying the holy *Eastern* and Apostolic Church of Christ: ii. To receive and use in divine service the books printed under Nicon late patriarch, and after his retirement with the blessing of the sacred synod, 'because they are accurately corrected;' iii. To use the holy Creed without the addition of the word *istinnago* (ἀληθοῦς): iv. To say at the proper places the *Alléluia* thrice: v. To cross themselves with the three fingers; 'for so do all Christian peoples which are in orthodoxy from the East to the West:' vi. To say the *Prayer to Jesus* in the church singing and when praying with others thus, '*O Lord Jesus Christ our God, have mercy on us*,' but alone, as one likes: vii. To stamp the prosphorie with the four-ended cross: viii. To keep the ecclesiastical and the monastic order according to the tradition of the holy apostles and the holy fathers: ix. Pastors are to bless Christians with the blessing of the name of Jesus Christ, *i.e.* with a certain collocation of the fingers [representing that name]. This our synodal decree and injunction,' it is said at the end, 'we address to all the orders above mentioned of the orthodox, and command them all, without any reserve, unfailingly to observe it, and to obey the holy *Eastern* Church. But if any one does not hearken to what is commanded by us, nor will obey the holy *Eastern* Church *and this sacred synod*, or begins to gainsay or to oppose us, we, if any such person be of the sacred order, by the power given us of the Holy Ghost degrade him and deprive him of all sacerdotal functions and grace, and deliver him over to anathema: but if he is of the order of the laity,

we excommunicate him, and make him an alien to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and deliver him over to a curse and anathema as a heretic and a rebel, and cut him off from the fellowship of the orthodox, and from the flock and church of God, as a corrupt and useless member, until he come to a better mind and return to the truth by repentance.'

We see here when the final sentence was pronounced against the Russian schism, and it was absolutely cut off from the Church by the highest ecclesiastical authority. This was in A.M. 7175, A.D. 1667, the 5th year of the Indiction, May 13. The synodal act, authenticated at the same time by the signatures of all present, was laid up in the cathedral at Moscow 'for an everlasting confirmation, and a perpetual remembrance.' (Printed in the Supplement to the *Acti Istorich*, v. 485-487; and in the *Slujebnik* of 1668.) In this synod there were present three patriarchs, fourteen metropolitans, eight archbishops, five bishops, twenty five archimandrites, eight hegoumens, thirteen protopopes, in all seventy-six persons.

As the book of the *Hundred Chapters* (the *Stoglavnik*) was then commonly ascribed to the synod held [in the reign of John IV. Basilievich] by the metropolitan Macarius, and it and the *Life of St. Euphrosynus* were the chief authorities on which the schismatics relied, the synod of 1667 examined both these documents, and decreed that: 'As regards the synod which was held under the tsar John IV. Basilievich by the metropolitan Macarius, and what they wrote of the sign of the cross, that is, of making it with the two fingers put together, and of the double Alleluia, &c., which is written without sound judgment, of simplicity and ignorance, in the book called the *Stoglavnik*, and the anathema which without judgment they improperly uttered, we, the orthodox patriarchs &c. and all the sacred synod, loose that improper and indiscreet curse of the metropolitan Macarius and of that synod, and annul it; and we hold that council for no council, and that curse for no curse, even as if it had never been. . . . Moreover we decree of what is written in the *Life of St. Euphrosynus*, of the dreamy imagination of the author, about the double Alleluia, that no one is to put any faith in it, because all that writing is a forgery, forged by some deceitful and lying author to deceive the simple and pious people.' [Of the Stoglavink, ch. liii. to lxiv., see Nicon's *Replies*, p. 631, 311.]

For the greater confirmation of these constitutions, and for the instruction of those who were in error, the synod put out an '*Answer*,' in which it is shown by many examples of Church history that later synods had often censured and corrected the defective canons of earlier; and that consequently there was no cause for scandal if now also *some* enactments of the Hundred-Chapter Council were blamed and corrected; the more so as that synod was held, contrary to the custom of the Orthodox Church, without any participation of the Eastern patriarchs, and was not attested by them.'

The patriarchs Paisius and Macarius put out an 'Explanation' about the *Alleluia*, the collocation of the fingers in making the sign of the cross, &c. And in the same they showed the absurdities contained in the *Life of St. Euphrosynus*, and the spuriousness of the testimonies fathered upon Meletius, Theodoret, and Maximus the Greek (Suppl. to *Act. Hist.* v. 487-488 and 500-504). In addition, they also put out some canons and injunctions, in which, among other things, they ordered that the processions

should be made 'against the sun, not with the sun' (can. xii.); and condemned afresh as spurious the writing about the two fingers printed in the *Psalter of Sequences* and other books of the patriarch Joseph (can. xxii.). And they approved the *Slujebniks* of Nicon, and the Slujebnik now authenticated afresh and in some minor points *corrected* by all the sacred synod (and published in 1668). In the synodal document printed in this same Slujebnik it is observed that 'no human work of hand or mind is perfect at once; so no wonder if now also some *additional perfection* is gained, without thereby imputing blame to the preceding edition.' Also the *Skrijal* of Nicon, the *Missive of Paisius* patriarch of C.P. printed in the Skrijal, and the *Staff of Rule*, &c., are again approved (can. xxiv. xxvii.). But as for the false teachers themselves, whom the Moscow synod of 1666 had condemned, as the protopope Abbakoum and the deacon Theodore, the patriarchs with all the synod confirmed this condemnation (can. xxvii.). And of the popes Niketa and Lazarus, Niketa, being penitent, was received to communion, Lazarus was degraded and anathematised, July 17, 1666 [1667]; and he was sent by the civil power to the Poustozerski Ostrog (*Suppl. to Act. Hist.* v. 451-457, and 467-475).

So the first voice of the schism was heard in the synod of 1654. It was heard more openly in Moscow from 1655 to 1665, after the first corrected books had been issued. It was solemnly condemned by the Russian Church in the spring of 1666; and finally it was condemned by the [whole] Orthodox Church in 1667, and the corrected books were at the same time finally approved.

But for the opposite party, what do they say? They revile the patriarch Nicon, who was indeed condemned, but not for any shadow of imputation about religion. Secondly, [it is to be noticed that] the continuators of his work were *not* 'Nicon's disciples,' but in great part (as Pitirim, for instance) his personal enemies (See Abbakoum's account of Nicon, No. 35 and 36 of Macarius' *Sbornik*, and the still more malicious Simeon Denisoff, at the beginning of his *Vinograd Ross.* &c.: and the Raskolniks have others in MS. besides). One lying *Narrative about Nicon, very wonderful and worthy of attention*, begins thus: 'This hierarch, the son of the enemy, of the father of all the devils, of the lowest Satan,' &c. Another is entitled: *A Relation of the birth and education, and of the life and of the end of Nicon late patriarch of Moscow:* and it begins: 'Since, according to the old *Eastern* piety of our fathers, though I am devoured by burning sorrow,' &c. These all repeat the same inventions with more or less variety of embellishment. In the last and most recent account of Nicon it is observed that 'he had only one thought, viz. that of uprooting the old ancestral piety, and of establishing the heterodox *Roman* impiety' (But the son and archdeacon of the patriarch of Antioch Macarius, in his *Travels* &c., and Olearius, show how utterly opposed Nicon was to all *Latinism*: and Berch, *Reign of Alexis*, in *Notes* 134, 135. See also Nicon's *Letter to the patriarch of C.P. Dionysius*, written in 1666). One fable (in Denisoff) is this, that when he was an hieromonach at Anzer, and was celebrating, Eleazar the hegoumen saw around him a serpent, and exclaimed: 'O, what a disturber and rebel Russia is breeding up against herself!' But in the *Life of Eleazar*, on the contrary, it is said that he saw an omophorion (a pallium) about the neck of Nicon, and predicted that he would be a

bishop. They also relate (Denisoff again) that Aphthonius of Novgorod, being in retreat in the Khoutinsk monastery, had so little liking for his successor, foreseeing in him a future apostate, that even after his death he would not be buried by Nicon (The truth is, that the tsar *in Nicon's absence* caused Macarius archbishop of Pskoff to bury him. *Act. Exped.* iv. 75). Also that Nicon trampled under foot the eight-ended cross, having it put on purpose on the soles of his slippers and shoes. But the truth is, that at the beginnings and ends of his letters one sees that he made indifferently both four-ended and eight-ended crosses. And in the Krestnoy monastery there is to this day a great cross of cypress wood, containing many relics set there by Nicon in 1656; and this cross is eight-ended!

They pretend that the patriarchs and the Eastern Church, being under the infidels, had lost the orthodox faith. But this calumny began from those who had been correctors and editors of the books under the patriarch Joseph, and it was started only then when they found that the Greeks did not admit their own novelties. But previously the same men spoke quite differently of the Greeks; as for instance in their book '*Of the Faith*' put out in 1648: 'As of old, so now also, the Church of Jerusalem is the source of Christian doctrine, and the mother of all the Churches. But if any one say, gainsaying, that so indeed it was at the beginning, but now the pagans have taken all those holy places, and all has now been trampled under foot, to such words I make answer with the prophet Isaiah: "In my wrath I smote thee; but for my mercies' sake I have loved thee." .... According to these words of the gainsayers, after the ascension of the Lord even to Constantine the Great, during three centuries, there was no true Church in Jerusalem; nor in Rome either; on account of the dominion of infidel emperors. But this is contrary to all the holy scripture. ... For this cause let every man know this, that whoever does not hold fellowship with the confession of Sion, and with them that are kinsmen at Jerusalem in the faith, such a one is disqualified also to have fellowship with the heavenly Jerusalem' (ch. i. fol. 12-14). And farther on: 'The holy *Eastern* Church found among the Greeks, going by the straight royal road, though very narrow still the same that was trodden by Jesus Christ our God and Saviour and his followers, turning neither to the right nor to the left, leads her sons to Jerusalem which is above, in the unity of the cross given by the Lord God; and in nothing contravenes the commands of her Saviour and his blessed disciples, and the traditions of the holy fathers, and the rules of the seven œcumenical councils assembled by the Holy Ghost, nor changes aught nor takes away; but as the sun with a single ray of righteousness, so, though abiding in captivity, it always shines with the right faith,' &c. And they quote 'Meletius patriarch of Alexandria, who,' they say, 'wrote in 1597 to our countries: "Or will ye not admire this, that in the East, though the empire is overthrown, still the orthodox faith by the will of God stands and remains undestroyed? For we believe that the merciful God will never abandon his servants. Rather Christian piety shines more brightly and manifestly, and more extends itself in the midst of temptations, without empire, inasmuch as the grace of God reigns more completely in the midst of infidel persecutors; and as a lily it flourishes among thorns, receiving force not

from human wisdom, as some crafty politicians pretend, not from riches, not from might, but protected by God himself." Thus far are the words of Meletius the patriarch.' Also the Raskolniks themselves confess that Jeremiah patriarch of C.P. in 1589, and Theophanes patriarch of Jerusalem, who in 1619 consecrated the patriarch Philaret, were quite orthodox (See the *Petition* from the Solovetsky monastery to the tsar Alexis). Also they admit the same of the patriarch of C.P. Athanasius Patellarius, who came in the time of the patriarch Nicon to Moscow, as they pretend that he found fault with the innovations of Nicon. But in point of fact he had left Moscow when Nicon's synod was held in 1654. Athanasius had his audience to take leave Dec. 13, A.M. 7162, A.D. 1653. And besides, when he came to Russia, *Paisius* was the patriarch actually sitting at C.P., and it was to *Paisius* that Nicon applied after the Moscow synod of 1654.

They say that the old Greek books, after Constantinople had been taken by the Turks, were all taken to Rome and burned; and that since that they have been printed at Venice. But this is absurd: and Nicon obtained from the Levant above 700 Greek books, some of which were 500, 600, and even 1000 years old.

Besides Paul of Kolomna, they claim also Macarius metropolitan of Novgorod (but he subscribed both in 1654 and in 1656), and Marcellus archbishop of Vologda (he subscribed in 1656: and both of these were in communion with Nicon, who wrote to them, calling them 'sons, and fellow-ministers in the Holy Ghost'), and Alexander bishop of Viatka. This last did write against Nicon and the books at first: but in the synod of 1666 he yielded, and he subscribed in 1668.

In 1656 the monks of the Solovetsky were persuaded by their archimandrite Elias to receive the new books: but they locked them up, and kept them unused for about ten years. Meanwhile there were sent thither, partly for punishment, partly for instruction, as many as 150 persons, and among these Lvoff (who had been director of the printing-office under the patriarch Joseph) and the monk Theoctist, who wrote here a book '*Of Antichrist and his Kingdom.*' Some also came of themselves; and some Kozaks from Astrachan, who made themselves masters of the place.

The tsar Alexis, hearing of their disorders, in 1666 sent for the superior, the archimandrite Bartholomew, to come to Moscow at the time that the synod against the Raskolniks was sitting there. The Kozaks sent with him another archimandrite, Nicanor, who had been the tsar's confessor. And at Moscow they set up a third archimandrite, the economo Joseph, translating Bartholomew to another convent. All the three were sent back together. But they drove out Bartholomew and Joseph: and Nicanor, who had submitted himself at Moscow, joined them in their rebellion (June 10, 1667). Sergius, the archimandrite of the Spassky at Yaroslaff, and others were sent to exhort them (14 August 1666), but without success. The prince Michael Lvoff and the kellar Abramius were taken away as ringleaders; but the rebels elected others in their place, and sent a threatening petition to the tsar, and began to fortify themselves. The monastery, according to its *Chronicle*, was invested [or blockaded] during nine years, from A.M. 7175, A.D. 1667 to 1676. But really it was invested only in 1668 or 1669. Their petition was sent to Moscow September 22, or October 22, in 1667 by the monk Cyril and two servants.

The tsar by an ukaz confiscated their estates, and forbade all to send them supplies. This ukaz was dated A.M. 7176, Dec. 27 (A.D. 1667). After this they wrote and sent a short determined answer, Feb. 20, A.M. 7176 (A.D. 1668). Then the strapchi Ignatius Volochoff was sent with 100 streltzi. They shut themselves up in the monastery in 1668 or 1669. Denisoff says in 1670. But at the very beginning of 1669, *September* 1, Volochoff was reprimanded by an ukaz for wasting time at the Zayatski island, and for not going straight to the Solovetsky. The archimandrite Macarius says that the rebellion began March 7, A.D. 1669. Volochoff remained three years in the Soumski Ostrog, 100 versts distant, and during the three summer months in the Zayatski island. Only in December 1669 there came to the Soumski Ostrog eleven monks and nine seculars, flying from the Solovetsky. In July of the same year the rebels *sent out* thither twelve more; and in October 1670 two of their ringleaders, Azarias and Thaddeus, were taken by sea, with thirty other monks and twenty-three seculars. At the end of 1672, on account of divers misdemeanours, Volochoff was recalled to Moscow. The second attempt [to reduce the monastery] was equally a failure. At the end of 1672 Clement Jobleff was sent with 600 Dwina streltzi, and 125 more from Soumsk and Kamsk. But before long his powder and balls were all spent. From the Ostrog in the spring of 1673 he reported to the tsar the demands of the rebels, and added that he was not provided for an assault. The tsar, May 12, 1673, sent an offer of pardon; and orders were sent, if they still stood out, only to blockade them. At the end of 1673, Jobleff also was recalled to Moscow. In Sept. 1674 Ivan Mencherinoff was sent. In the beginning of 1675, not before October, he voluntarily raised the siege, and retired to the Soumski Ostrog, to the great displeasure of the tsar. On the 24th December 1674 the rebels held a council, and decreed no longer to pray for the tsar; and on the 16th September 1675 they held another. On the 17th September there were some desertions on this account, 300 forbidding to pray, and 200 wishing still to pray for the tsar. On the 31st May 1675 Mencherinoff moved from the Soumski Ostrog to begin the siege: he was joined by 800 more streltzi: all was ready for the assault 23d December 1675. It was made, and failed; but a deserter named Theoctist showed them a secret postern in the wall; and Jan. 22, 1676 they effected an entrance. So the real *siege* lasted not ten years, but only the last two years. Simeon Denisoff's *History of the Fathers and Confessors of the Solovetsky* puts all in a perfectly false light. Denisoff boasts of 500, but the diptychs of the Raskolniks reckon only thirty-three martyrs, of whom sixteen were common monks, and sixteen others runaways from other places, besides Nicanor.

Abbakoum, Lazarus, Theodore, and Epiphanius, even in the Poustozersk Ostrog, where they were imprisoned, continued to preach their heresy, and to revile the tsar; and they were punished with death April 1, 1681. This excited only fresh fury in the party; and in 1682, after the death of the tsar Theodore Alexievich, they rose at Moscow (May 15-21), and plundered houses, and murdered some of the boyars, till they obtained that the two brothers John and Peter should reign jointly. 'We wish,' they said, 'the tsars to be crowned in the true Orthodox faith, and not in their *Latin Roman* faith.'

APPENDIX IV.

i. *The Apostasy of Nicon; that is, his perversion [of the rites] and doctrines of the Church.* (From a MS. of the Starobratsi.)

When that accursed and malicious serpent was in the patriarchate he had in attendance upon him in his cells a certain holy man, an hieromonach named Cyricus, whom he had taken against his will from the Solovetsky monastery, where he was kellar of the infirmary. This man had come to Moscow from the hermitage of Anzer on some business of the monastery: and that enemy of the cross of Christ Nicon, having known there in time past the hieromonach Cyricus as one exemplary for strict obedience to his rule, kept him perforce to live with himself in the patriarchate.

One day Cyricus, seeing a pair of velvet-lined slippers, began to look at them from curiosity and wonder at seeing anything so costly made to be worn upon the feet. And he looked into them, and saw sewn on the sole of one of them, inside, the Crucifixion of the Lord, and on the sole of the other the Incarnation, that is, the holy Mother of God with her child. And he was horror-struck and trembled, and his countenance changed: but he said nothing to the apostate about it, knowing that, if he did, there would be an end of him. But from that day he ceased either to eat or drink [with the patriarch, or of his victuals]. And the enemy of Christ asked him, saying, 'Why do you neither eat nor drink?' But he feigned himself to be very unwell, and replied, 'I cannot, my lord.' And he began to beseech him earnestly to allow him to retire to the place of his vow, that he might die and be buried there in the holy convent of the Solovetsky. And the apostate soon afterwards let him go, and gave him a letter stating for what cause he went. But he, when he had come to the monastery, told his confessor Vitalius of that horrible impiety; and his confessor told the other brethren how Nicon the enemy of God wore the representation of the cross and crucifixion of our God and that of the holy Mother of God under his feet, and so was plainly an apostate.

A second witness of this same impiety we have in a disciple of Nicon named Hadrian, an old hieromonach who had lived many years with him, even from the time before he was patriarch. And this monk saw in like manner inside the boots of Nicon, after he was patriarch, on the soles the representation of the cross of Jesus Christ [to be trampled upon] under one foot, and that of the incarnation, viz. the holy Mother of God with her child [to be trampled upon] under the other, both made of thin plates of brass. And that disciple of his, the monk Hadrian, having the fear of God in his heart, shuddered within himself, and conceived a strong hatred for the apostate from that hour, and began to be disobedient and troublesome to him in all that he had to do in serving him in his cells. But to rebuke him for that openly he dared not, lest he should have his head cut off. And the tyrant many times beat him for his disobedience, and flew into a passion against him, and put iron fetters on his feet with his own hands, and riveted them with melted lead, and ordered him to be sent into banishment to the Paleostroff monastery, where St. Zosimus the wonder-worker of the Solovetsky was first tonsured. The same monk

Hadrian himself told this to his confessor the hieromonach Theodosius; and he told to us also himself, at length, all about that forerunner of antichrist Nicon. Of this God is witness, that we lie not against him: for we have inquired accurately from faithful men, and from men now among the saints.

The same vessel of the evil spirit Nicon persecuted an hieromonach, a native of Kieff named Nathan, who was with him in the New Jerusalem as oustavnik (τυπικάρης), for the following cause. There was a dispute among them about holy baptism, about the form of renouncing Satan and all his works, and spitting upon him: and Nicon, contending in behalf of his father Satan, said to Nathan: 'It is not right to spit on Satan; it is from ignorance that they do this among us here.' But Nathan said: 'It *is* right to spit on Satan, after renouncing him, as it is written in all the holy books everywhere.' But Nicon said again: 'It is not right.' And there was much disputing between them about this. And Nathan, being filled with zeal, said: 'I spit also upon him who stands up for Satan.' But Nicon ordered that he should be beaten with whips, and exiled to the Paleostroff monastery: and after two years he let him go free: and he went and told this in presence of many hieromonachs.

The same Nicon called the company of the Holy Idiots 'devil's saints,' and would not allow them to be painted on icons. This also is witnessed by the same hieromonach Nathan. And other things there are which it is not fit even to write or to speak of.

The same Nicon reviled our holy fathers, and barked like a dog against our holy father Euphrosynus the wonder-worker of Pskoff, on account of the triple Alleluia. And when the hieromonach Gregory Neronoff had referred him to the writing of St. Euphrosynus about the Alleluia, he began to pick it to pieces, and said he was a foolish son of a —. The tsar himself was informed of that: but they protect him, that enemy of God [that is, the tsar protects him], everywhere. For this God shall judge him, that when he was asked for a righteous judgment he did not grant it, nor allow those who asked for it an opportunity of confuting the heretic Nicon [or of confuting Nicon publicly, and proving him to be a heretic].

The same Nicon spoke abusively and contemptuously of our venerable father Joseph of Volokolamsk the wonder-worker: he called that great divine a slanderer, and did no reverence to him. Of this the disciples of him Nicon speak. The commemoration of all the Russian wonder-workers, by the mention of their names in the λιτεία, he suppressed; whereas the former custom was, that all the holy Russian wonder-workers should be named in the λιτεία, and invoked by all the officiating clergy to pray for us to God.

In the *Solovetsky History*, containing the lives of our venerable fathers [Sabbatius and Zosimus], and that of the metropolitan Philip, and that of the venerable Diodorus founder of the Yourigorsky monastery, it is related how in these last times there shot up, as a vigorous sprout from the garden of the Solovetsky wonder-workers, the venerable and spiritual Eleazar the wonder-worker of Anzer, who enclosed the hermitage there, and established there a community, who also for the purity of his life was enriched with gifts of prophecy. He, when Nicon, afterwards patriarch and introducer of innovations, did not abide with him in obedience, pro-

phesied that Russia had produced this man to be a cause of great mischief to herself. The saint once, when Nicon was celebrating the liturgy, as trustworthy persons who then lived at Anzer related, saw a huge black snake coiled around his neck; and he was horror-struck: and from that moment he hated him: and hence he caused him to go away.

ii. '*The History of the Fathers and Martyrs of the Solovetsky, who for piety and for the holy laws and traditions of the Church have suffered generously in these present times*' (by Simeon Denisoff).

If the old writer Homer took so much pains to write of the origin, the inhabitants, and the destruction of Troy, in order to exhibit giant men, brave, mighty, and magnanimous, who for the honour of their country contended even to death, how much more ought we to be zealous to celebrate not a city strong and famous, wonderfully fortified with walls of stone, adorned with lofty columns, and defended by multitudes of brave men, but a holy and wonderful monastery, of which as the origin was holy and elect, so the inmates also were religious and well-pleasing to God, and its end suitable and marvellous? in which shone men of supernatural and sublime life, men of valiant and strong endurance, men of firm and unwavering magnanimity, who bravely, and *most* bravely, conquered not carnal nor bodily but incorporeal spiritual enemies; who for the laws of their fathers, for the orthodoxy of the Church, gave their backs to wounds, their heads to blows, their limbs to be torn asunder, their bodies to tortures, in fine, who resigned themselves to death for the sake of eternal life. . . .

This monastery is a cœnobium on an island in the White Sea named Solovki. It was first founded by St. Sabbatius in A.M. 6728 (A.D. 1220), in the time of the religious prince Basil Basilievich. After his death St. Zosimus renewed the cœnobium, and enclosed it with a wall, and collected a community. . . .

It became a fruitful garden. . . . It produced first John and Basil the ponomar, who was manifested by miracles after his death; also John and Longinus, who were servitors of the convent; and St. Philip the martyr, a second founder of the monastery, wonder-worker, and primate of all Russia, who, when hegoumen, built with vast labour the admirable stone walls of the precinct; the venerable Irenarch, sometime hegoumen, and famous for his hermit life; the venerable Diodorus, who, going out from the Solovetsky, founded the Yourigorsky monastery; the venerable hermit Andrew, who lived in solitude fifty-eight years; and innumerable others, who shone as the stars; whose praises the book of the *Lives of our venerable Fathers*, and the *Life of St. Philip the metropolitan*, and the *Life of the venerable Diodorus*, founder of the Yourigorsky monastery, declare to the latest times. And there sprang up the venerable and inspired Eleazar the wonder-worker, who built the precinct and the hermitage on the isle of Anzer, and established there a community, who for the purity of his life was enriched with gifts of prophecy, and prophesied of Nicon (afterwards patriarch and introducer of innovations, when he Nicon was with him and abode not in obedience), saying that 'Russia has produced this man to be a cause of great mischief to herself.' The saint once, when Nicon was celebrating the liturgy, as trustworthy men who then lived on Anzer have related, saw a huge black snake coiled round his neck, and he was horror-

struck; and conceiving from that moment a great hatred for him, he caused him to go away. There was also the holy hegoumen Elias, the first archimandrite, who ate only bread and drank only water; and John the half-witted, who with human half-wit was enriched with heavenly wisdom; who foretold the day of his own death, and going on that day to the church (when he had been unable to go for long before), cried aloud, 'Who will go with me to Jerusalem?' and no one understood what he meant. And on the evening of his last night he went to one of the tanners whom he had for a friend, and said: 'Friend, go with me to St. Philip's well: I have something wonderful to show thee.' The other objected that it was too late for that night, but promised to go with him in the morning, and so went away. But when it was morning, the same tanner, not seeing him, ran to St. Philip's well, and found him there dead, and told all the rest. Then they all understood that the blessed man had invited any who would to accompany him to the heavenly Jerusalem. The blessed Youry, another half-witted monk, wrought great miracles. He, living in the bakehouse, went into the oven on a very hot summer's day, after the bread had just been drawn, and shut to the doors, and then stood as if cooling himself, and made reverences, and said prayers to God. This man prophesied beforehand of the coming of the patriarch Nicon [then metropolitan of Novgorod] for the relics of St. Philip. He also used to say to the father Ignatius whenever he met him: 'Ignatius, go away from this monastery; Ignatius, go away from this monastery; for thou shalt make an equal monastery of thine own:' which words were afterwards explained by the event, when Ignatius (being then in the Palcostroff monastery) was burned, together with 2700 other persons, for the sake of orthodoxy, by the soldiers who came against them. Then there was John, surnamed 'the doleful' (*pechalni*), who also had the gift of prophecy, and who, when all was as yet in perfect peace, used to go about the monastery crying aloud: 'Let us fly hence; for foreigners are coming hither to the monastery.' And when a certain mariner named Jonas had come to the island, he asked him to take him back with him to the mainland; and being asked, Why? replied: 'Because the soldiers and foreigners will destroy this convent.' And when he had taken him into his boat and privately asked the blessed man about this, he told him that the tsar's forces would come to destroy the convent, and completely subvert the customs and rules of the community. And having reached the shore, he lived in the village of the Kalgalakshi, near to the sea. Once, as he was going about and behaving like a half-witted person as usual, a drunkard knocked him down, and beat him till he was half dead. John rose and said: 'What good have you got? Behold, thou wilt soon be torn to pieces by dogs, and not even a trace of thy bones left.' And so it actually came to pass shortly afterwards. And as he went about everywhere, and even to Archangel, freely proclaiming the old orthodoxy, he was taken and bound and brought to Kolmogori: and after he had suffered many tortures and cruelties, his torturers, perceiving that he could not be moved, gave sentence that he should be burned. And there was a concourse of all the people to witness the spectacle, so that the voivode also himself came thither with his little son. And when they put him into the wooden cage, he stood to the east, and prayed. And when encompassed by the flames he fell to the ground, the voivode's boy, point-

ing with his finger, cried out: 'Father, father! see; John is going up on high.' This many of the people who stood near heard; and they glorified God, who by some brief temporal sufferings exalted the fathers to heavenly glory. And not only hermits who went out, but those too who remained in the monastery distinguished themselves: and hegoumens were taken hence for other monasteries, and for episcopal chairs; as Gerasimus Thyrsoff, who before the time of Nicon's innovations left a most exact instruction concerning the sign of the cross, whence Ignatius, who has been mentioned above, imbibed wisdom as a sponge imbibes water, and enlightened and confirmed in orthodoxy all the region of Olonetz and Kargopol, &c. &c.

But when the time predicted from of old had come, Nicon took possession of the palace of the patriarchate. Then were accomplished the prophecies of Eleazar, since manifested as a saint, that Nicon should wear the patriarchal robes. And he, having attained the chair of the primacy, filled all the Church with great confusion and discord, the people with great sufferings and calamities, and all Russia with great alarm and fluctuation, moving the immovable landmarks of the Church, displacing the unchangeable laws of piety, despising the synodical anathemas of the holy fathers. And the seeds of innovations which he had in his heart these he impiously sowed in the Church; as, for instance, to make the sign of the cross with three fingers, and to bless with five, to seal with the cross prosphorae divided into two parts, to triplicate the Alleluia in the psalmody, to use five prosphorae in the offertory, not to make the genuflections in the church in the holy fasts, to remain kneeling during the prayers in the liturgy of the Presanctified and on the eve of Pentecost, and other innumerable changes of orders and rubrics: with a view to all which he admonished the tsar and the council, and assembled all the bishops in a synod [first in 1654]: and some by flattery, others by fear of the tsar, he drew to his own mind; while others who obeyed not, by bonds, imprisonment, wounds, and exile he persecuted, and by most bitter deaths deprived even of life. And he ordered books to be printed embodying the above-mentioned innovations, and to be sent everywhere throughout the Russian empire, and ordered that all divine offices should be performed according to the same .... And no one was found to stand against him. No one publicly confuted these novelties: no one of the great monasteries and cities made any stand whatever: the terror of the tsar's ukaz subdued all, except Paul the good bishop of Kolomna and the noble and zealous protopope Abbakoum, who at the very time of the first synod protested against these things, and some others of less note; but all, however reluctant they might be, received the new printed books, and performed the services according to them.

But when the letters of the tsar and the patriarch came to the Solovetsky monastery, together with the newly-printed books, the fathers there all held a consultation, and were for absolutely refusing to receive them. But the prudent archimandrite Elias advised them not to provoke wrath against themselves in the first instance, but rather to receive the books in order to examine them, and after exposing their disagreement and their contrariety to the laws of God, so to have a good cause to justify their opposition. So ... they received them, and put them into

the hands of persons capable of examining them and detecting the innovations, without ever using them at all in divine service. That they would not do on any account. The archimandrite dying was succeeded by Bartholomew. And as the fame of the Solovetsky, not only for cœnobitic perfection, but also for strict observance of the rules of the Church ritual, was spread far and wide all over Russia, many both monks and laymen flocked thither; and among the rest there came Nicanor archimandrite of the Sabbin monastery, and confessor to the tsar. And he was welcomed, and lived there.

And the fame of the firmness of the Solovetsky fathers reached also the vicar of the patriarchate, and the other bishops who had after [the removal of] Nicon [in A.D. 1658] taken upon themselves the defence of his innovations. These sharpened their tongues unrighteously against the righteous, got in an underhand way about the tsar, calumniated those who were exemplary, excited his wrath, fanned to flame the fury of the autocrat. So he sent an ukaz to take and bring the archimandrite of the Solovetsky to Moscow.

But the Solovetsky fathers, after common consultation, wrote to the tsar a petition, that he would allow them to live after their ancestral rules &c.: and they adduced testimonies both of the old printed books, printed at Moscow and in White Russia, and also of the old MS. books, and of the books from Servia and from Ostrog. They also appealed to holy Russian bishops who both synodically and personally had confirmed the same by their own hands; also to holy Greek doctors who had attested the same; and to the Solovetsky wonder-workers, and others, &c.; also to the pious and unchanged customs of all the Russian empire, as they were received from the Greeks under Vladimir, and have been kept to this day, and as they are manifested from Greek icons .... These customs they petitioned and admonished the autocrat to allow them to retain unchanged. But as for the new traditions recently set up by Nicon, they called God to witness that they could never dare to accept them for fear of falling under the anathema of the fathers, however great wrath of the tsar might be kindled against them. 'We are ready,' they said, 'not only to suffer joyfully privations and pains, but also to seal with our blood and by the loss of our heads our attachment to the holy ordinances.' And as the bearer of this petition they sent to the tsar the elder of their college (or governing seniority) the hieromonach Alexander Stoukanoff; and they also begged the archimandrite Nicanor the tsar's confessor, and their own archimandrite Bartholomew, to go with him to Moscow, to deprecate the anger of the tsar, &c.

They were presented to the tsar; but it was not without difficulty that they were allowed to give him their petition. But he, after reading it, neither assented to it, nor would give the fathers any indulgence or allowance to live according to their old rules. The archimandrite Nicanor, though he admonished the tsar much about returning to the old orthodoxy, and entreated him much, could obtain for them nothing; but only the wrath of the tsar was kindled more fiercely.

At that time [A.D. 1666-1667], as the Eastern patriarchs also were in Moscow, and there was a synod of bishops assembled there, the tsar set Nicanor before the patriarchs and the synod, and by many flatteries and

exhortations and by fear forced him to submit to their will. And they put a *horned Greek* klobouk on his head.

Then the tsar and the [new] patriarch [Joasaph II.] sent to the Solovetsky three archimandrites, Bartholomew, Joseph, and Nicanor (the last at his own request), to exhort the Solovetsky fathers and brethren to obey the patriarch, and to receive the newly-printed books. And Bartholomew was to give up the monastery to the newly-appointed archimandrite Joseph, who had been before steward (stroitel) of the lodge of the Solovetsky at Moscow. Nicanor, however, was only dissembling, and was seeking an opportunity of doing penance for his weakness.

And when they came, the fathers of the Solovetsky met them honourably: and having heard &c., they all in a body refused absolutely to obey, declaring that they would rather die than give up their ancestral traditions: and so they sent them away with no success. But Nicanor, showing fervent repentance, and humbly requesting pardon, was received back with affection.

Before long there came an ukaz summoning Nicanor to Moscow; but they would not give him up. They sent instead Gerasimus Thyrsoff, a man well skilled in the scriptures and in external instruction, to implore and admonish the tsar. But the spiritual authorities did not suffer him to get access to the tsar; but while he was on the way, as certain persons known to us relate, they strangled him, as the metropolitan St. Philip was strangled.

The tsar, being influenced by the patriarch and the rest, would give no indulgence to the Solovetsky; . . and therefore he sent repeatedly certain spiritual authorities to persuade them to submit to his will: and many were sent in like manner from the metropolitan of Novgorod: but all to no purpose. The Solovetsky fathers all stood firm as adamant, and as columns against the wind.

At length the tsar, moved to more fury by them who seemed to be spiritual, but who had not the spirit of meekness, &c., sent the voivode Ignatius Volkhoff with one hundred armed men to the Solovetsky, to terrify them into obedience, and to install Joseph as archimandrite. Hereupon *all* in the monastery, taking common counsel, advised all who feared to go away; and some few did go: but all the rest, to the number of 1500, prepared to die for the ancient laws of the Church. And when the voivode came, they answered him that, though they should be tortured and killed by thousands, they would not give up their old customs of piety. And so they shut themselves up in their monastery in A.M. 7178 (A.D. 1669-1670).

The voivode set four circles of his men to watch round the monastery [and in a manner to blockade or besiege it]. Coming in the spring, and abiding through all the summer, they thus encompassed and harassed the monastery: in the autumn they returned to the mainland, and to the Soumskî island. Thus they reduced those in the monastery to great straits; and taking many of the elders (of the monks), when out on service, and of the servitors prisoners, they put them to death by divers tortures.

Thus, for instance, they took John Zacharieff, who had been the Solovetsky secretary; and then, together with his hermit-disciple, the wonderful father Pimen. The voivode, on information from a peasant, sent and took Pimen with his disciple Gregory, and this John Zacharieff, who were

brought to him to the Soumski island. After all manner of flatteries and threats they were imprisoned for about a year. At the same time the glorious confessors Silas and Alexis were imprisoned in the Kandalashsta monastery. All the Pomoria sent questions to them; as did John too from his prison; but they were dropped by the bearer, and came into the hands of the voivode, who got from the tsar power to torture him. So they mangled him, and burned him, and tore out a rib from his half-burned body, shaved his head and poured cold water on it from a height, and after forty-eight hours of tortures beheaded him on the Saturday after Pentecost, and would not even let him be buried. [Then follows a description of the martyrdom of Pimen] on whom, when they stripped him for torture, they found heavy chains of his own. They were ashamed, and remanded him, and after many days let him go; and he died in his hermitage not very long before the martyrdom of John. Then the writer describes how Demetrius and Tichon suffered, and with them a white priest named Job.

The voivode continued this method during three or four incomplete seasons successively to no purpose, and was then recalled to Moscow: and instead of him a polkovnik named Clement Jobleff, a cruel fierce man, was sent with a thousand men to destroy the Solovetsky monastery. He got together and killed or burned all their horses and cows, and the offices and outbuildings all around the monastery; also their huts for hunting and fishing, &c., with all their implements and tools. But he was soon smitten with a foul ulcer, and worms came out: and so he too was recalled to Moscow, where he died miserably, having been two years before the monastery.

The tsar then sent in his stead John Mencherinoff, a most fierce persecutor, and with him 1300 men, and many battering engines. And they tried all manner of attacks for two more years; and still with no success. And the fathers, seeing themselves thus straitened, and the tsar much exasperated against them by the bishops, despaired of any human help. . . . So they prayed . . . and in answer to their prayers God sent a great plague; and 700 [of them] thus died Christian deaths, while the voivode Clement was blockading them, and firing from cannon and arquebusses, but with no success. One ball went into the sanctuary, and struck the figure of Christ. In the third year he caused his force to winter on the island, and prepared various engines. . . . Of the bombs fired only three fell within the monastery. . . . At length a secular servitor of the monastery named Dmitri exclaimed from the wall to the besieging force below, who were digging trenches: 'Why do you give yourselves all that trouble, when he who sent you, the tsar, is mortally sick, and at the point to die?' They who heard this took it to be folly; but it was the truth.

On the 23d December, having mined &c., they made a great assault to storm the place, and set their ladders to the walls; but they were repulsed: and the voivode was in despair. But a certain monk named Theoctistus went out by night; and as Æneas and Antenor betrayed the Trojans, so he betrayed this convent. There was a conduit between the drying-rooms through the wall, which formerly brought in water, but now was bricked up: and having fifty men given him he sought opportunity every night from the 25th Dec. to the 29th Jan. And on the Sabbath of

the Commemoration of all the Orthodox it pleased the Lord to take his servants to their rest. On the evening of Friday the 28th there came on a great storm and a hard frost, with snow. Longinus, who was over the guard, was twice waked up in his cell and told [by an angel] that the enemy were under the walls; and twice, knowing that the guards were all right &c., he turned back to his sleep. The third time he was rebuked, and was told that the enemy was now within. At the time when the night-guard left and the day-guard was coming in the traitor and his men entered. Thirty went out, and were slain at the gate: the rest fled to their cells, and shut themselves up. The voivode for some time hesitated to enter, and sent to exhort the monks to submit, and swore that he would not hurt them: and they believing that fox came out. He bade his soldiers take away their icons and crosses, and put them all under guard in their cells, and returned to his tent, and sent for Samuel, a mighty man and first sotnik, and for his answers caused him to be beaten to death, and his body to be cast out. Then he sent for the archimandrite Nicanor, who from age and long prayers could not walk on his feet, but was drawn on a small sledge. And the voivode asked him why, instead of doing as he had promised, he had joined them in their opposition to the tsar? &c. He replied: 'We have neither made opposition nor ever thought of making opposition to the tsar, but have learned from the Apostle to *fear God and* to honour the tsar, and from Christ himself to give what is Cesar's to Cesar, *but what is God's to God.* And since the newly-introduced books and the innovations *of the patriarch Nicon* do not allow a man in the world to keep the unchangeable divine laws of God and the traditions of the apostles and fathers, for this cause we have retired far from the world, and from the οἰκουμένη, and have settled in this wash of the sea, in the heritage of the venerable wonder-workers [SS. Sabbatius and Zosimus], in order to persevere &c. in following their steps,' &c. The voivode in a rage reviled the fathers with foul words. The father answered him bravely: 'Why dost thou boast thyself? Why dost thou lift thyself up? I fear thee not: I hold in my hands the soul of the autocrat himself.' At these words the persecutor, more enraged than ever, leaped from his seat, and struck repeatedly the blessed man on the head and shoulders with a cane, and knocked out his teeth. Then he bade the soldiers take him, and tying him by the heels, so drag him quickly out of the precinct, about half a furlong (poprischo): and of that violence he died, having his head beaten against the stones. Then they left him a whole night in a deep fosse under a hard frost, with no clothing but his shirt, and he died towards dawn. Then the voivode called for the elder Macarius, and then for Chrysanthus (who used to live as a hermit in a tree), and for Theodorus, a painter of icons, with his disciple Andrew: and he first cut off their hands and feet, then their heads. He ordered the rest to be brought under guard, both monks and seculars, to the number of sixty; and finding them all resolute, he hanged some by the neck, others by the heels; others, and those the greater number, he pierced through the ribs with sharp steel hooks, and so hung them up each on his cross: others he tied by their heels (pierced through with a cord) to the tails of horses, to be dragged about the island till they died. The rest of the inhabitants of the convent, both monks and seculars, servants and labourers, he

tortured in divers ways and put to cruel deaths in like manner. After all the rest he caused the sick to be brought out, and served them likewise, finding them even more hard and firm than the healthy. He had them bound two and two to crosses, and dragged by cords passed through their feet, and exposed in only single wraps on the sea-shore to be frozen to death, to the number of a hundred and fifty. So all were destroyed (except a few who remained and submitted themselves), to the number of more than three hundred, nearer to four hundred, or even five hundred, as some say; who all with one soul and one mouth persisted in the ancient piety. Many of them boldly challenged the voivode, and the tsar too, to meet them at the tribunal of God; and bade him, if he enjoyed their sufferings, lose no time, but begin. Mencherinoff tormented also the other few whom he did not intend to put to death, especially that Dmitri who cried out from the wall that the tsar was dying. The voivode cruelly mangled him, and cast him into prison, saying, 'Let us see what comes of his prophecy.' After the tsar's death he was cruelly beaten by another voivode, and sent into exile; and he died on the way. Of the rest Mencherinoff sent some to various distant places of exile in the Russian empire; others died in prison: the monastery was made desolate: the cells remained empty: the infirmary too: the churches had no worshippers: all the environs of the convent, the ice, and the sea-shores were filled with dead bodies hanging or lying on the ground.

Mencherinoff also plundered the monastery and the holy churches of their precious things. One of those who still remained, a monk named Epiphanius, who held the office of a kaznachey (treasurer), rebuked him: but the voivode instead of listening to him demanded of him the keys, and took them from him by force, and caused him to be beaten, tied by the heels, and dragged and thrown into a ditch, or to the sea-shore, and watched till he was dead, &c.

Then there follows an account of the death of the tsar [in Jan. 1676] and of the voivode. When they were approaching, with the traitor who betrayed the monastery, to the wall, and seeking an opportunity, the tsar at Moscow was seized with illness on the Sunday of the Prodigal, a week before the sack of the convent; and after seven days' illness his life was despaired of. So he repented concerning the monastery; and he sent to the patriarch to ask his blessing, to leave the inhabitants of the monastery to live according to their ancestral customs. It was said too that the Solovetsky wonder-workers [SS. Sabbatius and Zosimus] appeared to him. But the patriarch Joachim was very strenuous against this request, and cared less about the tsar's health than about the reduction of the Solovetsky monastery. . . After a few days the tsar, being very ill, received the holy communion; and he again sent to the patriarch, and again begged him to let him leave the Solovetsky fathers to live according to their ancestral traditions. But the patriarch was harder than a stone: he looked not to the flame of the tsar's disease: he listened not to the tsar's groan: he adjured the tsar to show no mercy to the fathers: he thirsted to dye the holy place with blood, &c. The more the tsar obeyed the patriarch, the more severe did his sufferings become; and by the —th scarce could he rest a moment. Then the tsar saw his shepherd not giving healing plaster, but assisting his disease to prepare his way to the tomb. On the

Thursday in that week the sickness of the tsar became very severe, and his end seemed to be approaching, so that he put away all the physicians and their medicines. On the Sabbath of that week he sent a courier in haste to the Solovetsky, remitting his anger, and allowing the fathers to follow their old customs, and asking their prayers and blessing, without consulting either the patriarch or any others, by his own authority, of his own will, because he desired to show grace to them that were persecuted and oppressed. But when the tsar thus showed grace to the Solovetsky fathers, when he thus sent the courier, and gave orders to withdraw his forces, the voivode, by the help of the traitor above mentioned, was in the act of taking the place, 29th Jan. at the first hour of the Sabbath of the Carnival. And when the voivode had perpetrated all those horrors &c. which have been above related, then at the eighth hour of that same day the tsar died. Menchérinoff, knowing nothing of this, sent a courier to Moscow; and the two couriers met in Vologda. So they returned together to Moscow, and there found the synclete and all the rest of the nobles in black mourning.

After the death of the autocrat, his son Theodore succeeded to the sceptre of his father and his grandfather. Hearing of some of Menchérinoff's plunderings, he recalled him to Moscow, where he died before he could be judged. And the traitor—did he go unpunished? By no means. He was sent into a public office (a prikaz) at Vologda, where he fell into sins of impurity, and then into a mortal disease of ulcerous leprosy: all the body of the wretched man from head to foot putrefied: and in this state he lived many years, and at last died miserably.

At the Solovetsky the bodies remained as they were all through Lent, and all the Pentecostal season, and most part of the fast of the Apostles, but without any sign of putrefaction. But at length the spring came round, and the sun's rays grew hot, and the snows melted, and the ice rotted and broke up, and the waters flowed. But wherever on the snow or ice the bodies lay the thaw did not take place, this miracle proclaiming to all their sanctity. It is said that they appeared in dreams to some of the commanders, and said: 'If you wish to see the ice melt, you must bury our bodies:' and at length an ukaz came from the tsar for their burial: so they buried them all under a heap of stones.

The tsar then ordered monks from other monasteries to be sent thither to renew the monastery: and so it was renewed, and filled with men given up to the new doctrines taught by Nicon: and all the former graces were reversed. . . . I omit to mention snuffing and smoking tobacco, and other unseemly and disorderly practices. . . . And the more striking became this contrast, the more the fame of the martyrs grew and spread, and that not so much by earthly means as by signs from heaven. . . . Hence many came and burned incense at their tomb (only in secret, for fear of the rulers), some weekly, some monthly, some annually. And not only the inhabitants of the monastery and of the island, but others also from all the coast, were witnesses of the miracles which were frequent at their tomb, and especially on the anniversary.

Then, after explaining what is true sanctity, the writer proceeds: These men followed their teachers, the pastors of the Russian Church, Peter, Alexis, Jonah, and Philip, and the rest, as Antony and Theodosius,

Sergius, Barlaam, Cyril, Zosimus, and Sabbatius, believing as they believed, crossing themselves as they crossed themselves with two fingers, singing the Alleluia double as they sang it, sealing prosphoræ with a three-limbed cross as they sealed them, &c. &c. And when the fear of the patriarch Nicon held all, when the vicars of the thrones (*prestolo-namiestniki*) shook with fear, when the archimandrites and priests trembled and quaked, when the monasteries and cœnobia were paralysed, when all the cities and provinces were moved with dread, when all bound by the bonds of fear and trembling went over to the innovations, then these brave champions, as most valiant warriors, like lions from the desert, . . . stood up for the ordinances of the Church.

When the forces of the tsar were preparing to besiege the monastery many by common counsel went away to the shores of the mainland, both monks and seculars, and dwelt as hermits, and multiplied as the seed of Abraham, and enlightened all the towns and villages around. One of these was the venerable father and great sufferer Epiphanius, who went out from the Solovetsky monastery at the time of the beginning of the new traditions of Nicon, and confirmed many in piety. He lived on the river Soona: he expelled devils; and foretold penitence to one man, and a bad end to another; and to Cyril he predicted stripes and bonds and expulsion. Then he went to Moscow, and shared with the great sufferers Abbakoum, Lazarus, and Theodore, cleaving to them, and running with them the good way of suffering. He was kept in prison many years; twice had his tongue cut out, and was miraculously healed, and spoke still after it. At length, in A.M. 7189 (A.D. 1681), on Good Friday, he was burned alive in a wooden cage with the above-mentioned holy men.

Such again was the father Sabbatius, who in A.M. 7190 (A.D. 1681-1682), having gone to Moscow with the monk Niketa and others, contended much for piety, was taken, and, after being imprisoned and suffering much, was beheaded.

Ignatius of the Solovetsky, who has been named above, had been deacon there and ecclesiarch. He, after leaving the Solovetsky, went about the cities, towns, and villages, confirming the word of piety in the regions of Oboneje and Kargopol: and the wilds of Vigoretz he planted with pious hermits, and taught them the Solovetsky rule. Many who came to him with love and zeal he sent away, saying that they would become transgressors &c. He went out from the Solovetsky alone; but he departed to the Lord in the Paleostroff monastery in company with many others, even as many as 2700, who had gathered themselves together in behalf of ancestral piety, and were burned alive by the tsar's troops.

Germanus, who before had approved himself in the Soumski island, was kept bound with fetters in prison a whole year, in company with the blessed father Pimen. Then he was imprisoned at Novgorod, which the merciful God made to be the means of salvation to many. Together with 1500 others he was burned alive by the soldiers.

Joseph, surnamed 'the thin,' had lived many years in the Solovetsky and in the isle of Sousk: he was imprisoned a whole year with Pimen; also in the district of Kargopol. In the time of persecution he assembled [and encouraged] many: at last, by a stratagem of the soldiers, he was taken alive, and conducted to Kargopol: there he suffered the cruellest

blows, imprisonment, and wounds; and having been delivered by the grace of God from all, he went about the hermitages of Obonejе; and at length, having assembled a multitude, in A.M. 7217 (A.D. 1708-1709), he was shot by the soldiers: the rest, 1200 in number, were burned [or burned themselves].

Euthymius, after twelve years passed in other convents, lived many in the Solovetsky: and together with others he went out to the shores of the mainland. Then he went to the riding of Olonetz, to an island in the volost of Vidansk, and lived there eight years by revelation, with only ξηροφαγία, and with no warm clothing, but only one riasa which he never changed. He had the gift of propheey: he was twice delated and imprisoned, but released. At length he died: and eight years after his death he was found uncorrupted by some who were digging a grave.

Then the writer names the hieromonach Paul, the deacon Serapion, and Longinus the servitor, who lived many years on an island in the sea. At the time of the persecution they went out from the Solovetsky to a small isle in the volost of Kovdsk, and lived there long, even thirty years, working, and not seeing any man: nor were they seen by any of the fishers and hunters: nor is it known how or whence they were fed and clothed. At length they were manifested, and some fishermen discovered Paul's cell (the others having already departed to the Lord). The people of the volost went in a boat with food &c.; but they could not find again either the cell or the hermit: only, a year after, they saw a fiery column on that island.

Gennadius Nachaloff was imprisoned and wounded &c. in Nijny-Novgorod, but relieved by an angel: he then lived twelve years at Tichvin; then in the hermitage of Vigoviest, in the riding of Olonetz, a good many years. He could never say his office without weeping.

The other Solovetsky fathers, who went out from the monastery, went about all Russia, preaching piety. And not only in the cities of the Russian empire and in its deserts, but also in the Solovetsky island itself many hermit fathers escaped, and concealed themselves. To avoid prolixity we have written only some part of what we have heard from those who had lived with all these holy men. . . . So we have sweet and bitter mixed in this history, and one may weep at once tears of joy and grief. Let us lament that such a source of edification has been destroyed: let us rejoice that the noble army of martyrs has been so much multiplied in these last days; whence our eyes have been enlightened after the former darkness. Let us celebrate SS. Sabbatius and Zosimus: let us celebrate also the strong and adamantine martyrs of this last time. Let us emulate . . . let us imitate them. So shall we &c. &c. Amen.

iii. Then follows as an appendix a '*Copy of the petition of the Solovetsky monastery, sent to the tsar in* A.M. 7176 (A.D. 1667), *in the month of October.*'

To the religious tsar &c. divinely-anointed by the heavenly Tsar among the tsars of all the earth, to our great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince &c. Alexis Mich. autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, make their petition thy humble beadsmen of the Solovetsky monastery, the kellar Azariah, the kaznachey Gerontius, and the priests and deacons, and the collegiate elders, and all the ordinary brethren, and the servitors and labourers:

According to the tradition, hossoudar, of Nicon *late* patriarch, and according to his newly-set-forth books, the disciples of him, Nicon, preach to us a new unknown faith, according to his carnal wisdom, but not according to the tradition of the Apostles and of the holy fathers; a faith which neither we nor our ancestors and fathers until the beginning of the patriarchate of Nicon had ever even heard of. And that orthodoxy in which thy imperial ancestors lived and died, and by which so many other holy fathers, and our own wonder-workers SS. Zosimus, and Sabbatius, and Germanus, and the metropolitan Philip, pleased the Lord God, this our true orthodox faith they have calumniated; and they have violated all the ecclesiastical order and rule, and have reprinted all the church books according to their own mind corruptly.

And that, hossoudar, viz. their destruction and corruption in those new books, has been made manifest: and those their books themselves, without our saying anything, refute them to their own faces; as, for instance, in the book called the Skrijal, where the subdeacon Damascene, in his sermon for the third Sunday of the holy fast, bids us orthodox Christians go like the Tatars without the cross; and he writes: 'What virtue is it to carry a cross on one's shoulder?' But the holy Apostles, hossoudar, and the holy fathers bid us to carry the cross. . . . But now they do not carry the cross, and forbid others to carry (or wear) it. . . . If, hossoudar, we cast away from us the weapon of the heavenly Tsar, and begin to go out without crosses, as the Greeks now are said to go about without crosses (which may God grant us never so much as to think of!), then it is plain, hossoudar, that we shall be delivered into the hands of the devil, and shall cause him the utmost joy, and give him great boldness against us. But that subdeacon Damascene, at the instigation of the devil, wrote in his Greek book for the destruction of our souls, bidding us to walk after the fashion of the Tatars without crosses: and for this the Lord God shall judge him. And in the same sermon he has called the sinless Son of God our Lord Jesus Christ sinful, as if he, our Saviour, were crucified for some sin (Skrijal, fol. 766), and not for the salvation of the world. And he writes thus: 'So keep before you the thought of death, as he who has to be crucified for some offence, and to bear the cross on his shoulder, and to walk trembling as expecting death.'

And in addition to this there are also, hossoudar, many other unedifying passages; as in lib. iv. of John Damascene what are called *The Heavens* (Οὐρανοί): and in the new edition of the Kieff translation of Epiphanius, ch. xxvii. and xlvii. there is inserted what it is impossible even to write. They preach that the Son of God has not yet come, and that neither is he coming: and it is printed thus: 'For every one that confesseth not the Son of God, and God to come in the flesh, the same is antichrist.' But he says not, like the Apostle John the Divine, 'who *has come*' but '*to come*.' Also, hossoudar, as regards the resurrection of the Son of God, in many places of their new books where they ought to preach it to the disciples, they preach it not: in the liturgy and in the Triodia on the Great Sabbath, in the troparion Εὐσχημων Ἰωσὴφ· and in the troparion Γυναῖκες μυροφόροι· and in the kontakion *Qui clausit abyssum*, and in the third lucern of the Resurrection, the resurrection of the Son of God is left out, one knows not why.

Moreover, hossoudar, in the new Office-book (Trebnik), in the prayers for baptism they bid the man pray to the evil spirit (but this their evil device grant us, O God, not so much as to think of!). And in the form for consecrating a church, hossoudar, in the same Trebnik, they have printed what is not according to the tradition of the holy fathers: they bid to consecrate with *soap*: but that, hossoudar, is not the consecration of a church: rather it is a pollution; because in soap there is wrought up all sorts of impurity and filth. And over the dead, instead of the unction with holy oil, they bid sprinkle ashes, which it is shameful not only to do, but even to think of.

And the saving Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given to him by God through the angel, they have changed. And the true and life-giving cross of Christ itself, made of three kinds of wood, pine, cedar, and cypress, they have left, and have hated it, and have done impiety: they have loved the Latin *krij*, and altogether honour it above the true divine cross of Christ made of three kinds of wood. But the holy prophets many years before the incarnation of Christ spake of the cross of Christ to be made of three pieces: for instance, the prophet Isaiah, ch. lx.: 'The glory of Lebanon shall come to thee, the pine and the cedar and the cypress together,' &c. So also St. John Damascene: '*O thrice-blessed tree*,' &c.; and the *sidalen* (kathisma, or sitting anthem) of the third tone, for Wednesday and Friday: '*On cypress, pine, and cedar thou wast lifted up, O Lamb of God*,' &c. So also Germanus, patr. of C.P., writes in one of his epistles, and Gregory of Sinai in many places of his *kanon* for the Resurrection: 'O three-compounded cross,' &c. In like manner, hossoudar, all the saints honour that true three-pieced cross of Christ, but not the two-pieced krij, of which no one of the saints has made mention, nor said one word. But thy ancestors, hossoudar, in this Russian land never thought of honouring krijes, and so professing the Latin faith. In the *History* &c. it is written: 'In the year from the creation of the world 6881 [6981, A.D. 1472-1473], when there came from Constantinople the princess Sophia to Moscow, to the grand prince Ivan Basilievich, there came with her from Rome from the Pope, as envoy, Antony Liuchtoff, having a krij borne before him. But the grand prince and the most reverend Philip metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia, and all the sacred synod, and the tsar's synclete, and all the Muscovite people, did not allow him to come near with that krij to the city of Moscow. Therefore we pray that we orthodox Christians may never honour the Latin faith, since the scripture says that he who loves and extols a *foreign* faith has thereby reviled *his own*. In like manner St. John Chrysostom honours not that Latin krij, but calls it an image and a shadow. But if it is only a shadow and not the truth, why should we now leave the true to run again after that legal shadow, and, after a Lutheran fashion, by honouring that krij contemn the true cross of Christ?

Also in those new books it is printed, according to the tradition of that same subdeacon Damascene, that we are to cross ourselves pinching together three fingers: and what we have received from the tradition of the Apostles and the holy fathers, and with the attestation of the exemplary Peter of Damascus and St. Theodoret and blessed Maximus the Greek, and according to the synodical code of Macarius metropolitan of Moscow

and all Russia, and all the sacred synod [the Council of the Hundred Chapters, or *Stoglav*], the teachers of this new faith forbid. They forbid us to cross ourselves with two fingers, and anathematise those who do not cross themselves with three fingers. But thereby they only trouble themselves to no purpose: they heap sins on their own head, as the scripture says: 'If a bishop or priest curse not according to the will of God, that is, not according to the sacred canons, the judgment of God follows not his act;' and those who obey not, though they be anathematised by them, deserve great praise from God. But the most reverend Macarius, who was metropolitan in the time of the tsar and grand prince John IV. Basilievich, according to the apostolic tradition, in his sacred divinely-inspired synod [the *Stoglav*] decreed that they who cross not themselves with two fingers are to be delivered to everlasting anathema: and now they do not obey that ordinance of the tsar and of the sacred synod, or rather the ordinance of the holy fathers, and the tradition of Christ and the Apostles: and, what is more, they do not allow others who wish to obey them to do so: and they account that synodical anathema for nothing: and by that their disobedience they have subjected themselves to an everlasting curse: and us sinners also they now strive to bring together with themselves under the same curse: and those, hossoudar, who do not obey their strange doctrine, and do not receive their new faith, they, the disciples of Nicon, torment with all manner of cruelties, and rage against them with inhuman rage. But the holy Apostles, hossoudar, and the holy fathers in former years never enacted such cruelties and such calumnies even against apostates from God: but if any one, according to the Apostle, fell into any sin, they corrected such an one in the spirit of meekness, and with charity and patience, following their meek pastor and teacher Christ. But they who live now, hossoudar, at the end of the world and preach a new faith are very proud, not walking aright, nor decently, and intolerant, if so much as a single word appear to them disagreeable: and they on that account seek even to sever the soul from the body, and to deliver it to death. But he truly is blessed whom the Lord vouchsafes to suffer death from such new teachers of this our time. We believe the divine scriptures that these will be found with God, even above the former great martyrs. And so we pray the goodness of God, that he vouchsafe even to us sinners also the grace to suffer from them, and that so we may receive no small refreshment in the future world after our sins, instead of receiving punishment for our sins.

Farther, hossoudar, in those new books it is printed, and ordered, to say '*Alleluia*' thrice, and a fourth time to subjoin '*Glory be to thee, O God!*' But we thy beadsmen by no means dare to triplicate that '*Alleluia*,' fearing that same anger of God and of the most immaculate Mother of God which came as a manifest punishment for the triplication of that divine '*Alleluia*' to Job the protopope of Pskoff and trigámist, who was surnamed the *Inotilui Stolp*, when he disobeyed the instruction of the venerable father Euphrosynus, the wonder-worker of Pskoff, bidding him to duplicate the divine 'Alleluia,' as before had been delivered to him by Joseph the œcumenical patriarch of C.P.: and on account of that his disobedience and superstitious practice that Job received from God great punishment: and as a sign of the future eternal torments he was struck

with a horrible disease, and swarmed with worms and corruption for two years, and so died. But the venerable Euphrosynus, who forbade the triplication of the divine 'Alleluia,' was for this glorified by God among the saints: and after his death our Lady herself appeared, accompanied by the archangel Gabriel and the venerable Euphrosynus, to the writer of his Life, and bade orthodox Christians say the '*Alleluia*' twice, and for the third time subjoin '*Glory be to thee, O God!*' And against such as triplicated those divine *Alleluias* she uttered a fearful threat. Besides this, hossoudar, in the book called the *Stoglav*, in the imperial and episcopal synodical code it is written that this is a Latin heresy, to triplicate the Alleluia; and it is written thus: 'The Catholic Apostolic Church has received and teaches Christians to say twice the holy Alleluia, but not to say it thrice, since this is not an orthodox tradition, but a Latin heresy: for *they* [the Latins] do not glorify the *Trinity*, but make *four*,[19] and say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and from the Son, and so make the Holy Ghost like a servant: and on that account it is not proper to triplicate the Alleluia, but to say twice *Alleluia*, *Alleluia*, and the third time to say *Glory be to thee, O God!* because in Hebrew it is Alleluia, but in our tongue the same sense is *Slava tebieg Boje!*' (Glory be to thee, O God.) So likewise, hossoudar, the blessed Maximus the Greek in his book writes, and he calls that other way a Latin heresy.

Also, hossoudar, those teachers of a new faith bid us, we know not why, not to say in the Prayer to Jesus the words 'Son of God.' But St. John Chrysostom, in his Commentary on the Gospels for the Sundays (Sunday xvii.), writes thus: 'Whether ye eat or whether ye drink, or whatever ye do, whether ye walk or stand or sit, or do anything else, ejaculate unceasingly every one of you: O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me!' And in the book called 'Apostolical Discourses,' p. 130, and in the Miscellaneous Epistles of the patriarch of C.P. Germanus, p. 146, and of Gregory Dialogus, lib. ii., and of Gregory Sinaita, and of Cyril of Jerusalem, fol. 178, and in the book called the Prologue, Jan. 9 and July 22, and in the book of the patriarch Philotheus, and in that of Nilus Sorski, and in the Life of Michael Malcoun, and in the printed Psalters and Horologia, and in the MS. books, the holy fathers in the Prayer to Jesus bid us say 'Son of God.'

Also, hossoudar, they have changed even the Symbol of the orthodox Christian faith, saying: 'And in the Holy Ghost, the lord and giver of life,' but leaving out the word 'true.' But the holy fathers by no means changed that anywhere; nor dared they to add or to take away anything of themselves, as the venerable John Damascene in his Epistle on divers subjects writes in the folio and quarto *Sborniks;* and in the book of the blessed Maximus the Greek, ch. v., in the Discourse in answer to Nicholas the Latin [it stands]: 'And in the Holy Ghost, the true Lord, and giver of life.' Also in the book of the Canons of Nicon of the Black Mountain, in serm. xxxix.; in the book of Cyril of Jerusalem, fol. 128 and 41, and again in the book of Maximus the Greek, ch. i., and in the book of the Kormchay printed at Moscow in recent time, fol. 2—in all these books,

[19] viz. the three divine persons constituted by the personal properties of each, and the common substance of the Father and the Son, *which* causes the person of the Holy Ghost.

wherever the Symbol of the orthodox faith is inserted, it is always with the addition of the word 'true;' and this word 'true' is never omitted.

Also, hossoudar, in the prayer to the Holy Ghost, 'O heavenly King' &c. they do not call the Holy Ghost 'true.' They have printed: 'O heavenly King the Comforter, Spirit of truth' (*Doushe istini*), and have suppressed two letters *n* and *i* (writing *istini*, 'of truth,' instead of *istinnii*, 'true'), and so have made the Holy Ghost as it were a partaker 'of truth,' but call not the Holy Ghost himself 'true.'

And on the eve before the festival of the Trinity they have left out the whole prayer to the Holy Ghost; as also they have left out the great ἐκτενής, and they pray standing on their knees, and do not bend their heads. But in the printed and MS. *Oustavs* (Τυπικὰ or Directory-books), and in the Office-books and Missals (Trebniks and Slujebniks), it is directed that in the vespers before the festival of the Trinity, in the stichiri, we should pray bending our heads with our knees to the ground, but not standing on our knees.

The angelic hymn of the Trisagion these new teachers have changed, and have printed it in the Irmologion, fol. 384, with an addition, thus: Δύναμις· Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς κ.τ.λ. But in former years, hossoudar, in the time of the orthodox emperor Theodosius, when the heretics began to add something superfluous to that angelic hymn, a warning was given from the Lord from heaven to a boy, and a fearful sign. Of this the *Prologue* witnesses at Sept. 25.

In the theotokion for the Sunday, tone viii., '*Qui propter nos*' &c. they have printed 'Save, O Saviour, us a people in despair.' But they are devils, hossoudar, who are said to despair, or to be desperate: but us Christians Christ forbids even to our last breath to despair: since he who despairs, according to the divine scripture, murders himself.

Moreover, hossoudar, in their new rules they lay on men a very heavy burden and grievous to be borne, not according to human strength, nor according to the tradition of the holy fathers: and they have printed in their new Trebnik (Office-book), in the short Nomocanon, fol. 109, thus: 'If a monk goes out from his monastery, he shall be twelve years excommunicate, and shall not be admitted into the church;' with a false reference to canon iv. of the Fourth œcumenical council, whereas there is no canon whatever of that council bearing any such sense.

They have also printed in the Nomocanon, ch. xcvi.: 'If a monk sings in his cell' &c., and have assigned him a penance equal to that for fornication, viz. seven years. And all that, hossoudar, they devise not from any tradition of the holy fathers, but of themselves, for the destruction of souls, and not for their salvation.

The monastic, or rather the angelic order, hossoudar, these new teachers have utterly depraved; and they have set at naught, of their pride, the canons of St. Basil the Great. They go into the church and about the streets without mandyas, in an unseemly manner, and without cause, like outlandish people or pothouse tipplers. But in the canons of St. Basil in the Nomocanon, ch. lix., it is altogether forbidden for a monk to be anywhere without his mandya, not only for prayers but also in working. But now, in the form for giving the monastic tonsure, hossoudar, in the printed Trebnik they have made no order for investing

those who are tonsured with the mandya; nor are there any verses for this inserted.

Also, hossoudar, in the office for Penitence and Confession they have omitted the psalm and prayers and confession for the penitents; as they have also the prayers of leave-taking and absolution over the dead. And on the great festivals of the Lord they have omitted the μεγαλυνάρια, and those of the saints. And all the performance of the divine services, the work of Basil the Great, of John Chrysostom, and Gregory Pope of Rome, they have altered to suit their own mind, according to their own carnal reason, in an ungodly and perverse manner. Likewise all the rest of the singing, the matins, the vespers, the compline, and the nocturn, and the molebens, and the pannychids, and in brief all the order and the rule which the Church of God observes – they have altered it all, and have reprinted the books not according to the tradition of the holy fathers; and all the orthodox Christian faith they have perverted, according to their own ungodly mind.

And they allege as a testimony in their favour the Greek books, and say that so, forsooth, it is written in the Greek books; and they print from them without farther testimony. Though anything be utterly unedifying and plainly wrong, they pay no heed to this, so long as they only find it to agree with the Greek books. And by those Greek books, hossoudar, they have to such an extent corrupted the orthodox faith, that there is no longer any orthodoxy in thy dominions of the Russian empire. A new faith, which before was never heard of, those new teachers now teach, as if we were Mordvins or Cheremisses who know not God.

We, thy majesty's beadsmen, wretched sinners though we be, yet hold that true faith which was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and which was confirmed by the holy fathers in the seven œcumenical councils whole and undefiled—the same tradition which down to our time was held by thy imperial ancestors the orthodox tsars and grand princes, and by thy father our sovereign the tsar and grand prince Michael Theodorovich of all Russia, in which also our wonder-workers and founders Zosimus, and Sabbatius, and Germanus, and Philip, and all the holy fathers, pleased God, and in which God glorified with miracles among us in the land of Russia many miraculous icons, and still glorifies them, and gives us his unspeakable grace.

Farther, hossoudar, the œcumenical patriarchs who were in past time among us in this land of Russia, Jeremiah of Constantinople, and Theophanes of Jerusalem, and many other ecclesiastical dignitaries from Palestine, bear testimony to our true orthodox faith thus (see the Kormchay printed at Moscow,[20] fol. 15-25): 'Since at Constantinople and at Jerusalem there is now a complete destruction of the orthodox faith *of the Greek law* through the violence and desolation of the Hagarenes, and the churches of God are made empty and ruined, while thou alone remainest in all the universe a ruler professing and defending the undefiled Christian faith, O autocratic great hossoudar, tsar and grand prince, and exceedest all others in piety, and all orthodoxy and piety is now concentrated[21] in thy single

[20] What follows is taken in substance from the letter of the patriarch Theophanes in 1619. See this among the Appendices to the *Replies* &c. of Nicon, p. 659.

[21] From the speech of the patr. Jeremiah of C.P. in 1589, ib. p. 657.

empire, and thy imperial Muscovite empire has for its extent and in respect of piety been called *a third Rome*,' &c.

And farther, hossoudar, in the divine scriptures we find no small testimony given to our orthodox faith thus (see the Kormchay, fol. 570): 'When the holy Churches abide without faction and disturbance in peace, then all manner of blessings are given from God.' In like manner from any change of the church-singing and of the tradition of the holy fathers, all manner of evils come upon us. And now, hossoudar, for our sins, by permission of God, from the time that those new teachers began to change the church-singing and the tradition of the holy fathers, and the orthodox faith, from that time we say, hossoudar, in thy Russian empire there began to be all manner of calamities, pestilences, and wars, and frequent fires, and scarcity of bread, and dearth of everything good.

And if, hossoudar, there are so many and innumerable testimonies to our orthodox Christian faith, as preserved by us to this present day, while for the change of the church-singing we all see the chastisements of God, what need is there, hossoudar, for us now to abandon the true orthodox faith delivered by the Lord God himself, and confirmed by the holy fathers, and praised by the œcumenical summities the patriarchs, and to embrace a new tradition and a new faith? But if we, hossoudar, at the end of this last age are to learn over again a new faith, and to follow their unedifying doctrine (which it is dreadful even to think of, to say nothing of practising it), to make friends with the unclean spirit, to go about like the Tatars without the cross, to call the sinless Son of God sinful, not to preach his resurrection and his incarnation, to cross oneself with three fingers, to reject the true cross and to honour the Latin krij, to say four times the 'Allelnia,' to adopt all the rest of their ungodly opinions and practices, it may be, hossoudar, that we are to be baptised also over again, and to cast off the saints, the friends of God, the wonder-workers, &c. to follow their imaginations (which we pray thee, O God, not to suffer us so much as to listen to). And though according to these new teachers we were holding at this day not the true orthodox faith, still thy imperial ancestors the religious tsars and grand princes and holy fathers were undeniably and notoriously orthodox: and we abide still in that very same piety with them. If, hossoudar, they were orthodox, and we have inherited from them, then why are men now to take from us the orthodox Christian faith and to teach us a new faith, as if it were the true faith—men who themselves know nothing, but have need of elementary instruction and correction in the orthodox faith? Since, hossoudar, the eyes are more faithful than the ears, and seeing is better than hearing, it is manifest to all of us of what sort is their *correction*: and to thyself more than to any one else it must be known, hossoudar. For the Greek teachers themselves, when they come into this land of Russia, do not even know how to cross themselves,[22] and go about without crosses. And among us, hossoudar, even the most ignorant of the peasants wonder at them, and say that those dignitaries of Palestine call themselves pastors and teachers, and come into other countries to teach, while they themselves know not even how to cross themselves. How, then, and what are they to teach us peasants? and what kind of orthodoxy are we to learn

[22] See the *Travels of Macarius*, p. 67.

from them? what correction in the faith are we to expect from them? The divine scripture, hossoudar, calls those who cross themselves insanely apostates from the cross of Christ, and writes thus: 'If any one lazily or carelessly or ignorantly makes not rightly the sign of the cross on his face, at such gesticulations the devils rejoice; such an one rejects the cross of Christ, and delivers himself to the devil.' With truth those former œcumenical patriarchs Jeremiah and Theophanes wrote of the Greeks that the orthodox faith is not preserved entire among them, but through the violence of the pagan Turks has been altogether blighted and withered. But the present Greek teachers, hossoudar, come from their own land into thy religious empire not to correct errors, *but to collect gold and silver* and precious stuffs, and to destroy peace. It were more seemly for them to come into thy imperial pious empire to learn themselves the holy orthodox Christian faith and piety, that afterwards they may be able in their own land also to teach others.

But now we have among us from their new Greek doctrine such great confusion in our orthodox Christian faith, and such discord in the Churches of God, and such daily changes, that many foreigners mock us, and say that we 'seemingly up to this time have not known the orthodox Christian faith, or, if we ever did know it, we have gone astray from it, since, as we see, your faith and your books are changed, and those books which you use now do not agree at all with your former books which were in use under the former patriarchs and tsars.' And we, hossoudar, have no answer to make to these revilings, since they revile that our inconsistency; but only we disavow those innovators, and separate ourselves from them, and say that among us the true orthodox faith —from the baptism of the Russian land by thy ancestor the religious hossoudar and apostle-like grand prince Vladimir, 700 years ago, to the patriarchate of Nicon and his disciples, and to the time of these present new Greek teachers—has stood in piety unshaken and unaltered in spite of the invasion of aliens, the desolation of the country, the ruin of the churches of God, the divisions caused by heretics, and the pernicious corruption of the sacred books.

Under thy imperial forefathers there was never among us any desertion of the orthodox Christian faith. And besides that, hossoudar, our orthodox faith was attested by all the œcumenical patriarchs, the dignitaries of Palestine, at many different times; and down to the end they have continued to celebrate the preservation of the true piety and orthodoxy among us in Russia, and have written this their attestation, and confirmed this writing with imperial seals and with their own subscriptions, and have placed it in the catholic apostolic church (the cathedral of the Assumption), as is recorded in the above-cited book of the Kormchay: and whoever wishes to satisfy himself of this can refer to the same book.

Since, hossoudar, envy knows not how to prefer what is profitable, and by no means allows men to recognise the truth, the Greek teachers and the disciples of Nicon, moved by envy, have set at naught the testimony of those former patriarchs to our divinely-inspired orthodox faith. But that they, hossoudar, that is, that those Greeks, should at this time subvert the orthodox Christian faith is no wonder, seeing that they live as sheep among wolves now for so many years, among the ungodly pagan

Turks, in all manner of hard ill-usage and slavery. And they hold the orthodox faith [on sufferance], redeeming their days: and many monasteries and churches of God among them have been utterly ruined. And the books, hossoudar, of the former pious and correct text which were among them the Greeks, after the capture of Constantinople the Romans took away, and reprinted among themselves according to their own Latin custom: and they distributed to them their own Latin books: but all their Greek books they burned. This is witnessed in his book by the blessed Maximus the Greek. But among us in this land of Russia in thy empire, hossoudar, by the grace of Christ, during the same time nothing of this kind took place. But as for all the books which are now in use among those Greeks and which are new, they are printed for them for the most part among the Latins in Rome and in Venice, or wherever any one pleases: but whatever old books still remain among those Greeks they have been corrupted in many places by the heretics, and are mixed with many evil tares. In the time of those old books there were many heretics, and revilers of God, and iconoclasts, among the Greeks. And the seven œcumenical councils were held against the heretics. And to us now, hossoudar, it has been made manifest that those their books are not correct but corrupted by Greeks, since, O hossoudar, in our Russian-printed books to this present time, so long as they were not printed from the Greek, there was never so much as a suspicion of any new word. But when they began to print from Greek translations [*i.e.* from translations made from the Greek] there were detected in these new Russian-printed books many evil and blasphemous and unedifying expressions, which we have above briefly pointed out to thee, O great hossoudar, in this our Petition.

'Merciful and pious divinely-elected great hossoudar tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, autocrat of all Great and Little and White Russia! we beseech thy felicitous empire, and lament all of us with tears, and beg for grace. Have mercy upon us thy poor beadsmen, and do to us orphans according to thy great charity. Do not allow, hossoudar, those new teachers and œcumenical patriarchs to deprive us by change and corruption of our true Christian faith delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ himself and his holy apostles, and confirmed by the seven holy œcumenical synods, and by thine imperial ancestors: that we may not anger our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, nor be condemned to everlasting torments: that we may not by that new faith cast reproach on thy imperial ancestors and the holy fathers, nor any more embolden foreigners and revilers of our orthodox faith. But bid us, hossoudar, to remain in the same, in the same piety and tradition in which our wonder-workers Zosimus, and Sabbatius, and Germanus, and Philip metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia, and all the saints pleased God, and in which all thy ancestors and thy parents &c., thy father of blessed memory the religious great hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Michael Theod. of all Russia, and thy grandfather of blessed memory Philaret Nikitich patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, piously passed their days: that we may not incur the censure and the curse of the holy fathers; nor perish for ever in soul and body.

'But even though thy wrath, O great hossoudar and divinely-anointed

tsar and grand prince Alexis Michaelovich, be poured out on us, and thou be pleased to allow those new teachers and announcers of a new and unheard-of faith to take from us our orthodox christian true undefiled faith, and to change the tradition of our wonder-workers and of the other holy fathers,—with a view to this contingency we have already, hossoudar, written to thee the great hossoudar in this our petition; and now we write the same,—It is far better for us to die by temporal death than to perish for ever. Or if, hossoudar, those new teachers deliver us to fire and tortures, or cut us up limb by limb, we will not apostatise from the tradition of the Apostles and fathers for ever. Great hossoudar and tsar, be gracious, be merciful!'

To the pious reader be joy in the Lord, and instruction to wisdom. This holy divinely-inspired little book was *printed* with the lives and sufferings of the holy wonder-workers of Solovetsky who suffered for the old ecclesiastical piety, and for not receiving the novelties taught by the patriarch Nicon, from the MS. in the printing-press at *Soupriajlia* in the year from the birth of Christ 1788.

APPENDIX V.

Extracts from Roumantseff's *Collection &c.*, and from Solovieff's *History of Russia*, illustrating passages in the *Travels of Macarius* leading up to the Vilna Conferences of 1656, the turning-point of the tsar's fortunes, and pointing to the protraction of the war with Poland, and to all the other disappointments and calamities which ensued.

(Pages 45 and 83.) The first council held by the tsar with the boyars for receiving the Kozaks and Little Russia, according to Solovieff, vol. x. p. 308, was on the 22d Feb. 1653; and 'the tsar's thought in this business was accomplished' on Monday in the third [fourth] week of Lent, 14th March. On the 24th April prince Boris Alex. Repnin-Obolensky and his colleagues were sent from Moscow to Poland. The envoys came to the king of Poland at Lvoff 20th July. But before that, on 22d June, the tsar, having heard from the voivode of Poutivl that Turkish envoys had been to the hetman Khmielnitsky, that a plenipotentiary was expected, and that nothing farther remained but to sign, wrote to Khmielnitsky by the stolnik Lodijensky, saying: 'We have decided to take you under our high protection, that ye may not be for a proverb to the enemies of Christ; and our armies are getting ready to march.' And Khmielnitsky replied on the 9th August. In the same month of August the tsar sent the undersecretary Iv. Thomin, who was to return secretly to Vigovsky the secretary of the Kozaks those letters from the sultan, the Tatar khan, the pasha of Silistria, and the Polish hetmans Pototski and Radzivil, which he, the secretary, had secretly sent to Moscow, and to reward him with presents; and at the same time he was the bearer of a letter to Khmielnitsky, who, after receiving it, desired that the tsar would receive them publicly without delay.

In Roumantseff's *Collection &c.* vol. iii. p. 480, No. 156 is a letter of 6th Sept. 7162, A.D. 1653, to Khmielnitsky and the Zaporog Kozaks, sending them a subsidy by the stolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff and the diak Martimian Bredechin. They were to say, that '*if* the Poles give no satisfaction to the envoys, the tsar will receive them without delay' (But the envoys meanwhile having returned, fresh instructions were sent to overtake them). At p. 481, No. 157 is of the 'Council held in presence of the tsar &c. of the spiritual and secular orders, 1st Oct. 1653, to declare war against the Polish king John Casimir for violating the terms of peace established between the two realms, and to receive the hetman Bogdan Khmielnitsky with the Zaporog Kozaks under protection.' This document begins: 'A.M. 7162, the tsar &c. ordered that there should be assembled a council about the Lithuanian and Kozak affairs; and that at the council there should be present the *great hossoudar* [*hospodin* it should have been in Oct. 1653] the most holy Nicon patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and the metropolitans and archbishops and bishop, and the black spiritual authorities, and the boyars and okolniks and people of the council, and the stolniks and strapchis and dvorianins of Moscow, and the diaks and the dvorianins and dieti boyarskie from the towns, and the gosti and traders, and people of all classes: and the hossoudar gave order to make known to them the past and present wrongs done by the Lithuanian king, and the pans, &c., and the applications made by envoys from the Zaporog hetman &c.; and that now the king and the pans have paid no attention to the tsar's demands, but have sent away his envoys without giving any satisfaction.

The tsar came from the Pokrov of the B. Virgin in procession after the crosses &c.; and after going first to the cathedral, went for the council to the *granovitaia palata*, where by his order a long statement was read, recapitulating all that had passed. [Then there follows the statement in full.] And when they had heard it, all the boyars advised and gave their suffrages, that they should stand up for the honour of the tsar Michael of blessed memory, and of his son the tsar Alexis Mich., and declare war against the king of Poland &c.: and concerning the hetman Khmielnitsky and all the force of the Zaporog Kozaks, they advised and gave their suffrages, that the tsar &c. should take them under his high protection, for the sake of the orthodox christian faith and the holy churches of God ... and in order not to let them become subjects of the Turkish sultan or of the khan of the Crimea, since the king's violation of his coronation oath had left them free men. ... And the stolniks and strapchis and Moscow dvorianins and diaks, and jiltsi and dvorianins and dieti-boyarskie of the towns, and the heads of the streltsi, and the gosti, and those of the gostinnia and soukonnia and chernia sotnias and of the palace slobodas, the people subject to imposts, and the streltsi were also asked their opinions by orders separately. And they said the same, viz. that they ought to stand up for the honour &c. [as above]. And the people of the service said they would fight for the honour of their majesties; and the trading people said they would help, and that they would gladly give their heads and die for his majesty's honour and for the hetman Khmielnitsky, for the sake of the orthodox christian faith and of the holy churches. And they prayed the great hossoudar the tsar &c. to take them, according to their

petition, under his high imperial protection' (forty-three gummed leaves countersigned by the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff).

At p. 493, No. 159 is a letter of 28th Dec. 1653 from Khmielnitsky, thanking the tsar for his largess sent by the stolnik Rodion Matv. Streshneff and the diak Bredechin, and for having taken them under his protection, and promising fidelity; sent to Moscow by the same. And at p. 494, No. 160 is an account of the manner in which Khmielnitsky, in a public assembly of the Kozaks at Pereyaslaff, 8th Jan. 1654, recapitulated how they had been fighting, and petitioning the tsar for protection, now for six years, and they 'must now have a sovereign, either the pagan Turk or Tatar, the Pole—who had treated Jews and dogs better than our christian brethren—or the orthodox tsar of Great Russia, who is now willing to receive us, and who is an *Eastern* of the same piety with ourselves, of one and the same confession of the *Greek law*. We are one body of the Church with the Orthodoxy of Great Russia, having for our head Jesus Christ. He has now sent some of his great lords who are about his person to us with his imperial grace,' &c. And to these words all the people answered: 'We wish to be under the protection of the Eastern Orthodox tsar, and to die in our pious faith, rather than subject ourselves to the pagans, who hate Christ,' &c.

Then at p. 495 there is a Speech made in the tsar's name at Pereyaslaff to the hetman by the blijni boyar Basil Bas. Boutourlin, sent to receive the hetman and the Zaporog Kozak force to be Russian subjects, Jan. 8th, 1654. He recapitulates the former applications, and relates how the embassy of the prince Repnin-Obolensky to Poland had failed, and how 'the perjury of the king has released you from allegiance. And now our great hossoudar &c., seeing &c., and not wishing to hear that ye orthodox Christians of the same faith with us are utterly wasted, and the pious churches plundered and desecrated by the Latins, has taken you with your towns and lands (being freed by the king's perjury from any duty of allegiance to him) under his protection; and he has ordered his armies to succour you against those who perjure themselves and seek to destroy the christian faith,' &c. At p. 498, No. 162 is another Speech of the same, and of the same date, at presenting the tsar's presents (a standard, baton, and dress, a cup, and sables). At p. 500, the same date, Khmielnitsky writes to the tsar of the Zaporog force having taken the oath of allegiance to him. At p. 502, No. 164 is a Letter of the tsar, of 23d Jan. 1654, commending Boutourlin and his colleagues the okolnik Ivan Alpherieff and the secretary of the council Larion Lopouchin. And at p. 503, 25th Jan. there are, Rewards from the tsar to Rodion Matv. Streshneff and Bredechin: 'When ye were sent Khmielnitsky was not at Chigirin, but with the oboz (the baggage) at a great distance; and ye wrote to him, and he replied that ye could not come to him to the oboz *through the Tatars*, but must wait till he could come to Chigirin. Afterwards ye went by his desire to Ouman, but had to retire on account of the Tatars to Chigirin: and at Chigirin ye delivered our letter: and he went to Basil Boutourlin to Pereyaslaff, and swore allegiance &c. Now they each get a silver cup and a shoub of atlas of gold, with sables (the first two soroks of sables and a pomiestnoi pridachi of 250 cheti and 50 rubles; the second 100 cheti and 50 rubles). At p. 504, No. 166 is an order of 9th Feb. 1654 to the stolnik

A. Golovin to meet Basil Boutourlin returning from his mission with a gracious message from the tsar.

At p. 507, No. 168, there are, Eleven Articles settled at Moscow by ukaz &c., by the boyars prince Alexis Troubetskoy and Basil Boutourlin and the okolnik Peter Golovin, with the envoys of the hetman as to the footing on which the Zaporog force is to be maintained (it is to consist of 60,000 men), of the date 12 March 1654. And at p. 511, No. 170 is a Letter of privilege to Khmielnitsky and the Kozaks, for receiving them, with the maintenance of their rights and liberties, such as they had under the kings of Poland and grand dukes of Lithuania, and of the heads settled above at Moscow; 27 March 1654. At p. 514, No. 171 is entitled: 'Grace of the tsar published in the *granoritaia palata* by the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff to Basil Boutourlin and the okolnik Ivan Alpherieff, and the secretary of the council Larion Lopouchin, 29 March 1654; and rewards to Boutourlin, *Dvorechestco s' poutiami*' &c. (And there is a Letter of grant of the same, 8 May 1654).

At p. 516, No. 172 is from Khmielnitsky to the tsar, seeking confirmation of the rights and liberties of the city of Kieff (of the property of the metropolitan &c.); 25 April 1654. And at p. 524, No. 176 is a Letter of privilege to the inhabitants of Kieff, confirming their former rights and liberties, 16 July 1654.

At p. 531, No. 177 is a Letter of the tsar to the prince Michael Pronsky and his colleagues, to insert in his full title 'Polotski' in its old place between 'Riazanski' and 'Rostofski,' and to insert 'Mstislafski' after 'Koudirski;' 28 July 1654: sent 2 Aug. by the stolnik Alexis Mousin-Poushkin.

(Pages 72-90 and 92 of the *Travels* &c.) At p. 532, Nos. 178, 179 are two Letters in the name of the tsaritsa Maria Ilichna and the tsarevich Alexis Alex. [written by Nicon, who then had them under his care] to the prince Michael Pronsky and the boyars his colleagues, administering the government in Moscow during the absence of the imperial family from Moscow on account of the plague.

i. 'By the blessing of our father and beadsman the most holy Nicon patriarch of Moscow and of all Great *and Little* Russia, we have sent from our present stan (station or temporary abode) in the Troitsa monastery an icon of our Lady of Kazan and one of S. Sergius by certain priests of Moscow, and black popes and deacons of the monastery, and six streltses. And when this our letter reaches you, and Athanasius Sickenn with the priests and deacons with those icons begin to come in to Moscow, ye are to give order for those icons to be honourably met by the spiritual authorities, together with yourselves, and by the people of all the sacred order, and of all ranks of the people at Moscow, with the singing of a moleben and with lights, at such spot as may be most suitable; and ye are to order those icons to be carried into the catholic and apostolic church of the Assumption, and to say prayers with a moleben (a παράκλησις), that the Lord God may assuage his *just* wrath. . . . The bearers are not to be sent back. Written in A.M. 7162, 27 August, from our stan in the Troitsa monastery of St. Sergius.'

ii. 'From [the same] &c. to our boyars &c.: Ye have written . . . that the plague spreads greatly, and that only a small part of the orthodox christian people remains; and ye are expecting for yourselves that deadly visi-

tation: and of the clergy of the cathedral there remain alive the protopope and two popes and a deacon. Also ye have written to us, and have sent the statements made under cross-examination about a vision by the woman Stephanidka and her brother Tereshko. But that woman and her brother did not agree with one another in their statements: the woman mentioned in her vision an icon of the great martyr Parascene called Piatnitsa; but her brother mentioned an icon of the most holy Mother of God. Also the woman said that her brother was dumb from his birth; but he said of himself that he spoke imperfectly, but was not dumb: and it is easy to see that they have lied. And ye for the future are not to give heed to such lying impostures. . . . [much here is illegible] . . . And ye yourselves are to live so as to be out of the way of the plague, in the upper story, with great precaution. And ye are to refuse yourselves to everybody, whether on our business or on any business whatever: and ye are to do no business either of ours or of any kind; nor to write of any business of ours. But whatever great matters of business of ours there may be hereafter, ye shall write of them to the tsar to Smolensk; and order your letters to be delivered at the barrier to N.; and he is to have them copied out there, and to send the *copies* to the tsar. . . . Written from our stan on the river Nesla, A.M. 7163, 3 Sept.'

At p. 553, No. 180 is another similar letter to Kolomna, to the voivode there, Basil Mordkin, not to let any one pass through that city of Kolomna to or from Moscow on account of the plague raging there, 7 Sept. 1654.

(*Travels* &c. p. 154.) At p. 536, No. 182 is a Circular from the tsar, of 10 March 1655 [to the voivode at the Tourinsk fort, Mat Mousin-Poushkin] of the commission, during his own absence in the campaign against the Poles, of the government of the empire to the boyar prince Gregory Sim. Kourakin and his colleagues &c.

(*Travels* &c. p. 240, 281.) At p. 537, No. 183 is an Ukaz announcing to the people of all ranks in the service the conquest from Poland of White Russia, Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, and the introduction in consequence into the tsar's titles of the words 'grand prince of Lithuania, of White Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia;' dated in 1655. . . . 'And by the prayers of our father and beadsman the *great hossoudar* the most holy Nicon patriarch of Moscow and of all Great, *Little, and White* Russia &c., and by the service and valour of our boyars and voivodes, and of all the people of all ranks in our service, we have taken from the Polish king Vilna, the capital of the grand principality of Lithuania, formerly belonging to our imperial ancestors the Russian grand princes; and many other cities and places we have taken and wasted; likewise we have taken White Russia; and by our ukaz the hetman of the Zaporog force Bogdan Khmielnitsky, with all the Zaporog force, have taken from the same Polish king the cities and places in Volhynia and Podolia; and by the mercy of God we, the great hossoudar, our imperial majesty, have become the great hossoudar over the grand principality of Lithuania of our ancestors the great hossoudars and princes of Russia, and over White Russia, and over Volhynia and Podolia. And we, the great hossoudar, have made order to write ourselves in our imperial style and title, "great hossoudar, our imperial majesty, grand prince of Lithuania, and of White Russia, and of Volhynia and Podolia." And ye are to know this' &c.

(*Travels* &c. p. 260-266.) At p. 538, No. 184 is a Description [by some member of a foreign embassy] of the entry into Moscow of the hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. on his return from the Polish campaign, in December 1655: 1. On both sides the road for three versts, from the place where he passed the night [at Kolomensk], there were soldiers, &c. 2. At every movement of the tsar cannon fired (on the night before and from the early morning they had been firing often). 3. Sixty standards, with eighteen or twenty, or at most twenty-four, streltsi to each, went straight into the Kremlin. 4. Then there went forth from the Kremlin many popes in phelonia, two and two, bareheaded, while all the bells of the city and of the Kremlin were sounding. 5. Before them went two icons on long poles, cross-wise. 6. After these a great lantern with many lights, on a pole, with four stars about it; and a cross; and many icons and books, and cherubim and seraphim, carried by popes in phelonia; and many wax-lights, and incense. 7. The secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, and all his diaks. 8. Then the patriarch, crozier in hand, silvered, with a cross on it, and on his head the episcopal mitre, with gold, pearls, and jewels, surmounted by a cross, two ecclesiastics accompanying him. 9. After him the two patriarchs of Jerusalem [Servia] and Antioch, in similar vestments. 10. When they had come to the *lobnoe miesto*, and the common popes had gone on and posted themselves ahead, and the patriarchs with the other spiritual dignitaries and with the icons had come to that place, they sang, and incensed, *after the fashion of their religion.* 11. Then all in their former order went on to meet the tsar to the place where there was a stand for the Swedish embassy (*They* need not to be made signs to, to take off their hats). 12. Then a division of mounted streltses, who have been in the service. 13. After them the gifts to be offered to the tsar by honourable persons, gosti and others, the gifts being carried before them. 14. Five silver dishes, 4000 gold pieces covered with red silk, twenty gilt cups, forty-four gold pieces, twenty soroks of sables, a *lacamano* and ewer, and in it bread and salt. 15. Seven companies of dragoons mounted. 16. Some polkovniks, the officer who is over the prikaz of the horse, and after him forty of the tsar's horses, saddled &c. 17. Among these, seven horses with long red housings reaching to the ground, with the name of king Christian of Denmark embroidered on them, which the graf Valdemar in time past brought out with him. 18. Many drummers and trumpeters, &c. and bugle-players. 19. Two standards. 20. Then the tsar's step for mounting, covered with red velvet, carried by two men. 21. Then a quilt. 22. The tsar's horse, and a jewelled sabre on the left of the saddle. 23. The tsar's scutcheon. 24. Another saddle-horse of the tsar's, covered with cloth of gold, and sabre at the saddle-bow, as before. 25. Then the icons and the popes and the patriarchs [where Macarius of Antioch and Gabriel primate of Servia are alluded to as being present besides Nicon], and before them people clearing the way. 26. And when the popes and monks were come over against that place *where the Swedish embassy stood*, they all began to cry out 'Off hats! off hats!' and the streltses cried the same, and *pointed to the people of the Cesar's embassy, who all stood bareheaded not far from us, and bowed to the icons, even to the ground.* 27. Before the tsar there went the *prince* [sic] Boris Ivan Morozoff, between two other boyars.

28. The tsar, between the tsarevich of Siberia and a blijni named Rtischeff. 29. Before the tsar they carried his imperial standard, and after it went the tsar in a white sable shoub, with wide sable collar, bareheaded. 30. After the tsar the tsarevich of Georgia, a young hospodin of fifteen or sixteen years old, between two gentlemen. 31. After the spiritualty, before the tsar, went many boys in white, holding papers, and singing; and they all, with the popes, went before the tsar to the *lobnoe miesto:* the tsar, having come thither, did reverence thrice to the great icon; and then they sang, and incensed. 32. Then two great sledges of the tsar went forward to the Kremlin with only one horse to each, and plumes on their heads, and thirty halberdiers ran by their sides with their halberds. 33. Then, after much blessing, the patriarch presented to the tsar the cross, which he kissed. 34. The tsar having gone down from his place [in the circular stone oratory] stood awhile, and bade his father-in-law *prince* Elia Dan. Miloslafsky, and he bade the secretary of the council Almiaz Ivanoff, in the tsar's name, *to ask the Swedish* ambassadors after their health: and the marshalok by his interpreter thanked the tsar; and the courtiers all bowed low. 34. The tsar then bade ask all the world, those, that is, that stood around the *lobnoe miesto*, after their health, and all the world bowed to the ground to return thanks, and wished the tsar 'Many years!' Then they went straight in the first order into the Kremlin, to the church of St. Sophia [of the Assumption]. . . .

(*Travels* &c. p. 338, 339.) From Roumantseff's *Collection* &c. vol. iv. p. 1. Of the date 17th Oct. 1656 [before which time commissioners had been sent, 13th July, to treat with the Polish commissioners and the envoys of the Cesar (the emperor Ferdinand of Germany) near Vilna: their first meeting had been held on the 12th Aug.], 'Fourteen Articles of agreement for electing and crowning Alexis Michaelovich king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania.' Of these articles it is noticeable that art. iii. to the effect that, their existing privileges being secured to both Churches (the Latin Catholic, that is, and the Greek), the *Unia* (the United Greek Church) should be done away, is *reserved* to the *diet* or session of the general parliament (the Pospolite Riech) of the people of both the *spiritual* and the secular order: and in like manner art. iv. for the settlement of the *form* of his *coronation* is *reserved*. Art. v. provides that he shall swear to the *Pacta Conventa* &c. without prejudice to his own person and faith *of the Greek law:* and there shall be a chapel of the Greek law for him in the royal palaces of the kingdom and of the grand duchy. Art. vi. He shall govern personally according to the rights and customs of the Pospolite Riech, and not by viceroys. Articles vii. and viii. provide that there shall be an alliance, offensive and defensive, and so *at once* union *against the king of Sweden*, and against the prince of Prussia. Also the Poles say that it would be well for the tsar to have *the like league against the Swedes* with the emperor Ferdinand. Art. ix. One party is not to make peace with the Swedes without the other, &c. All this *is to be confirmed* by the promise of the tsar and his boyars, and by the oath of the king of Poland and his pans, and by a constitution of the present *coming* diet.

At p. 12, date 24th Oct., on the same subject: 'Minute of the Russian plenipotentiaries the boyar prince Niketa Odoefsky and his colleagues.'

'We conferred with the Polish and Lithuanian plenipotentiaries in presence of the mediators, the envoys of the Cesar Allegretti dei Allegretti and Yaan Dietrich von Lorbach . . . But for *some* reasons that business could not be *completed*. And *we* engaged then to *put it off*; so that our hossoudar the tsar should send plenipotentiaries to the *diet* of Poland and Lithuania, of the meeting of which *they will send notice* by a courier and by a letter: and *in the mean time* there is an *armistice*: and *both sides* are to *war with the Swedes* and with the prince of Prussia (if he helps the Swedes), and *not to make any separate peace* . . . Signed at Vilna, A.M. 7165, 24th Oct.' O.S.: with their three seals and signatures. [Then follows the *Polish* minute to the same effect, dated 3d Nov. N.S.]

At p. 19, No. 5 is a *Letter from the tsar from Polotsk*, dated 31st Oct. 1656, to Moscow, to the boyar prince Gregory Sim. Kourakin, to cause molebens (παρακλήσεις) to be sung in all the churches for *a victory* in Liefland over the Swedes, and *for a negotiation* in conferences held near Vilna for electing him to be successor to the throne of Poland, and for publishing this happy *event* to the people. 'We have taken,' the tsar writes, 'six towns of the Polish [of the Swedish] king, Dinaburg, Kokenhaus, Novgrodok, Kastergau, Kos, and Yourieff of Livonia: and at Riga we took the great wall, and the second wall. And the kurfürst of Brandenburg sent to us [to our camp] before Riga, *that we should make peace* with *the Swedish king*: and we *departed from* [*i.e.* raised the siege of] *Riga*, and came to Polotsk. On the 31st Oct. our plenipotentiaries wrote to us that they and the plenipotentiaries of the king of Poland had negotiated an agreement, and *had elected* us to the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania. And now, when this our letter reaches you, ye are to send to the *archbishop*, and bid him with the archimandrites &c., and with all the assembly of the clergy, to go to the cathedral, and ye are to order the dvorianins also and the people of the prikazes &c. to go to the church: and ye are then to cause our letter to be read before all, and cause molebens to be sung in all the churches.' 'Sent by Gregory Mich. Streshneff. Written at Polotsk, A.M. 7165, Oct. 31.'

At p. 21, No. 16 is the 'Translation of a Speech made in presence of the tsar by John Korsak, sent *from* the *conference* held near Vilna by the *Austrian and Polish plenipotentiaries*.' The tsar is addressed in it as 'king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania *elect*;' and the envoys of the Cesar are named *first*; and with and after them those of the king of Poland *also* send their good wishes and humble reverences. The latter *in the name of the Pospolite Rzech* promise fidelity and obedience: and they petition the tsar to relinquish some part of the conquered Lithuanian territory, as a pledge of his good will, *before the meeting* of the diet, alluding also to his having been *fully informed* of those particulars which *could not be arranged* at the conference, but *were still to be* settled with his ambassadors *at the diet*.[29]

[29] This is the turning-point in the fortunes of Alexis, and a remarkable instance of clever diplomacy outwitting greedy ambition. It was all along quite clear that the demands naturally to be made, and actually made, on both sides in respect of religion were irreconcilable. But to join the Poles, without a peace or even a truce for any fixed term being made first, with merely an armistice for the moment, and to undertake a fresh war against the Swedes, was indeed a blunder.

Summary of heads relating to the Polish war, from 28th June 1653 to Oct. 1656, from the 'History of Russia' by Solovieff.

In 1653, June 28th (see above, p. 172), there was a review on the Divichi plain, with an exhortation to the soldiers: 23d Oct. in the sobor the tsar announced his intention to go to war with the king of Poland. In 1654, Feb. 27th, there was a review in presence of the envoys of the Kozaks; and 17th March a movement of the troops: 23d April dismissal of Al. Nik. Troubetskoy in the Kremlin, with ceremonies, speeches, and a banquet: and allusions to the councils held in 1653: on the 26th the army went forth from the Kremlin for Briansk, the patriarch Nicon blessing them: the tsar, after praying at the Troitsa and Sabbin monasteries, on the 10th of May held a review; and on the 15th sent off the Iversky icon; and on the 18th left himself: he issued a proclamation to the Orthodox in Lithuania: on the 26th May he came to Mojaisk, and wrote to his sisters that he was to leave on the 28th: on the 31st May he wrote to Troubetskoy of having *faint hearts* around him [but he trusted in God]: June 4, 11, 14, and 26 were marked by successes: on the 28th the tsar was before Smolensk: 29th, news of the *capture of Polotsk*: July 2, 5, 20, 24, successes: a reverse, however, near *Orsha* [see the *Replies* of Nicon, p. 158-160]: Aug. 2, 9, and 20, places taken: also the hetman Radzivil was defeated: Aug. 24, *capture of Mogileff*, and twenty-nine other towns: Aug. 16, unsuccessful assault on Smolensk: Sept. 1, 4, 10, places taken, and conferences for the surrender of Smolensk; which, 23d Sept., surrenders: and so its loss in 1634 is compensated: by Oct. 5, when the tsar left, sixteen other towns had been taken.

Meantime there was the plague in Moscow: already *in July* the patriarch had removed the tsar's family: the Smolensk, Troitsa, Vladimir, and other high roads were barricaded and cut off: Aug. 25, the boyar prince Pronsky &c. being at the liturgy in the Sobor, there was a tumult; and a damaged icon of the Spass Ἀχειροποιητὸς was brought from the patriarchal dvor, said to have been 'mutilated by order of the patriarch, who keeps that heretic Greek Arsenius, and commissions him to correct the printed books: the patriarch ought to be here' (see *Travels of Macarius* &c. p. 150): there was another tumult the same day at the foot of the palace stair about the wood of icons which had been damaged: Pronsky wrote reports to the tsaritsa, that is, to Nicon: in the beginning of Sept. he informed her that the plague was increasing, and wrote about a woman who had a vision. She (that is, Nicon) replied from their stan on the Nesla: thence the tsaritsa moved to the *Koliazin monastery*, and arrived there 11th Sept.: That day Pronsky died of the plague, and on the 12th Khilkoff also. Oct. 10 the plague began to decrease: Oct. 21, the tsar reached Viazma; and his family were brought to him by Nicon. Early in Dec. he sent to Moscow to know who had died, and who remained, and the numbers of both; and the like of other towns and districts. Nov. 22, news of the *capture of Vitepsk*, the last success of the campaign. Already there were dissensions between the Schliachti and the Kozaks (Sept. 7, 12, 13 15, Oct. 12, 14, and Dec. 1) in Little Russia: Khmielnitsky acted slowly and suspiciously: but he sent to the tsar information of the leanings and

practices of the metropolitan of Kieff Silvester Kossoff [to whom Nicon wrote in consequence a considerate and well-timed letter]; and of the manifestos of the king of Poland.

The year 1655 began with some desertions, rebellions, and losses, and some successes: Solovieff thinks it *curious* that the patriarch Nicon *refused* to *anathematise* Poklonsky and Basilevich: the Poles *and Tatars* together now invade Little Russia; and Khmielnitsky *lets them* waste it: March 11th, Basil Bor. Sheremetieff and Theodore Bas. Boutourlin are recalled from Biela-Tserkoff, and Basil Bas. Boutourlin and Gregory Greg. Romodanofsky are sent instead: At Moscow, after the plague, there were moral disorders: Jan. 19th the tsar wrote from Viazma that he would go to Moscow, leaving all at Viazma, only to pray, to see the boyars, to take back his family, and then return to the war: Jan. 23d he writes a curious letter to the head (golova) of streltsi Artemon Serg. Matveëff, expressing himself contemptuously of a Swedish envoy from Charles X.: 'They are more annoyed,' he writes, 'for Vitepsk and Polotsk than for Smolensk, because those places cut off communication by the Dvina with Riga: the king seeks the confirmation of the peace of Stolboff: In another letter he writes to us not to war on the duke of Courland, and we have refused to promise this, because he is a vassal of the king of Poland: and he promised not to help the king against us: but we have taken many Courlanders prisoners; and more still come. As if they came unbidden!' Feb. 10th the tsar went to Moscow; and early in the spring he returned to Smolensk: and 24th of May he went forth from Smolensk: July 29th Radzivil and Gonsevsky were defeated near Vilna, and *Vilna taken*, the tsar being then at Krapivna, fifty versts off: Aug. 9th *Korno was taken*; and 29th *Grodno*. In July Boutourlin and Khmielnitsky unopposed entered Gallicia: defeated the crown hetman Pototsky: they advanced to Lvoff (Lemberg); but Khmielnitsky would do nothing: only he accepted 60,000 gold pieces; and his secretary Vigovsky even wrote to them *not* to give themselves up to the tsar: but *Lublin swore allegiance* to him: and Sept. 15th *Touroff*, and 16th *Dacidoff*, and 20th *Stolina*, and 25th *Pinsk*. Oct. 23d Ourousoff from Kovno routed the Poles 150 versts from Brest; and Nov. 13th found at Kovno a new hetman Sapiega: routed him too; and went with Vorotinsky to Vilna.

But at this date negotiations for peace had been already begun: The full hetman of Lithuania Gonsevsky sent to prince Yakoff Koud. Cherkasky to ask: 'Will the hossoudar make peace with the king?' The tsar sent to Gonsevsky his favourite Theodore Mich. Ischeff the elder: he could not find Gonsevich (placed, it was said, under arrest by Radzivil); but at Brest at the end of Sept. he found the new hetman of Lithuania Paul Sapiega, who had been named instead of Radzivil, and brought from him and the senators to the tsar Gladovitsky, who asked five points, viz.: 1. to make an armistice; 2. to name a place for the king at once to send ambassadors to; 3. to make the Kozaks and the Kieff voivode suspend hostilities; 4. to let the Shliachti and the rest of the *people* return to the ashes of their homes; 5. to grant an exchange of prisoners: Nov. 5th he saw the boyars again, who replied to them (and the tsar himself wrote the same to Sapiega), that they still called the king, who was nowhere to be found, 'grand duke of Lithuania,' and the hetman, 'hetman of the grand

duke of Lithuania :' that they would do better to submit to the tsar who really held Lithuania [Here Solovieff observes that the patriarch Nicon on the 29th of July 'aimed at *more* than Lithuania ; viz. Warsaw, Cracow, and all Poland :' just as later he blessed the tsar's Kozaks of the Don 'to go by sea to Stockholm']

But while Alexis was taking the *titles* of 'Great, Little, and White Russia, Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia,' Charles X. Gustavus in the mean time, without waiting for the end of the truce, had overrun all Great Poland, and taken Warsaw and Cracow, which acknowledged him as king (John Casimir flying to Silesia) : and he made a pact with Radzivil, whom he promised to reinstate as hetman of Lithuania. Already in July an envoy, Rosenlind, brought a letter to the tsar to Smolensk, announcing that the Swede also had declared war against Poland because John Casimir did not give him his full titles, and did him harm when he could, and inviting the tsar's *coöperation*. The tsar's reply enumerated his conquests, 'White Russia, the grand duchy of Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, of all which we are now sovereign,' hinting plainly what the Swedes must not touch. But Radzivil styled himself, as under Sweden, 'hetman of the grand duchy of Lithuania and voivode of Vilna.' Aug. 18th the dvorianin Lichareff was sent to offer Radzivil terms from the tsar (Nicon, 19th July, had been against negotiating with Radzivil).

In Sept. 1655 prince Yakoff Koud. Cherkasky sent the dvorianin Nesteroff to General Delagardie, who had informed the boyar that the town of Drouia had submitted to the Swedes. Nesteroff reminded Delagardie that in 1654 Sheremetieff had taken Drouia, Drissa, and Glouboko, and had sworn the people to the tsar, and now the Swedes have taken Drouia, and are going on to Kovno &c.! But in 1654 the tsar, at the request of the Swedish king, had refrained from entering Courland. Delagardie promised an inquiry, and referred the matter to the king : he did not know anything of their going to Kovno : promised to *see Radzivil*. But it soon became known that Charles was in communication with the Kozaks Khmielnitsky and Zolotarenko.

In Oct. 1655 ambassadors from the emperor Ferdinand III., Allegretti and Lorbach, came to Moscow with an offer of mediation, and the design of turning, if possible, the Russians against the Swedes. In Nov. the tsar returned, and made his triumphal entry : Dec. 15th Allegretti &c. had their audience, and presented myro of St. Nicholas &c. Dec. 17th they had a conference with the boyars Al. Nik. Troubetskoy, Greg. Sim. Kourakin, and Youry Al. Dolgorouky : The envoys talked always of peace between Christians, and a league against the Infidels : Dec. 20th there was another conference : 'The tsar thanks the emperor : he is willing to make peace ; and desires to see terms proposed :' They say, 'If the tsar will name a place, we will inform the emperor, and he the king ; and this may be done within two months.' In reply to a question, Allegretti said that the king is now in Silesia, near Cracow : the emperor is his cousin : Radzivil's defection is no great matter : and the Catholic Poles cannot get on long with the Lutheran Swedes. Dec. 24th another conference : 'If the king is driven to extremity, both the emperor and the pope and the king of France and others will intervene in his behalf :' and Allegretti asked : 'Are you *sure* of Khmielnitsky's fidelity? the Swedes speak of

him as being ready to join them.' The boyars wished to discover if John Casimir had still any resources, and if the tsar could *not only keep Lithuania, but gain Poland* [But it is not explained here through whom first or when this idea was suggested to them].

In 1656, in Feb., Lichareff was sent to the Lithuanian hetman Sapiega and to the crown hetmans Stanislas Pototsky and Stan. Lishkoratsky. In April he found Sapiega at Liublin, which, on the retirement of the Russian forces, had been *occupied by the Swedes*, and which now had given itself up to Sapiega for John Casimir. Sapiega said that 'if their king had abandoned them, they would submit to the tsar; but now they hear that he has *not* abandoned them, but has come back to Lvoff, and is going to march against the Swedes: I cannot become a traitor: All Lithuania was favourable to the tsar; but Ourousoff by his violence alienated it: and now it wishes for peace with the tsar, while Poland wishes for peace rather with the Swede.' Lichareff went on to Lvoff, and was answered there by Pototsky to the same effect, viz. that 'they could not think of abandoning their king: he went away for a time, and now he has returned.'

But while he was thus sounding, there came in April to Moscow a Polish envoy, Peter Galitsky, bringing proposals for peace: and if the tsar is willing he should name a place near the frontier: also informing them *how very far* Charles's promises to Radzivil went—to march to Moscow—not to lose a stone of Smolensk, &c. John Casimir and his captains have all the correspondence under the hands and seals of the Swedish king and Delagardie; and the envoy has brought copies of them. The envoy was not, *in spite of his tears*, admitted to see the tsar. His proposals were therefore given in to commissioners, to this effect: 1. 'The king desires peace: 2. the tsar to relinquish all his conquests.' The envoy tried above all to excite anger against the Swedes, 'who so ungenerously fell on Poland, and concerting with the heretical Hungarians did us great harm: the king and the senators are ready to pledge themselves to make no peace with the Swede without the tsar's concurrence.' After this the envoy was admitted to see the tsar: and there was another conference after that with Bogdan Matv. Khitroff and Almiaz Ivanoff. 'The tsar,' they said, 'although he might &c., yet on the mediation of the emperor, is willing to make peace.' Galitsky wrote, that till the conference of plenipotentiaries the king is not to make peace with the Swedes: and Khitroff added, that if the Swede infringes the peace with Russia, the tsar will go to war with him. It was agreed on both sides that there be an armistice: and so Galitsky left Moscow. The Austrian envoys were also dismissed: On the 25th April they received notice that they were to have their audience of leave on the 27th, and to be at a banquet, because the tsar's messengers and theirs were to be back by the 1st of May now near, and there were no tidings of them yet; and at the beginning of May the tsar must leave for the campaign. 'If the emperor likes to send envoys to mediate, they shall be with the tsar in his camp.' In vain they would have declined to be dismissed, 'because till their courier returns they cannot return to the emperor;' and they asked to accompany the tsar. It was replied, that the meeting of plenipotentiaries could not be earlier than the end of July or the beginning of August. To their question, '*Where* the campaign was to be?' they got no reply.

But the Swedish envoys still remained in Moscow, having come in Dec. 1655 to confirm the peace of Stolboff, of which they must have despaired from the first. Jan. 17th, 1656, they said that 'though the king of Poland seems now fallen, he has many Catholic friends; so the tsar had better coöperate with our king against him, and send his envoys to treat of this.' Discussion arose about the tsar's new titles: the Muscovites remonstrated against the way in which Sweden had *interfered* when the tsar had nearly conquered Poland: they said: 'The tsar knows of the correspondence tampering with his subjects, Khmielnitsky,' &c. They replied that 'they of themselves offered first their allegiance, adding that, if not received, they would resubmit to the Polish king: yet the king of Sweden did *not* receive them as his subjects, but only invited their cooperation against the common enemy.' The Russians replied, that Zolotorenko himself was *trying* the Swede; and on receiving his answer immediately sent it to Moscow: and they showed plainly that war was resolved on. In March 1656 Dan. Mishetsky was sent to move Denmark: Frederic III. promised to send an embassy: also the stolnik Alphimoff was sent with complaints to Sweden, where friendship was professed and *inquiry* offered: but war was now resolved on. In May Belke mentioned to Ivanoff the reports current: May 11th the Swedish envoys complained of being ill-treated: May 17th they were told that their king had broken the treaty of peace; and they were removed from the Posolski dvor, and only one-third of their former allowances was continued to them.

May 15th the tsar left Moscow: Peter Potemkin was sent to occupy the shores of the gulf of Finland. Nicon, 25th May, wrote of Kozaks of the Don blessed by him to go *by sea to Stockholm* &c.: and June 30th Nicon announced the capture of *Kantzi* by Potemkin: July 5th the tsar publicly entered Polotsk: and on the 15th he went out to Livonia against the Swedes: July 31st a Russian force took *Dinaburg*, and the tsar founded there a church of Boris and Gleb, and renamed the city from them: then *Kokenhausen* was taken, and renamed Tsarevich-Dmitrieff gorod: Aug. 23d the tsar himself besieged Riga: Sept. 1st they began to batter it day and night from six batteries: Oct. 2d Delagardie made a successful sortie: the season was late: the peasants rose against the Russian foraging parties: Charles X. was reported to be coming himself; and the tsar retired to Polotsk to await the result of his negotiations with the Poles. *Dorpat* was taken by the Russians: this was their last success in Livonia.

July 13 the tsar sent from the church of St. Sophia at Polotsk to Vilna the prince Ivan Nik. Odoefsky and others, to meet the Polish and imperial envoys John Casimir Krasinsky titular voivode of Polotsk, and Christopher Zavisha high marshal &c. The conferences were held under tents two versts out from Vilna. Deputies were sent from the neighbouring Russian and Lithuanian districts to influence the Poles and Lithuanians, and to suggest that if they do not like to be false to John Casimir, they may have him for his life, only let them elect the tsar without severance of Poland from Lithuania, and swear to the tsar and to his son, and put this into the constitution. On the 12th Aug. was held the first conference: Odoefsky demands all Lithuania, and, as damages for the war during 1654 and 1655, 800,000 and 500,000 rubles. Aug. 14 the Poles demand the restitution of all conquests, and payment of damages:

the Polish commissioners hinted that such excessive demands might induce the king to make peace rather with Sweden under French mediation. Aug. 16 third conf. The boyars would have left the tent: the Austrian mediators said the Poles would give up their claim to damages, and the tsar must give up something too: they too were going off, when Odoefsky offered to give up the tsar's claim for compensation; only they must give up all the cities of Lithuania: Allegretti said those terms would be too hard. Aug. 18 fourth conf. 'The tsar will give up those cities which he has not taken:' Answer. 'That is to give up nothing.' At last Odoefsky came to the point, and said: 'Your king has no heir.' Answer. 'That cannot be replied to at once.' They began to speak of the tsar's recent successes against the Swedes; and that Khmielnitsky is in correspondence with the Swedes and with Ragoza prince of Siebenburgen: Odoefsky said: 'That is not possible.' Aug. 20 fifth conf. They accept with good will the idea of electing the tsar; but they have no instructions for so great a matter. Besides, Poland cannot exist separate from Lithuania: let the tsar yield to the king Lithuania, and White and Little Russia. Allegretti joined in, and was told that he was not a mediator but a partisan. He got warm, and said: 'A candidate for a new kingdom should not rob it, but rather bring some addition to it.' '*So*,' it was rejoined, 'you go even beyond the Poles.' Aug. 26 fresh disputes about the conditions of the election: the Russians wanted the crown to become hereditary; the Poles by no means, but they would keep the Polianofsky pact in full force. Aug. 27, in the seventh conf., Allegretti said he *would not have anything* to do with the election: they were not come to mediate for any such purpose. Odoefsky said the tsar must have for ever Little and White Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia, but requires Lithuania only for twenty years, as an indemnity. The Poles themselves now suggested a meeting *without the mediators*, as they wish to have the succession for the son or brother of the emperor. Aug. 28 in the eighth conference in like manner, the Poles saying: 'But we have not got on well with German kings. The king will cede all that was ceded by the Polianofsky convention; and about Little and White Russia, and Volhynia and Podolia we will send to the king, and do ye send to the tsar. Lithuania the tsar should give up: even so our realm is nearly ruined. About the election we have already written.' They would have begun about the Zaporog Kozaks and their lands, but they were stopped at once: That was out of the question, and impossible: but if the tsar were elected, they too would be in union. Aug. 29 they received the tsar's letter directing them to *put off* the matter of the election *and of peace* to a future time, but to make an *armistice* for both sides for *six months* or more for the forces, and turn them against *the common enemy*, and make with him *no separate peace:* and it was only on the 18th Sept. that there came the tsar's reply to their letter written after the 28th Aug. bidding them to continue about the election. Sept. 20, tenth conf. No answer yet about the election from the king, but one about peace. Odoefsky said: 'Better, then, to put it off, and to move against the Swede,' &c.; but they proposed the question: 'If the tsar is elected, will he give up Little and White Russia to the kingdom?' The others said: 'Better put off this question for six months or more,' &c.: but they did not agree. Odoefsky offered to say: 'Vilna and the Lithu-

anian cities for only eighteen instead of twenty years.' The commissioners refused; and were for going away, with the Austrians. Then Odoefsky offered to be content 'with Little and White Russia and the election; and the tsar will give up Livonia, except what belonged to Ivan Basilievich, and will pursue the claim of John Casimir to the inheritance of the throne of Sweden, will restore all Lithuanian captives, cannon, &c.: the *Unia* is to be *put an end to*: the Latins and Greeks shall be civilly equal.' The commissioners replied that peace must be made first, and then the election might be treated of. The Austrians said they would not so much as hear of the election. Afterwards they sent to say that they would not hinder conference on this point; and later they consented to be even present without taking part. Sept. 24 a conference without the Austrians: John Casimir writes that a diet has been appointed to consider about the election for 15th Sept. S.S. Our friends are pleased: but not all the senators are likely to agree to it: some would rather elect the tsarevich than Alexis Michaelovich, others the son or brother of the emperor, others the Hungarian: but if the tsar would give up White Russia, they *think* that *all* the senators will agree. About Little Russia they will ask for powers; but without White Russia nothing can be done: the queen wishes for the election of the tsarevich, to whom she would be a mother. The Zaporog Kozaks, they said, had agreed with the khan of the Crimea, the hospodar of Wallachia, and Ragoza, to hinder the tsar's election, and the Swede is corresponding with Khmielnitsky. From 24 Sept. to 6 Oct. no meeting. Oct. 6 Odoefsky proposed to put all off for six months or a year, *suspend* the war, and turn upon the Swedes: but the commissioners insisted on waiting for a letter from the king; till on the 9th Oct. the Austrians sent to say that *they* would *favour* the election. Oct. 9 the king, it was announced, and the pans consent to the election of the tsar or tsarevich *if peace is made* on the terms of the Polianofsky convention; or for a peace without the election the king will cede Smolensk and all the cities ceded by the peace of Polianoff. To this there was the same reply as before, viz. that the tsar cannot make peace without the cession of Little and White Russia. Oct. 19 there came a letter from the tsar to negotiate to make the frontier along the line of the Beresina, giving the tsar Polotsk, Vitepsk, and the towns of Liefland: to give douceurs freely, 50,000 or 60,000 or more, to both the envoys: and if no agreement can be come to, then to manage in one way or another that there shall be a suspension of hostilities, and that neither side make a separate peace with the Swedes. The commissioners would not agree to cede Little and White Russia, but proposed that they should send to the king to the diet their plenipotentiaries about the election, and, till a convention be made, to suspend military operations on both sides, and to make no peace with the Swedes.

So at Moscow they were doing all they could to keep the Polish war suspended till the Swedish should be finished, and to engage a party to promote the election of the tsar. Nov. 4, 1656, the tsar sent from Polotsk the stolnik Artemon Serg. Matveëff with presents, &c. to the hetman Vinc. Corv. Gonsevsky, who said that the king of France supports the claims of Sweden, and Khmielnitsky and Ragoza too; and suggested that the tsar should send and try to detach the kurfurst of Brandenburg; also try to

get the emperor and the Danes and the Dutch to intervene against the king of Sweden, and send a present to the queen of Poland.

But the Lutheranism of the Swedes having produced a popular religious reaction against them, Poland recovered herself: and the state of Little Russia also becoming dangerous, it was determined at Moscow, 23d Feb. 1657, to do all they could to bring the Swedes to peace: and Athan. Laur. Ordin Naschokin, a pomieshchik of Pskoff and later voivode of Tsarevich-Dmitrieff-gorod, after the tsar had left Livonia, was sent. His zeal and ability were thwarted by personal jealousies. In July [1657] he wrote that Riga, after the plague there and the death of Delagardie, was left nearly empty, and James prince of Courland advised him that now was a good time to propose peace. 'I in reply,' he wrote, 'invited him to engage the people of Riga to give themselves up to the tsar; but he is seeking to tide over the time without our doing anything: unfortunately we have no means to attempt anything: thy ukazes of the autumn to Polotsk &c. have not been attended to.'

Mishetsky with a Danish envoy had found the tsar in Livonia in 1656; and he promised that the Danes should coöperate against the Swedes: Aug. 7 the tsar sent from his camp before Kokenhausen Mishetsky again to Denmark, and he stayed at Copenhagen all 1657; and the king did begin to war on the Swedes, but in aid not of the Russians but of the Poles. In the mean time all the attention of Russia was diverted to the south.

Vacillation of the Kozaks: from Solovieff's History of Russia.

(*Travels* &c. p. 339, 338.) Just when the tsar had turned all his force against Sweden, there came from White Russia strong complaints against the Kozaks, and complaints from the Kozaks against the tsar's voivodes. In April 1656 a polkovnik from Khmielnitsky with a Moscow sotnik of streltsi had been sent to examine into the state of things in White Russia. Complaints too came from the Kozaks of Little Russia; and the stolnik Leontieff was sent to make inquest at Mogileff and Mstislaff, &c. But the *people* were making contrary complaints against the Kozaks. Against Khmielnitsky late in 1656 Basil Boutourlin had written to the tsar, informing him of his suspicious conduct at Lvoff.

Khmielnitsky, when informed by a letter from the tsar of the determination of the Vilna commission, wrote, 9th Dec. 1656, for himself and the Kozaks expressing *their great regret;* and he warned the tsar that the Poles would *never execute the agreement.* 'They seek,' he wrote, 'only to gain breathing time; and then they will join with the Turks and the Tatars, and will again attack Orthodoxy. And if all this is bonâ fide, *why have they sent to invite the brother of the Cesar to be a candidate for their crown?* Their envoys arrived at Vienna on the 12th Oct., and were negotiating there at the same time that the Vilna commission was ending. And before that they had sent to invite Ragoza [the prince of Transylvania]. And who knows if the *diet* will *accept that Vilna agreement?* We pray you not to give us up to be the victims of what they design.' . . . On the 12th Dec. Andrew Boutourlin wrote from Kieff that the hetman had misgivings of the tsar's anger, and thought his Kozaks sent to be present at the Vilna conference were *detained*, and that the tsar was going to give

them up to the Poles; and that he had in consequence called a diet, at which all the Kozaks pledged themselves to their mutual defence: also he had *sent to Ragoza*, to the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, and to the Tatar khan; and had received envoys from all these: and there was an agreement that they should defend him. All this information was confirmed by Eustathius the father of the secretary Vigovsky, whom the voivode had entertained and made drunk at Kieff. Spies sent to Chigirin reported that the hetman had offered to help Ragoza to the throne of Poland, and he and the secretary and some few of the chiefs meant to fall away from the tsar because he was making peace with the king of Poland, and, as they feared, abandoning them. Also he sent to Bikhov, bidding the inhabitants there not to give themselves up to the tsar but to him. p. 431.

(*Travels* &c. p. 339, 340. 'The convention between the Swedes, Hungarians, Moldavians, and Wallachians to co-operate against the Poles was concluded at the Nativity last year,' *i.e.* in A.D. 1656; and their invasion was made 'in the dead of winter.')

Charles X., when he still thought to be king of Poland (1655-1656), had sent to ask Khmielnitsky what he wished for himself; and to make him detailed proposals for the recognition of a self-governed state, to be dependent only in its external relations: Khmielnitsky was to supply 40,000 men, and to do his best to get the Muscovites to be content with the line of the Beresina, leaving Lithuania to the Swedes: he was to allow Protestant churches in the chief towns, &c.: also he was to give up Kieff, or at least some site for a fortress on the Dnieper, to Sweden, and Chernigoff to Muscovy: or, as a vassal, he might hold Kieff and Chernigoff, and be on the same footing with respect to them as the kurfürst of Brandenburg and the duke of Courland are in respect of what they hold of Poland, &c.

But in the beginning of 1657 Charles had already lost all hope of the crown of Poland; and so he *made* an agreement with Ragoza (the prince of Transylvania) and with Khmielnitsky, recognising the *separation and independence of the Ukraine:* Great Poland, Dantzig, and Pomerania were to go to Sweden; Little Poland, Lithuania, Mazovia, and Gallician Russia to Ragoza; *whom a division of the Kozaks went to assist against the Poles.* How did Khmielnitsky defend himself at Moscow?

In Feb. 1657 he wrote that he had rejected *overtures from Poland*, and had sent troops against the Poles. But there came also information from the Crimea of his envoys having been there: and when it was objected by the Tatars that Khmielnitsky had become the tsar's vassal, the envoys replied that since then they had got no help from the tsar. On the 25d Apr. Khmielnitsky wrote again, and denounced dealings of the *Poles and the Cesar with the sultan*, and *preparations of the Tatars;*[24] and desired the tsar's favour for his son Youry, then aged sixteen, whom they had elected hetman [to succeed his father after his death]. A *gracious* letter was sent to him in return. Vigovsky the secretary, being detected intriguing to get the succession to the hetmanship for himself, was made to lie on his face on the ground a long time, but at length he was pardoned by Khmiel-

[24] As if he had not called them in, or was not a party to their crossing the Russian territory. See *Travels* &c. p. 340.

nitsky. On the 19th Apr. the okolnik Theodore Bas. Boutourlim &c. was sent to Khmielnitsky; and 23d May was met at Gogolevo by Eustathius (the old father of Vigovsky) with the icons. He conducted them to the church, and gave them a dinner afterwards. He told them, when alone, that 'the Kozaks sent last year to the Vilna commission, *where the Muscovites told them nothing*, reported on their return *that the tsar had given them up:*' the *Poles* had told them that the Muscovites had made an agreement on the basis of the Polianoff articles: that the Zaporog army, and all Little Russia, were to belong to the king's side as before, &c. 'On this the hetman said that they must fall away from the tsar: but *my son* took him by the feet, and entreated him; and by the help of the commanders he was hardly brought to reason.' He said too that both the secretary and another of his sons had recently married, the one a daughter of Bogdan Stanevevich of the Schliachti, and the other a daughter of Ivan Mensherin. On the 3d of June, 10 versts short of Chigirin, Boutourlin was met by the polkovnik of Mirgorod Lesnitsky, now deputy-hetman of all the Zaporog force to go *against* the khan of the Crimea, then not far off. 'We have heard,' he said, 'that the tsar is angry against us; but we are entirely his subjects.' Boutourlin replied that this was a malicious and false suggestion, which had been made to them. At five versts short of Chigirin he was met by Youry Khmielnitsky, Vigovsky, and others, the hetman himself being very ill. The next day Boutourlin found the hetman in his bed; and he excused himself from hearing then the tsar's communication; and Boutourlin on that account refused to dine there; but he afterwards consented, as the hetman said that his refusal would be a sign of the tsar's displeasure. He was entertained by the hetman's wife and daughter (the wife of Daniel Vigovsky), the secretary Ivan Vigovsky, and the esaoul Ivan Kovalefsky. In the middle of the repast the hetman (who was on his bed) called for a cup of wine, rose, and, being held up by his servants, drank to the health of the tsar, of the tsar's family, and of *the patriarch Nicon*, '*our gracious helper and mediator.*'

Next day Boutourlin questioned the secretary, who crossing himself, and swearing thundering oaths, as was his wont, asseverated that 'all the Zaporog army was quite faithful to the tsar: their communications with the Swedes &c. had been *only for his advantage and honour:* the tsar had done so and so [as reported above]; and this had afflicted them, and had gladdened the Poles, who had begun already to concert measures against them. Therefore the hetman had done what he had done. Anton Jdanovich had by no means acted with any intention of helping Ragoza to the crown of Poland.' Boutourlin expressed great surprise at their relations with the Swedes &c.; and reproached them for their infidelity, *in trusting the kingdom of Poland, to which the tsar has been elected.*

At length the hetman invited him to an interview; and he said the same to him. He broke out thus: 'I will never break with the king of Sweden: he is an old friend of more than six years' standing [see above, p. 56], the Swedes keep their word; but the tsar was making peace with the Poles, and would have given us up to them; and now they say that he has sent 20,000 men to help the Poles against *us*, the Swedes, *and the Hungarians.* We, *before* we became the tsar's subjects, had been serving the tsar, and we kept the khan of the Tatars away from Muscovy for nine

years: and now too we are ready to go against the tsar's enemies [meaning the Tatars and the Poles]: they have not yet *got* the Polish crown, *nor made a peace; but they have already begun a war with another kingdom, with Sweden.* If I had not joined the Swedes, the Hungarians the Moldavians the Wallachians and the *Poles* would have joined them, and fallen on us all, no armies of the tsar coming to help us,' &c. Boutourlin replied: 'For shame! By your help the Swedes and Rigoza have taken many towns in Poland &c. Nevertheless the tsar does not forget your service, nor withdraw from you his favour: but cease from this unbecoming and arrogant behaviour [*i.e.* from pursuing an independent and contrary policy]: the tsar *has never for one moment* thought of giving you up.' The hetman lowered his tone, professed fidelity, excused himself, as too unwell, from saying more then; but would think it over, and give an answer another time. The envoy was then again kept to dinner, without ceremony.

The next day, 10th June, the secretary came, and excused the hetman for the warmth with which he had spoken the day before; and he asked whether the stolnik Kikin had informed the tsar of his wish to write to the king of Sweden about *the wrongs* committed by him [or by his partner Ragoza? See *Travels* &c. p. 340]? 'Yes,' was the answer: 'and the hetman may write: *but*,' he added, 'the Lithuanians intercepted a letter from the hetman giving assurance of his fidelity to the Swedish king, and stating that he expected from him envoys with full powers.' Vigovsky replied: 'They ought to be here soon: but the hetman wrote only of *friendship*, not of *fidelity*.' Boutourlin reproached him for his infidelity and dissimulation. Vigovsky swore terribly, as was his wont, that he was faithful to the tsar &c. On the 12th June the Swedish and *Hungarian* [Transylvanian] envoys came. Boutourlin sent for Vigovsky, and questioned him: he said that they came for friendship.

On the 13th June the hetman invited the tsar's envoy to him, and begged him to request the tsar not to believe calumnies. 'If,' he said, 'we have made friends, without asking his leave, with the Swedes and with Ragoza, we have done this of fear, owing to the alarming reports spread by the Poles, and lest they should make a league with the same first. We think the Swede would now be glad to make peace: but if he will not, we will then find some other way against him. But now the business, that is the war, begun with the Poles, should be carried on to the end; and they should be worked on both sides, by the tsar and by the Swede, so as to destroy them, and prevent their union for our hurt with other states: and we *know* that they have elected the tsar *only in pretence*; but in reality they have done nothing of the kind, as is clear from *their letter to the sultan*' (see *Travels* &c. p. 162, 341, 361), 'which I sent to the tsar.' Boutourlin, making no reply to all this, began: 'In 1656 you went against the Poles in conjunction with Basil Bas. Boutourlin; and you then acted so and so. And now you told Kikin that if the *tsar* makes peace with the Poles, *you will not*. [See p. 338.] And now you are driving the Poles to submit rather to the Swede or to Ragoza than to the tsar.' The hetman defended himself on these points, &c. . . . On the 27th July 1657, the hetman Khmielnitsky died. (Solovieff, *History of Russia*, vol. x. p. 448.)

The metropolitan of Kieff, Silvester Kossoff, having also died about

this time, Andr. Boutourlin sent for Lazarus Baranovich bishop of Chernigoff, and Innocentius Gizel archimandrite of the Pechersky to Chigirin, and pressed them to please the tsar by being under the patriarch Nicon of Moscow, and not to send for the bishops to elect a new metropolitan *without an ukaz of the tsar*, nor to elect a metropolitan without the blessing of the patriarch [of Moscow]. Lazarus said he must take counsel with the archimandrites and hegoumens. On the 7th August he came and said that the clergy of Kieff had consented to be under the patriarch Nicon; and after coming to the funeral of the hetman and returning, they will send some one to the tsar. But Vigovsky (who had now secretly made his own terms with the Poles, and soon afterwards was elected hetman by a minority leaning the same way) wrote to Lazarus: 'Elect whom you please: we, now that the hetman is dead, have nothing to do with it.' [But Nicon, who was counted upon by Boutourlin to be a party to what he proposed, refused, though many times urged by the tsar, to consecrate a metropolitan for Kieff, unless the consent of the patriarch of C.P. were first obtained:[25] see his *Replies &c.* p. 158, and Supplements to the *History* of Paisius Ligarides, p. 384, 399.] The clergy actually elected as metropolitan of Kieff Dionysius Balaban, who was confirmed by the patriarch of Constantinople.

Already in April 1658 the tsar heard that Vigovsky was calling in the Tatars to help him to subdue those of the Kozaks who did not acknowledge him, and were not of his Polish tendencies: and the tsar at once sent Opuchkin to forbid him; and a second envoy, Skouratoff, was sent after the first, and a third, Kikin, after the second: but Vigovsky was openly contumacious, and succeeded, by the help of the Tatars, in routing and killing his competitor Poushkar near Poltava, 7th June, and returned in triumph to Chigirin. On the 26th July an answer to *his complaints* of the voivodes was sent from Moscow intended to *reassure him*, and imputing *to the Poles* the spreading of false reports: but on the 6th Sept. terms were agreed upon at Gadacha, by which *the Kozak army was to become again subject to Poland*, Vigovsky obtaining all that he desired (vol. xi. p. 39). In fact the hetman became a sovereign, who might even be neutral in the war between the Poles and Muscovites, while his subjects became also Polish citizens. In Sept. the tsar issued letters about the defection of the hetman, who, however, continued to act hypocritically even when his forces were already acting against those of the tsar.

The Poles were of course delighted. They had submitted, according to promise, the proposal for the election of the tsar to the *diet*, where the bishops [as might have been foreseen] protested that it must be made a condition that he should become a Catholic; and the king *published their protest*. They found xxiv. reasons against electing either the tsar or his son, all coming to this, that the house of Austria would never let the crown of Poland go out of their hands. Already in Sept. 1655 the king

[25] The tsar was probably displeased at these repeated refusals; and on these occasions, among others, he may have uttered his displeasure in '*unseemly words*' (alluded to by Nicon in his *Replies*, p. 583, and Paisius' *History* &c. p. 52 384). The foul language 'Mujik bládin!' put by the archdeacon Paul into the tsar's mouth would have been less absurdly improbable if it had been connected with something of this kind, and at this date, in 1657, than it is as it stands above, at p. 316.

had proposed to the emperor to be his heir, and promised the consent of the republic, if only he would help them in their war. The emperor offered instead his *mediation* to obtain a peace with Moscow and with Sweden; and suggested that the Poles should *overreach* the tsar by the hope of the crown of Poland, and induce him *to declare war against Sweden* (1656). And no sooner had the tsar entered Livonia than the crown of Poland was offered by a solemn embassy to the emperor. He *publicly refused* it, but *privately accepted it* for his *son* Charles Joseph. In 1657 the king of Poland informed the Swede that he renounced the title of King of Sweden, and yielded to Sweden all Livonia. The Austrians and Poles agreed to keep the tsar at war with Sweden till Poland should have come to terms with the Swedes. But the tsar *knew nothing of all this*, and continued to deal for the Polish crown, or at the least for the union of Lithuania with Muscovy. The Poles meanwhile lured and amused him, as if he should be elected, and from time to time complained that he was doing nothing to any purpose against *their common enemies* the Swedes. On the 28th May 1657 (the day that had been fixed) there was no diet. In July the stolnik Alphimoff was sent to the king, whom he found in Sept. at Warsaw. The pans then said that the Vilna convention had been broken on the part of the tsar by his vassal Khmielnitsky joining with Ragoza [and the Swedes] to waste Poland. It was replied that Khmielnitsky pleaded self-defence; and yet he *had been made* to recall his troops (but see above at p. 340), which broke up the league, and rendered a great service to Poland, as *they* (the Tatars at p. 340, 341, in July 1657) then defeated Ragoza. Again they objected that the Russians are not carrying on the war with the Swedes. It was replied that the Swedish generals who were before in Poland are now on their own frontier watching the Russians, and so are drawn off from Poland. At length in March 1658 it was announced that a diet was convoked for 27th June. In May plenipotentiaries were sent to Vilna, viz. the boyar prince Nikita Ivan. Odoefsky, Peter Bas. Sheremetieff, prince Theodore Theod. Volkonsky, and the secretary Almiaz Ivanoff, for a new conference with the Polish commissioners, for whom they *waited*, as bidden, only to the 30th July (it was on the 10th July that Nicon left his chair); they started on the 6th Aug. to return from Vilna to Moscow. But that same day couriers announced that the Polish commissioners were *coming*: Odoefsky, however, only sent them word that they had waited for them seven weeks; and that now the time was past, and that they had better not go on to Vilna: they did, however, go on, and were refused admittance, and went off highly indignant. At Minsk Odoefsky received an order to return to Vilna, and to invite the commissioners thither. They promised to come, but again *wasted time*; and in Sept., Apriloff voivode of Grodno sent word of Sapiega and the Lithuanians doing acts of violence, and of the commissioners being sent to demand all the towns of Lithuania as a condition of peace, else the war would be at once renewed. And *immediately afterwards* news came *that the Zaporog army had submitted itself to the king of Poland*. The plenipotentiaries and the Lithuanian commissioners met on the 16th Sept. After complaining of the *delay* since the Vilna convention of 1656, and *receiving an answer of defiance*, they proposed to treat of the election and of a peace. This was put off till the 18th. The com-

missioners had heard that the tsar *was negotiating for a separate peace with the Swedes* near Narva, and they required first to be satisfied on this point. It was replied that the tsar *had* not *made peace* with the Swedes: if he had entered into relations with them, the king of Poland *had done the same first*. At length this was waived. The plenipotentiaries demanded the suppression of the Unia, and the renewal of the Polianoff convention; while the Lithuanian commissioners demanded that the tsar, for the honour done to him, should make great concessions, or they would try the chance of war. So all September passed. The Russian envoys yielded all that had been conquered in Lithuania to the river Bereza: the others would not accept this; and meantime news came of hostile acts, of which in the meeting of 9th Oct. there was complaint made. A warlike answer was returned; and the conference broke up. Dolgorouky was told to defend the cause of the tsar with his army; and the plenipotentiaries on the 19th left for Moscow.

Charles X. of Sweden at the end of 1657 wrote to Gustavus Belke and his colleagues (detained at Moscow) that he had moved the kurfürst of Brandenburg and the duke of Courland to mediate for peace, at the same time *laying the blame on Austria*. On Easter-day 1658 the tsar showed attention to the Swedish envoys. Soon after, Kondrat von Barner came as envoy to treat, and proposed to do so near Narva, Delagardie meanwhile, who had been sent to Prussia to treat with the Poles, procrastinating till he should know how things were going at Moscow. On the 25th April the tsar announced that he would liberate the envoys, and send plenipotentiaries: the conference was appointed for the 12th June: the boyars agreed to a truce from the 20th May. On the 30th of April the boyars announced that Iv. Sem. Prozorofsky and Athan. Laur. Ordin-Naschokin &c. were the plenipotentiaries. Naschokin (who was then still commanding in Dorpat, excused himself on account of jealousies against him. The conferences began only on the 17th Nov. (the Swedes having purposely delayed; and in this interval it was, 10th July, that Nicon left his chair), and the Swedes insisted on the terms of Stolboff. Naschokin was directed to conclude a peace before the spring, or at latest in the spring of 1659; on no account later than May: 'If they will yield nothing, then let them even keep everything for three years.' But on the 20th Dec. he concluded a truce for three years, retaining all that had been conquered in Livonia. The tsar was delighted, and ascribed the success to the Tichvinsk icon of the B. Virgin, which was with the prince Mesetsky at the conclusion of the peace of Stolboff. Now Naschokin was commissioned to convert this truce into a definitive peace, and to engage the Swedes not to make peace with Poland, ceding to them Jmond in Lithuania. In Sept. 1659 he made overtures to begin treating in Oct.; and he hastened because the Swedes were treating in Prussia with the Poles. In Feb. 1660 he had just settled that there should be a conference in March, when suddenly he heard of his son Voin having *deserted* to Dantzig to the Polish king [really to the Vicar of Christ, and to the Catholic Church], who sent him to the emperor, and thence to France. The tsar, writing to Naschokin, proposed to him to expend if necessary as much as 10,000 rubles to *get him into his power*, or else *to make away with him* wherever he was. The father *declined* this offer as *unnecessary*. In April conferences began.

But Charles X. Gustavus having died in Feb., all had to be begun over again, and they promised to be ready in June. But meantime, in May, they *concluded a peace with the Poles* at Oliva, altogether to the prejudice of Muscovy. All the summer passed; and things went ill in White Russia [alluding to the two defeats of Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy, 18th June and 19th Oct., and other defeats of Youry Al. Dolgorouky and his brother], and in Little Russia still worse [alluding to the terrible disaster at Choudnovo of 23d Oct., when Sheremetieff and all his army surrendered to the Poles and Tatars]. The tsar in alarm wrote to make peace, keeping only one town; and even to pay an equivalent for that. Naschokin advised rather to give up the Kozaks, who, as the tsar wrote, were not to be depended upon, and make peace with Poland. He begged to be removed from the charge of negotiating; and he was removed: and early in 1661 prince Ivan. Sem. Prozorofsky and others were sent instead. In March conferences were opened at Kardis, between Dorpat and Revel, with the commissioners of Charles XI., who threw the blame of forcing them to make peace first with the Poles on Naschokin. The Swedes stood out: and on the 21st of June a peace was made on their terms. The tsar *ceded all*, and had to pay some indemnity in provisions &c. The boundary was to be settled by commissioners in April 1662.

Such was the result of the lure of an election to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania, and of the Swedish war, which had now done its work. The exhausting war with Poland continued.

APPENDIX VI.

Solovieff's account of the Disturbances of July 1662.

(*Travels* &c. p. 161. 'He has also made copper coin, which he caused to pass at the same value with the piastre (*i.e.* ruble in silver), proclaiming their currency, and issuing them for the payment of his troops. All this has resulted in the increase of his power, and of the love of the Muscovites towards him,' &c. Written as if in 1655, before 17th March.)

The first two years of the thirteen years' war were the most prosperous, the most brilliant time of the reign of Alexis, though they too were clouded by the plague. Brilliant successes in war and personal campaigns raised the spirit of the enterprising tsar, as is so clearly shown in that letter of his to Matveyeff concerning his relations with Sweden which has been given above. His unsuccessful *siege of Riga in Oct.* 1656 *was the beginning of misfortunes:* the troubles which followed in Little Russia drew out the war, which had already taken an unfavourable turn. The disasters of Konotop (28th June 1659) and Choudnovo (23d Oct. 1660) and the defeats of Khovianskoy (also in 1660, 18th June and 10th Oct.) were deeply felt at Moscow; and though they had not such ruinous consequences as might have been apprehended from them at the first glance, still the war was prolonged, and there was no prospect of its ending: and that was a terrible calamity for a poor thinly-peopled state, which had scarcely recovered itself after the anarchy of the Pretenders, in which not

long before there had been disturbances *caused by the oppressed condition of the industrial classes*, and which had recently been ravaged by the plague. Heavy imposts pressed upon the people: the trading people were exhausted by the tax of the fifth denga. Already in 1656 there was a deficiency of money to pay the soldiers; and the tsar, by the advice, as was said, of Theodore Mich. Rtischeff, ordered an issue of copper money, which was to have the nominal value of silver. In 1657 and 1658 this money actually passed as equal to silver: but from Sept. 1658 it began to be depreciated; and its value fell more and more, till at last, in 1663, it was necessary to give twelve copper rubles to get one ruble in silver. There ensued a terrible dearth: ukazes forbidding sellers to raise their prices on the necessary articles of consumption had no effect: there appeared a vast quantity of forged copper coin: they began to arrest and put to the question such people as were found with forged coin: from all there was one answer: 'We do not make the bad money; we take it from others without knowing.' They began to look after the mint-masters (those who coined the money), silversmiths, coppersmiths, and all workers and sellers of metal wares; and they noticed that these people, who had lived before as if not rich, had since the introduction of the copper money built themselves new houses of brick or of wood, and clothed themselves and their wives after the fashion of the nobility, and had taken to buying in the shops all sorts of wares, silver plate, and costly articles of food, at high prices, without sparing money. The source of such a sudden rise to wealth was manifested when they began to take from them forged money and dyes. Those who were thus detected were punished with death; their hands were cut off, and nailed up at the minting-houses upon the walls; their houses and properties were confiscated. But these severities were powerless against the temptation of speedily obtaining wealth: the rogues continued their practices; and all the more, inasmuch as the rich ones of them bought for themselves impunity by giving enormous douceurs to *the tsar's father-in-law Ilia Dan. Miloslafsky* and to the doumni dvorianin *Ivan. Paul Matiushkin*, whose wife was *the tsar's own aunt* by his mother's side. For the examination, receipt, and issue of copper and of coin in the houses and offices of the mint there were appointed trusty heads and sworn men from among the gosti and trading people; men thought to be honourable and safe. But even these were not proof against the temptation. They bought copper in Moscow and in Sweden, carried it to the minting houses together with the tsar's copper, ordered it to be coined into money, and then carried off this money to their own houses. Informations against them were soon made by some of the streltses and the mint men. When they were arrested and put to the question, they said they made payments, according to an amount agreed on, to *Miloslafsky*, to *Matiushkin*, to the secretaries, and to the under-secretaries. The secretaries and under-secretaries, the heads and the sworn men, who were thus detected, had hands or feet cut off, and were banished to distant towns: against Miloslafsky the tsar *was for a long time displeased*; and Matiushkin he *displaced from his prikaz*. But this was *not enough to satisfy the people*: and they showed a mind to take again the exaction of justice into their own hands, as they had done in 1648.

In the spring of 1662, after Easter, there began to be circulated in

Moscow rumours that the people meant to assemble, and that they had a design against the houses of the boyar *Elia Dan. Miloslafsky*, *Basil Shorin*, and other rich people, with the view to a change in the administration of the mint, because *Shorin* and another named *Kudasheevtz* were coining money. On the 20th July they began to say that papers had come from Poland compromising the okolnik Rtischeff. The tsar was living at this time out at Kolomensk. On the 25th July, early in the morning, there was an assemblage of the people in the Sretenskaia to discuss the impost of the fifth denga. But their consultations were soon cut short. Some people who had come into the Sretenskaia from the Nikolsky gates began to cry out to them, 'At the Loubianka there is a placard stuck up on the pillar!' All the crowd poured off to the Loubianka to see what that placard might be. On the pillar there was stuck a paper on which was written, 'Treason! *Elia Dan. Miloslafsky* is a *traitor!* So too is the okolnik Theodore Mich. Rtischeff, and *Ivan Mich. Miloslafsky*, and the gost *Basil Shorin*.' In the mean time the centenier of the Sretenskaia sotnia, Paul Gregorieff, had already given information of the existence of this placard at the Zemski prikaz (the police-office), whence there rode to the Loubianka the dvorianin Simeon Larionoff and the secretary Athanasius Bashmakoff, and tore down the placard. The crowd began to make a tumult, and cried out: 'Ye are taking away the placard to the traitors; the hossoudar is not in Moscow; and that placard is wanted by all the world.' Louder than all the rest, and rushing about in all directions, the streletz Kouzma Nogaeff cried out, 'Orthodox Christians! stand up for all the world: the dvorianin and the diak are carrying off the placard to Elia Dan. Miloslafsky; and so this business will come to nothing!' All the world followed after Larionoff and Bashmakoff, came up with them, held Larionoff by his horse and by his feet, and shouted to the centenier Gregorieff, 'Take from him the placard: if you don't, we will stone you.' Gregorieff snatched the placard from Larionoff: the crowd surrounded Gregorieff, and moved back to the Loubianka, to the church of the ven. Theodosius. Nogaeff drew Gregorieff out of the gates. When all had come to the church, Nogaeff stood up on a bench, and read the placard to all the people, and added that they must all stand up for this. From the Loubianka they went to the Zemski dvor; and set a bench there also, and made Gregorieff get up on it, and bade him read the placard; but he refused. Then Nogaeff began to read it again, and on the other side some under-secretary read it. Gregorieff profited by this opportunity to slip aside, after bidding an inferior officer (desiatski) of his own century, named Loutska Jidki, to take the placard from the hand of the under-secretary: but the crowd would not part with the placard, and surrounding Jidki carried him along with them to Kolomensk to the tsar.

The tsar was at the liturgy celebrating the birthday of one of his daughters. Looking through a window, he saw that crowds of the people were coming into the selo and into the imperial villa unarmed, but with shouts and tumult, repeating the names of the Miloslafskys and of Rtischeff. He guessed what was the matter, bade the Miloslafskys and Rtischeff hide themselves *in the rooms of the tsaritsa* and the tsarevnas, but himself remained in the church to hear out the liturgy. The tsaritsa, the tsareviches, and the tsarevnas shut themselves up and sat in the wooden

part of the house half dead with fear. The rioters did not suffer the tsar to hear out the liturgy: they came up to the palace, Luke Jidki going at their head, and carrying in his cap the placard found at the Loubianka. The tsar went out on to the steps: a man of Nijny Novgorod, Martin Jedrinsky, took from Jidki his cap with the paper, and presented it to the tsar, saying, 'Be pleased, great hossoudar, to read this writing before the world, and cause the traitors to be brought before thee.' 'Go home!' replied the tsar: 'as soon as the liturgy is over, I will go to Moscow, and examine into this matter and make order.' But the people laid hold of his clothes by the buttons, and said: 'Whom can we believe?' The tsar promised, 'By God!' and gave his hand upon his word; and when one of the people had struck hands with him, they all went off quietly to return to Moscow. The tsar gave orders not to touch them, though he had with him an armed force. He went back into the church to hear out the liturgy; but sent in advance of himself to Moscow the boyar prince Ivan Andr. Khovianskoy. Meanwhile another crowd of rioters was plundering the house of Shorin. The old man Shorin himself succeeded in hiding himself in the Kremlin, in the house of the prince Cherkasky, but the rioters caught his young son, a lad of fifteen, who was forced to serve them as a witness against his father, and to tell how his father had gone off secretly to Poland with letters from the boyars. Just then there rode up Khovianskoy, and began to harangue them, exhorting them to cease from making a disturbance, and not to plunder any men's houses, adding that even now at this moment the tsar was coming himself to make examination. But in answer they all cried out to him: 'Thou, boyar, art a good man, and thou hast served well the tsar against the Polish king: we have nothing to do with thee: but let the tsar give up *for capital punishment* those traitor boyars whom we demand.' Khovianskoy went back to Kolomensk; and after him the crowd followed, carrying with them in a cart the young Shorin. Outside the city they met the first rioters returning, and persuaded them to turn back again: some soldiers also joined them. They fell in with the boyar *Simeon Lucian. Streshneff*, and *pursued him with cudgels:* he with difficulty got away from them to the other side of the river. The tsar had already mounted his horse to go to Moscow, when the rioters brought up to him the young Shorin, and he began to yelp out the story he had been made to get by heart, that his father had gone to Poland with letters from the boyars. When the boy had finished, there arose from the crowd cries: 'Give up the traitors!' 'I am the hossoudar,' replied Alexis: 'it is my business to examine and to punish whoever deserves punishment, after inquest has been made: but go you to your homes: I will not leave the matter as it stands: for that my wife and my children are your pledges.' But the cries did not cease. 'Suffer us not to perish!' cried some. 'If you don't give up those boyars, we will take them from you ourselves, after our own way!' cried others, and brandished their cudgels. Upon this the tsar turned to the streltsi and the people of the court who were standing around him, and ordered them to move upon the rioters, who, not having by any means come to fight, fled in all directions: they began to seize them: some defended themselves, but to no purpose. A hundred men were drowned in the river, above 7000 were knocked about and wounded, while the actual rioters

were not in number above two hundred persons: the rest had come out of curiosity, to see what would happen. Those that were taken were carried away to the monastery of St. Nicholas at Ougriesh, and there examined. The chief instigator who had written and stuck up the placard was not discovered; but they punished those who had been the most prominent, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, in the disturbance itself: they hanged them, cut off feet, hands, noses, cut out tongues, and banished them to distant towns.

Moscow was quiet again: but the complaints against the copper money continued. The voivodes reported that debtors bring to them to the court-house [of the city or province] copper money for the payment of their creditors, and the creditors refuse to receive it unless they are compelled by ukaz of the tsar, and demand silver. At last in 1663 an ukaz was issued that in Moscow, Novgorod, and Pskoff the mints of copper money should be closed, and the old mint for silver coinage in Moscow reopened, and silver begin to be issued there from the 15th June: and that the pay of all classes of people in the service should be given them in silver money; and that all taxes, customs, and dues should be paid in the same; and that in the shops and markets all dealings should be for silver money; and that the copper money should be done away. All the copper money in all the prikazes existing in coin was by the 15th of June to be inventoried and laid up under seal until farther order, and not to be issued: private people were required to melt down their copper coin. But this last order was not obeyed. An ukaz of 20 Jan. 1664 says that in Moscow and in different towns there are found copper coins which have been rubbed with quick-silver, and others silvered or tinned: the tsar renewed his order not to keep copper coin under pain of severe punishments, viz. confiscation of goods, and banishment to distant towns. They say that for counterfeiting or tampering with the tsar's coin there were capitally punished above 7000 men, and that above 15,000 had hands or feet cut off, or were exiled, or had their goods confiscated. The tsaritsa, owing to her fright at the disturbance at Kolomensk, *lay ill more than a year*. Solovieff's *History* &c. vol. xi. p. 266-272.

So not '*all* those corrupt and wicked nobles' who had oppressed the people at the beginning of the reign of Alexis, nor perhaps 'most of them, had been slain by him 'in execution of justice,' nor 'reduced very low' (see above p. 68 and 137, 138, and Appendix i.). On the contrary, they are still in 1662, as they were in 1648, in the highest places of authority about the person of the tsar, and nearly related either to the tsaritsa or to the tsar himself. (Also comp. what is written of the patriarch Nicon with reference to the nobles at p. 110, 131, 165, 166, 169, and Paisius' *History* &c. p. 86; and what Nicon says to the tsar at p. 432.)

APPENDIX VII.

Solovieff's account of the rupture between Nicon and the tsar.

(*Travels* &c. p. 365, 9-13th July 1658.) Without, a burdensome, unsuccessful, ruinous war, with no prospect of its ending; within, material

calamities, the exhaustion of the people, their groans, and disturbances; and in addition to all this a scandalous and unprecedented *quarrel between the tsar and the patriarch!* a quarrel between Alexis Michaelovich and Nicon his *bosom* friend! We have seen that at the beginning of the war this bosom friendship was in full force. Even the most conspicuous, the most considerable of the boyars, and those nearest to his person, bowed with reverence before the powerful patriarch, and asked his intercession in case of any bad success in their acts. The patriarch took a lively share in [the tsar's] enterprises: his character was such that he was powerfully drawn on by success, and he encouraged the tsar to ulterior designs. During the time of the plague Nicon was in charge of the imperial family, and he conducted it to Viazma, where Alexis Mich. was. Nicon took the title[26] *Great Hossoudar*. So there were again in the Muscovite empire two *Great Hossoudars*. This title had been borne by the patriarch Philaret, but not as patriarch but as father of the tsar, and co-ruler: all remembered well enough that this had not been an empty title with Philaret: but now Nicon received this title as patriarch: consequently the patriarchal power was put on a level with the imperial. The tone of Nicon's letters hints directly at a *dualism* of authorities; as for instance: 'From the great hossoudar the most holy Nicon patriarch of Moscow and all Russia to Vologda, to the voivode the prince Ouchtomsky: The hossoudar the tsar and grand prince Alexis Mich. of all Russia has made ukaz, and we the great hossoudar likewise, that there be given *from all the monasteries*, for *his the hossoudar's service* at Smolensk, podvods with carts and drivers, and that they be sent to the hossoudar to his camp *before Smolensk*. And for that our ukaz is directed to thee only from our single person, this is not to occasion any delay in its execution, but thou art to collect the podvods with the carts and with the drivers, and to send them to us to Moscow immediately.[27] When the great hossoudar the tsar was away with the army, the great hossoudar the patriarch governed the empire from Moscow [See p. 165, 166]. Campaigning, military activity, and full independence at the head of his forces developed the tsar, and brought him to his full growth of manhood. Thanks to a new sphere and new activity, much experience of life was compressed into a short space of time: there showed themselves in him new habits, and new views. The great hossoudar returned to Moscow, and found there another great hossoudar, who at this time, having been an unlimited ruler, had also fully developed himself in respect of his own character, his views, and his ways and manners. Nicon was not of the number of those people who know how to stop, to refrain from going to extremes, and to use with moderation their power. Nature, which had endowed him with ability to make his way, to obtain influence and power, had not given him *moral firmness* to moderate the *outbursts of his passions*: culture derived from education, which at that time he could not obtain, could not in that respect remedy the defects of nature: lastly, unprecedented good fortune *unbridled* him

[26] Solovieff writes so that it may be imagined that Nicon *took* this title to himself, or *sought* it, instead of having it given to him and put upon him by the tsar: the verb is reflex, '*napisalsia*,' *i. e.* 'wrote himself,' or 'was written or styled.'

[27] See too above, at p. 169, an example of similar zeal and energy in the use of his authority for the tsar's more effective service,

altogether; and the unfavourable features of his character came out with harsh prominence. The vocation of patriarch, which for a man of softer nature might have served for a powerful *moral check*, moving him to become an *example to the flock*, in the case of the harsh nature of Nicon destroyed every check: for all his attention was turned to the rights of the supreme pastor, the supreme interpreter of the divine law; and in this character he regarded everything as permissible for himself. With such *a want of christian principle*—of the *spirit of meekness and humility*—as a check to the pontifical power, the deep respect shown for him by the tsar and by all who took their cue from the tsar—and they were many—easily *turned the head* of Nicon, and made him *in good earnest* to regard himself as having the power to bind and to loose in all things, as possessing the highest spiritual gifts. Lastly, let us consider the time, and the state of society—a state of society almost in infancy—affording so few *moral checks* for any powerful individual; where every such individual was so easily hurried away by his position, and regarded everything as permissible for himself with reference to those who were less powerful; where even the *very softest and most humane nature*, such as that of the tsar Alexis Mich., could not keep him from acts and proceedings which seem now to us extremely *unattractive*. What, then, did not people of harsher natures allow themselves to do, when no bounds were set to the right of the powerful to *humble* those subject to them? when this *humbling* was commonly direct [by personal severities], and its force depended on the force of the disturbance produced in the mind of the angry inflicter of the humbling. And this youthfulness of society and deficiency of culture produced instability, inconsistency, abrupt changes, violent falls: all this we shall see in Nicon.

We have seen that Nicon, thanks to his character, had long before succeeded in making himself enemies among the grandees [noble and virtuous men, who did *not ever* by their character provoke the murmurs and rage of the people], and the tsar Alexis had to beg him when he was as yet only metropolitan of Novgorod[28] to restrain his *imperiousness*. But his elevation to the patriarchate with a stipulation of obedience from them that raised him to it, the extent of the political influence *yielded* by the tsar to the patriarch, and lastly the exercise of actual government during the tsar's absence, developed this imperiousness to the highest degree, and could not fail to bring him into collisions with the nobles, into collision with the tsar himself, who found a change in his bosom friend, and felt it all the more because there had been going on in himself also a change, and he had by this time come to look upon many things in a different light. Every one who considered himself to have a right to any sort of power, to any sort of influence, was necessarily brought into collision with Nicon, who was not fond of paying attention to the rights and pretensions of others, who considered it to be for himself degrading and unnecessary to seek for partisans, who feared not but despised his ene-

[28] The tsar wrote to him that he had heard that the behaviour of some of the nobles was not orderly or religious, and desired him to make them obey the rules of the Church; yet not to let them know that he, the tsar, had desired this, but rather that he had interceded with the metropolitan to obtain for them some mitigation of his own severity.

mies. The *tsaritsa* herself, *her relations the Miloslafskys*, the *tsar's maternal relations the Streshneffs*,[29] and all the other nobles who were near the person of the tsar, became the enemies of Nicon. With them also there sided some of the most considerable persons of the spiritualty, who were offended by the imperiousness and by the rough manners of Nicon, and by the severity of the punishments to which he subjected *criminous clerks*. Lastly, Nicon excited against himself violent hostility by his correction of the books, and by the punishments to which those were subjected who would not receive these corrections. (Solovieff, *History of Russia*, vol. xi. p. 273-276.)

It is no doubt strange to hear proud absolute monarchs taxing with *pride* ecclesiastics who rebuke them, and stranger still to find successive generations of the peoples oppressed and moulded by them echoing and continuing this accusation: strange too to hear men of the world blaming those who contend against the world for their ignorance of *christian principle*, their want of the primary virtues of *meekness* and *humility:* but apart from the homilies which Solovieff reads to Nicon, and apart from that total misconception and misrepresentation of acts and motives with which men of the world write and speak of spiritual persons and causes, the preceding extract shows well how the *development* of the tsar's character and views would tend to alienate him from the patriarch. It is true also that Nicon had himself developed; not as a young man whose character is still forming, but in this sense, that he was *learning*, and *learning rapidly;* and as fast as he learned anything, he not only corrected himself from past errors, but he required others to learn and to correct them too; and he no longer let them adhere either to his own or to their former customs: so that he was less and less capable of allowing in the tsar or in his government certain improprieties which had been all along blamed by him, and which at first were condemned by the tsar's own conscience. But without going into details on this subject, we will bring together here two passages, which will help to explain how that affection and gratitude with which the powerful energy of Nicon had been regarded in earlier years, when the tsar found it a political assistance and support, changed gradually into jealousy and dislike; while at the same time his original docility in religious matters changed gradually into complete rebellion, so that his whole later conduct was a lie against his own former conscience.

Above, at p. 166, in the *Travels of Macarius*, while the writer of them speaks of the empire of Muscovy as governed (in 1654, 1655, and 1656) with the strictest justice by only two men, the patriarch and the tsar, who had exterminated all the corrupt and tyrannical nobles, or reduced them very low; who had but one will; and who were both of them feared and loved by *all* even as the Creator or as Christ himself, he nevertheless adds these remarkable words: 'By what we observed of the grandees of this empire, they do not much fear *the tsar* [those, that is, who do evil, and who so have need to fear], nor entertain much dread of *him:* they *rather fear this patriarch*, and *by many degrees* more.' In this passage there is

[29] Who would never have quarrelled with a man like Paisius Ligarides, had *he* only been their patriarch,—nor with one like Solovieff, who, besides 'christian principle' and 'true meekness and humility,' would have added 'the culture of *civilisation* to correct any defect of nature,' any 'outburst of his passions.'

neither malice nor affection of any kind: and since the tsar and the patriarch were then so well agreed, he is far from blaming: rather he seems to praise and to admire. Only once or twice he *wonders* at the *piety* and *humility* of the tsar; and his heart *aches for him* when he stands reverently, with his head bent, to be taught by the patriarch. But certainly, unless a king had a *very true piety* and *humility*, he would not like to perceive, or to be told, that any other person, whoever he might be, was more *feared* politically than himself. That would be wounding to his self-love, even if he was scrupulously obedient to all spiritual authority.

The other passage is not like the above, the mere notice of a fact from a writer who was simply relating what he observed or inferred; but it is tinged with malice, coming from a man who had been banished by Nicon, and addressed to others like himself. Still it is friendliness and truth itself compared with that intense spirit of hatred and calumny which commonly pervades the writings of the Raskolniks; and the truth underlying it will be sufficiently brought out, and separated, when it is considered in connection with the preceding passage from the *Travels of Macarius*.

Extract from Solovieff's History of Russia.

'The Moscow protopopes, Stephen Bonifatieff of the Annunciation (the imperial confessor) and Ivan Neronoff (kliuchar of the Assumption and afterwards protopope of the Kazanski), could not become the *leaders* of the new schism, because they had themselves promoted certain reforms in conjunction with Rtischeff and with Nicon, who had been on very friendly terms with them when he was archimandrite, and as metropolitan of Novgorod (and then, knowing no better, he crossed himself with two fingers like them): and though they opposed the correction of the church books, and Nicon himself, in the synod of 1654 (and Neronoff, like the bishop Paul, was exiled in consequence), still, this was from personal pique, not from such fanaticism as would suffer death, or even long exile, merely for a dispute about a *letter*. Nicon, on his side, did not act at all fanatically in the matter of the correction of the books: he was capable by his natural character of dealing very severely with those who raised their voice against *him*, against *his* power, against *his* work; but as soon as the same people submitted themselves to the patriarch, he was ready *to make concessions*.

'Through the mediation of the confessor Bonifatieff (who, in spite of his opposition to the correction of the books, had managed to avoid being banished and to keep his place), Neronoff was allowed to return to Moscow: he professed that he submitted himself *to the decision made by the œcumenical patriarchs;* and on *his* petition a number of others also, who had been imprisoned as partisans of schism, were set free. Nicon, in token that he forgave and forgot the past, *returned to Neronoff* and to Bonifatieff all the letters which *they had written against him* to the tsar (and which the tsar, without attending to them, had given to Nicon). Nor was that all: the patriarch told Neronoff that it was all one; they might even use in officiating the old Slujebniks; and he took no notice though in his own presence in the cathedral of the Assumption itself, in accordance with the instructions of Neronoff, they said the *Alleluia* only twice. But these

concessions were not then intelligible to the majority, who could not distinguish that the question was only one of externals, not about anything essential.' Then, after some pages, in which he gives an account of certain other men, such as Abbakoum protopope of the Youriefi Povolsky, Loggin or Longinus protopope of Mourom, Lazarus, and the monk Kapiton, whose narrow and blind fanaticism fitted them to become the leaders of the schism, and giving extracts from the petition of the Solovetsky recusants of 1658 (which reached Moscow after Nicon's retirement), and observing that they complain of Nicon not only on account of the correction of the books, but also for the *burdens* laid by him on the clergy, his *pride*, and his *tyranny* (and by no means detecting in all this any spirit of malice or falsehood), he continues thus:

'Here they accuse Nicon first for this, that he had not put an end to certain customs burdensome to the clergy, which had been introduced by *his predecessors*, of their covetousness. But their chief, their telling accusation consists in this, that he had destroyed the community previously existing between the chief hierarchs and the clergy subject to them, *especially the poorer*. The patriarch, they said, had surrounded himself with unapproachable grandeur: he loved to stand high, and to *drive broad*.[30] "I do not *wish* to incur *the ban of the œcumenical patriarchs*," said *once*[31] Neronoff to Nicon: "but what honour is it to thee, holy lord, that thou art terrible to every one, and that men say one to another: Do ye know what he is? Is he a wild beast? a lion, or a bear, or a wolf? I marvel. The power of the hossoudar the tsar one now never hears of: but the fear of *thee* is upon all: and thy messengers more than those of the tsar are dreaded by all: no one dares to speak a word with them: they have their lesson by heart, and ever on their lips: Do ye know the patriarch?[32] I know not what habit or calling thou hast taken upon thee."[33] And even about the tsar too there were many people who assured him that "of the *tsar's* authority there is now nothing heard: that the patriarch's messengers are more feared than the tsar's: that the great hossoudar the patriarch is not content even with an equality of power with the great hossoudar the tsar, but aims at overtopping him: he interferes with all manner of matters belonging to the tsar's government, and with the civil courts; he sends minutes of directions to the prikazes from himself; he takes to himself from the prikazes all manner of causes without command from the hossoudar; he wrongs many persons, takes away estates, receives runaway peasants, and others," &c.

'*When* Alexis Michaelovich *finally* gave credence to these insinuations is not clear: very possibly he could not himself fix exactly that for him painful moment, when the last, perhaps trifling drop fell into the cup and

[30] That is, metaphorically, with many horses abreast, and taking up all the road.

[31] *i.e.* when he was standing out against them, Nicon, and the Moscow synod of 1654, and he tells this story of himself among other recusants, so that it is moderate enough; but it is presented by Solovieff as if it might have been a christian and friendly remonstrance *after* Neronoff had submitted to the decision of the œcumenical patriarchs, and had reconciled himself to Nicon.

[32] See above, p. 110, 169, 175; and the *History* of Paisius, p. 25, 81, 86.

[33] 'Very good: perhaps I deserve it all: but what has this to do with your submitting to this synod, or to the decision, when it is obtained, of the œcumenical patriarchs? *Now* you must either submit or be exiled.'

made it run over. Love and enmity steal on imperceptibly till they get possession of the soul: a man thinks that he still loves, or that he is still indifferent, till some trifling circumstance reveals a state of his mind which has been long silently preparing. From his nature and from his former relations with the patriarch the tsar could not bring himself to an open explanation, to a direct settlement of accounts with Nicon: he was *too soft* for that, and preferred *flight*. He began to avoid the patriarch. Nicon perceived this; and he too, from his own nature and from the position to which he was accustomed, could not go to a direct explanation with the tsar, nor *moderate* for the future his *demeanour*. The first effect of the tsar's coldness and withdrawal provoked Nicon, who had been used to the contrary: he thought himself wronged; and would not condescend to seek for explanations, and so by gentle means do away the estrangement at its commencement. Under such influences Nicon also withdrew himself, and so left his enemies full liberty to act, and to incense against him the tsar more and more' (vol. xi. p. 286, 292-294).

INDEXES.

i. *Narrative, concerning themselves.*

The archdeacon Paul of Aleppo is the son of the patriarch Kyr Macarius (whose father Paul and grandfather Christodulus had also been priests). 'I was brought up,' he says, 'in the closest union with my father, from the time that I was weaned by my mother's untimely death: wherever he was, there was I, always inseparable from him. He became (in A.D. 1635) metropolitan of Aleppo; and having sat there twelve years, he was called to Damascus, and appointed by Kyr Euthymius the Sciote, then dying, to be his successor as patriarch of Antioch in the chair of Peter (11th Oct. 1647). After some time, no other resource remaining, he determined to travel in quest of alms; and my brother deacon Gabriel insisted that I should keep a full journal, to be a *treasury of descriptions and entertaining narratives*,' p. 1. 'This, then, is my sole ambition, that among posterity some one may feel towards me a sympathy such as we used to feel towards the late metropolitan Isa (who accompanied the patriarch Hanna on his visit to this country) when we read his verses,' p. 102.

First, they visited Jerusalem (after the patriarch Paisius had returned thither from Moscow and Moldavia, 6th Oct. 1651): they met there Arsenius Souchanoff, and an envoy sent from Vasili bey of Moldavia; and they were cognisant of the fact that Pantaleon Ligarides was not only tonsured (16th Nov.), taking the name Paisius, but also ordained deacon and priest by his patron the patriarch Paisius (see vol. iii. p. 423). On their return they were accompanied by the Moldavian envoy; and both he and Arsenius Souchanoff visited them in the summer of 1652 at Aleppo, whence Souchanoff returned through Georgia to Russia. One motive — perhaps the chief motive — for this visit to the Holy Places would be to obtain letters to those monasteries at Constantinople and elsewhere belonging to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, in which we shall find them afterwards lodged, p. 3, 16, 18, 217.

The patriarch Macarius left Aleppo on the 8th July o.s. 1652, p. 1. From Broussa, 28th Sept. (not, like some, neglecting this canonical custom), he wrote to ask leave of the patriarch Paisius and his synod to visit Constantinople, and they sent him a *συστατικὸν* in the amplest terms, p. 3. At Modanir, 13th Oct., not being welcomed by the metropolitan Clement, he could not celebrate the liturgy, ib. see too p. 373. On entering Constantinople, 20th Oct., he is lodged in the monastery of the Resurrection, belonging to the patriarch of Jerusalem. Hence he sends and asks leave to pay his visit to the patriarch Paisius, and the next day he is waited upon by some of the metropolitans, who conduct him to the patriarchate, &c. p. 3. They pray for the emperor Alexis of Muscovy, for

Vasili bey of Moldavia, and for Matthi bey of Wallachia, with their consorts, p. 4. Having received a *written permission* (συστατικὸν), he celebrates in certain churches at C.P. ib. Before going to the Danubian principalities, he obtains letters to the beys and to the metropolitans from the patriarch of C.P. (and the like, no doubt, he obtained also to the metropolitan of Kieff), p. 9. He is invited by a συστατικὸν from Therapia to return and pass Christmas at C.P. in the patriarchate, p. 10. Again, on the 1st Jan. 1653, he is brought back from Therapia by another συστατικὸν, to join in anathematising synodically an ex-patriarch of C.P., Cyril Koza, p. 10-13. They leave Therapia on the 7th January, after assisting with the patriarch of C.P. at the ceremonies of the Theophany, p. 13.

On the 17th Jan. 1653 they reached Galatz in Moldavia, and on the 25th Jassy (the capital since 1574), p. 16. On the 31st they were received by the bey, who has been on the throne about twenty-three years. He came out to meet the patriarch, and kissed his hand: the patriarch kissed the bey's forehead, and blessed him; and they sat down: the rest made their obeisances to the bey, and kissed both his hands, p. 17. The patriarch presents letters from the patriarch of C.P. Paisius, the ex-patriarch Joannicius, and the patriarch Paisius of Jerusalem; also he presents relics, &c. *purchased* in C.P. p. 18. They see the bey's large stone college, where he prints books in Wallachian, p. 19. They witness the dethronement of Vasili bey by Stephen (previously logothete), aided by Matthi bey of Wallachia, and Ragoza crâl of Transylvania (March 27, 31, April 2 and 4), p. 21-23; his restoration by the help of his Kozak son-in-law Timothy, p. 24; and his final defeat and expulsion on the 6th July, p. 26. The patriarch saves many Greeks from being put to death, p. 27. From July 1653 to Whitsuntide in 1654 the writer suffers from ague, ib. At length the new bey Stephen lets them depart (on the 13th Oct.) for Wallachia, p. 29.

At Tergovist (the winter capital of Wallachia), on the 29th Nov., the metropolitan Ignatius comes out to meet them, p. 29. On the 6th Dec. they concelebrate with Kyr Gabriel primate of Servia (who calls himself a patriarch) and the metropolitan of Wallachia &c.; and are received by Matthi bey, who had been displeased at their going first to his enemy Vasili bey of Moldavia, p. 30.

Again they take part in the usual ceremonies at the Epiphany, 6th Jan. 1654, p. 31. On Easter Sunday, 26th March, the writer has a fit of the ague. On the 9th April Matthi bey dies, having governed twenty-three years; and Constantine, son of Schrâbân, who is elected to succeed him, is consecrated in the church by the metropolitan, p. 35. The patriarch Macarius and the metropolitan administer to all the oath of allegiance to the new bey, p. 26. April 25 the priest Soliman, who had come with them from Damascus, dies of ague, p. 38. On the 22d May they leave Tergovist, p. 39.

Crossing the Dniester on the 10th June to Rashkov, they raise a gilt cross on the top of a spear, according to the practice of the Kozak country and of Muscovy for a patriarch only, p. 40 and 70. Now they pray for the emperor of Moscow (to whom they have in this A.M. 7162 surrendered their territory), and for their own hetman, and for their metropolitan Kyr Silvester, p. 41. They pass towns burned or damaged by the

Poles when they made an inroad in the Holy Week of this present year, p. 47. At Bogouslav, 21st June, the patriarch is visited by the hetman Khmielnitsky (who is encamped outside the town); and he persuades him to write amicably to the new bey of Wallachia, without resenting what his predecessor had done against Vasili bey of Moldavia and Khmielnitsky's son Timothy, p. 49. June 26 they are met by the archimandrite, and conducted to the Pechersky outside Kieff, p. 52. At Kieff they print a set of Συγχωρητικὰ, p. 54. On the 29th, in the liturgy, they name their own patriarch Macarius, while the monks commemorate Paisius patriarch of C.P. and their own archimandrite (their convent being a σταυροπήγιον', ib. They find great faith expressed by all at Kieff, and in Muscovy, in the patriarch of Antioch as the first and special successor of St. Peter, to whom *alone* was given first the power of binding and loosing; and he is the only original '*patriarch*,' the patriarch of C.P. being properly styled only 'Archbishop of New Rome,' &c. p. 56. A Greek priest living at Paris, who has come round by C.P. as envoy from the queen of Sweden, tells them how a certain Protestant 'philosopher' in France refutes the Pope, as separating from his brethren the four Eastern patriarchs, and argues that the patriarch of Antioch has the better claim to glorify himself as the successor of St. Peter; also, how in all the Frank countries much love is felt for the patriarch of Antioch; and after him they respect the patriarch of Alexandria; while they hate the patriarch of C.P. by reason of their national relations, and detest the patriarch of Jerusalem on account of his malignancy towards the Franks who visit Jerusalem, p. 57. July 10 they leave Kieff: at Karabota they are saluted by a messenger from Niketa Al. Ziuzin voivode of Poutivl, p. 61.

At Poutivl we entered on the second stage of our labours: for in Muscovy they make only one meal a day, though it be the longest day in summer: they never go out from mass till near the eighth hour, or half an hour later; and all their churches are entirely without seats. Custom has made them insensible to weariness. Our feeling was one of intense wonder; and we never left the church but tottering on our legs. We indeed had been forewarned by our friends; and we kept up appearances before them in spite of our inward rage and sufferings. Whatever they did, they found in us most careful imitators. . . One must also banish all mirth and laughter and jokes, and renounce the eating of opium: for they set guards over the bishops and the heads of convents here, and at all times they keep a strict watch by looking through the crevices of the doors; . . and whenever they perceive any person guilty of any offence, small or great, they send him away forthwith, with troops of other prisoners, to the land of darkness, to Siberia; . . and for the special crime of smoking tobacco they even put them to death; . . and for this cause we were in great fear on our own account, p. 64. The voivode of Poutivl immediately wrote to the emperor to Smolensk, and to the patriarch, to announce their arrival, p. 65. Now they have to mention in the ἐκτενὴς *first* the patriarch Nicon, *then* the emperor and the empress, &c. ib. They hardly obtain of the voivode to admit seven heads of Wallachian convents who had come in their train: many other poor people are turned back, p. 66. They do not know how to cross themselves after the peculiar manner of the Muscovites, and are laughed at for this, p. 67. They

leave Poutivl on the 24th July, p. 70. After passing Bolchov, they begin to see wagons filled with Polish captives: 'Our hearts were afflicted within us at this melancholy sight. God forgive us!' p. 72. After passing Bielev, July 31, and again later, they meet Greek merchants and others flying from the plague, which had broken out at Moscow, p. 72. From Kalouga they go in a barge by the Oka and the Moskva to Kolomna, Aug. 17, to remain there till the plague should cease, p. 73. They are lodged in the palace of the bishop, who has recently been banished by the emperor and the patriarch, p. 75. They see the treasures of the bishopric, which are all in the hands of the emperor, ib.; and the prison attached to the episcopal court, with prisoners from the people belonging to the bishop or to the monasteries, over whom the voivode has no jurisdiction, p. 76. Also they see the deputies or commissioners of the emperor, appointed by him as inspectors over all the funds and income of the bishops and monasteries, p. 77. By Sept. 1 (opening A.M. 7136) the plague had spread also to Kolomna, and it continued till Christmas; and during all this time they were shut up, p. 80, 82. After describing the manners of the Muscovites, the writer subjoins: 'God is our witness that we walked among them after the manner of the canonised saints, and observing the purest morality of the Gospel by the necessity of our situation, *not by choice*,' p. 86.

At the Theophany, 6th Jan. 1655, the patriarch Macarius blessed the water on the eve, as usual; and on the morning he went in procession through the city of Kolomna, and blessed the Moskva, before celebrating the liturgy. While at Kolomna he was visited by Kyr Misael archbishop of Riazan, who has recently baptised 4100 pagans, p. 89. Jan. 14 he is invited by the emperor to come to Moscow; on the 27th he enters Moscow, and is lodged in the Kremlin, in the podvorie of the convent of St. Cyril at Bielo-ozersk, p. 91. They saw now only the interpreters, who were employed in instructing them in all the ceremonies to be observed; *e.g.* they were told that the patriarch must on no account be seen without his mandya, p. 92. Feb. 10 they see the entrance of the emperor from a room in their convent, p. 93. Feb. 12 the patriarch Macarius is received by the emperor, who advanced to meet him bowing to the ground; the patriarch blesses him after the Muscovite fashion, on the forehead, breast, and shoulders, and kisses him on the shoulder; and the emperor then kisses the patriarch's forehead and right hand, &c. Then the emperor desired him to be seated, and sat also himself, all the grandees standing, and one of the grandees supporting the emperor's right hand; the president of the Pololsky prikaz 'invited us to kneel down and kiss it;' and after entering the circle one by one and doing this, they each retired backwards, bowing twice, even to the last of their servants, p. 97. At parting, the patriarch, having risen and blessed the emperor a second time, was taken by him by the arm and conducted near to the door, p. 98. They visit immediately afterwards the patriarch Nicon, 'patriarch of all Great *and Little* Russia,' p. 99; and banquet with the emperor, p. 100. [The archdeacon wrote this account from his notes taken at the time, a full year afterwards, p. 102.] The patriarch of Antioch, as successor of St. Peter, presents Nicon with a crosier, p. 103. [*Afterwards*, in Dec. 1666, for the sake of the tsar's alms, the same patriarch joined in wresting

Nicon's own crosier, and the cross too, out of his hands. Comp. p. 290; and vol. iii. p. 89, 103, 374, 395, 434, 436, 437, 442, 449, 455, 185, 282.] His daily allowance is raised from twenty-five to a hundred kopecks (that of the patriarch of Jerusalem was only fifteen kopecks), p. 104. After writing that on the Sunday of the Carnival Nicon, 'not content with the long service, read the homily for the Second Advent, and preached upon it to the standing and silent assembly, till our spirits were broken within us,' he ejaculates, 'God preserve and save us!' p. 107. Tuesday, Feb. 21 (instead of March 1), the patriarch Macarius concelebrates with Nicon for the name's-day of the tsarevna Eudocia, p. 108. Feb. 22 he concelebrates again in commemoration of the deceased metropolitans and patriarchs of Moscow, and dines afterwards with Nicon, p. 108-120: he teaches Nicon not to give ἄδεια by blessing with the cross, nor within the sanctuary, but sitting outside, p. 113. They see an envoy sent from Charles II. of England, from the Hague, p. 131. Feb. 25, Sunday of the Cheese-week, the patriarch Macarius concelebrates with Nicon and with the metropolitans of Novgorod and Rostoff, of whom the former wears a sakkos (they sing the τρισάγιον in Greek, Nicon's anagnosts joining), p. 139-141. March 4, the Sunday of Orthodoxy, the patriarch Macarius concelebrates again with Nicon and with five other Russian bishops, besides the primate of Servia; being called upon by Nicon, he gives his testimony against icons of foreign fashion, and anathematises such as persist in painting or keeping them: also he gives testimony respecting the right way of making the sign of the cross, p. 151. They are much disconcerted at learning that the emperor will soon leave Moscow, and curse Stephen bey of Moldavia and Radzivil as the causes of their detentions and disappointments, p. 153. March 9, the patriarch Macarius, together with Nicon, makes a commemoration for the emperor's mother in the convent of the Ascension, p. 154. March 11, the second Sunday in Lent, when he again concelebrated, after he had blessed the emperor for the war with the cross, and prayed God to give him victory, the emperor answered 'Amen,' and kissed his hand; and he kissed the emperor's head. He now, in the church, received from the emperor a present of a new sakkos, which he at once put on. After they had unrobed, he asked the emperor to give him his dismissal; but in vain; he only commended him to Nicon as his deputy. Somewhat later they returned to the church, again blessed the emperor for the war, and went in procession with him to the stone oratory outside the Kremlin, where he mounted his sledge and departed, p. 154-158. They are witnesses of the severe and strict execution of justice, p. 165. They are witnesses of the manner in which the patriarch Nicon, as the emperor's deputy in his absence, receives daily the grandees, and transacts business with them, ib. They are much inconvenienced by the fast food of the Muscovites, p. 173. Sat. March 31, the patriarch Macarius celebrates the liturgy for the widowed queen Helena of Georgia; and at the same time reconciles for Nicon six priests from Lithuania, Uniats, without either rebaptising or reordaining them, p. 173-177; and again four others, p. 206. He had admonished Nicon of various defects in their religious customs, and in this fifth week of Lent Nicon held a synod to make the necessary corrections, of which seven points are mentioned, especially that of rebaptising the Poles and other Latins, p. 174. The patriarch

Macarius declines to ride on the ass or horse on Palm Sunday, when requested to do so by Nicon, wishing to be only a spectator of this strange ceremony, p. 179. They dine afterwards with Nicon, as the emperor too would have done had he been present, p. 182. On Holy Thursday the patriarch Macarius officiates with Nicon, blessing the Εὐχέλαιον at the third hour of the day: he teaches Nicon to take off all the coverings of the holy table, and to wash the table itself; and after the liturgy, in the Lavanda, he represents St. Peter, p. 186. 'We did not leave the church till after the clock chimed for the eleventh hour, and were cursing our very souls from fatigue. God grant us his special aid to get to the end of this week! As for the Muscovites, their feet must surely be of iron,' p. 186. On Good Friday, at the washing of the relics (brought in procession from the church of the Annunciation to the cathedral), they see and kiss the holy tunic of Christ, p. 188. On Easter Sunday, April 15, the patriarch Macarius, in concelebrating, wears a sakkos from C.P. with the creed worked on it in pearls, brought to Moscow by a former metropolitan Photius; and he teaches Nicon to distribute the antidoron, p. 196. They dine with Nicon afterwards, p. 197. The ice breaking up on this day, they see the water of the Moskva, p. 198. They make a friendship with two Soubashis, brothers, of Turkish origin, and now kniazes, baptised by the late Theophanes patriarch of Jerusalem in Moldavia, and recommended by him to the tsar Michael: 'Except these, no single person related to us anything of the secrets of the empire, neither of the Muscovites nor of the interpreters,' p. 203. April 20 the patriarch Macarius concelebrates in commemoration of the metropolitan St. Jonah, with Nicon, and dines with him afterwards, p. 203. May 5 (commemoration of St. Irene), he ordains a priest and a deacon on letters dismissory from Nicon, p. 205. May 9, the writer notices that the translation of St. Nicholas from Myra to Bari *in Germany* is commemorated only in the books of the Muscovites and the Kozaks, p. 206. On Ascension-day, May 24, the patriarch Macarius concelebrates in the convent of the Ascension, p. 206. At Whitsunday, June 3, the writer relates how Nicon then consecrated a new bishop to the see of Kolomna in place of the banished bishop Paul, *who was still living*, and he does not blame this act, nor represent the patriarch Macarius as dissuading it, though Nicon was continually asking him to point out anything which was wrong, and though afterwards he volunteered to dissuade him from blessing the water only once at the Epiphany in 1656, p. 207. On the Sunday of All Saints, June 10, at Troitsa, they receive much attention from the kellar Arsenius Souchanoff, who reminds them of their own attentions to him at Aleppo in the summer of 1652, p. 218. Here the patriarch Macarius receives a petition from three deacons, who, having remarried, were imprisoned by order of Nicon; and afterwards he obtains their liberation, p. 219. Sat. June 16, he concelebrates in the church of the Archangel in commemoration of the tsar Ivan and his two sons, ib.; and again, June 23, he concelebrates, after the procession, for the translation of our Lady of Vladimir to Moscow; and again, June 25, in the cathedral, to commemorate those who had been slain in 1651 at Smolensk, p. 222; again, June 30, in the church of the Archangel, to commemorate the prince Basil Ivanovich; again, July 6, in the cathedral, in commemoration of the late patriarch

Joseph, dining afterwards with Nicon, p. 223; again, July 12, in the church of the Archangel, in commemoration of the late tsar Michael, p. 224. They now see numbers of Polish prisoners begin to arrive in wagons, loaded with irons; and they are astonished at the religiousness and faith with which the Muscovites celebrate their victories, not by noise of guns and drums, fifes, &c., but by bells and παρακλήσεις, p. 225. July 19, the patriarch of Antioch again concelebrated in the church of the Archangel in commemoration of the late tsar Michael; and afterwards, as they were coming down from the imperial banqueting-hall, the writer was frightened by Nicon, who, perceiving him to be curious about the chiefs of the Dog-faced tribe, took him by the hand and called the savages as if to eat him, that he might have his laugh and jest with him, while he meantime was quaking with fear, p. 227. July 27-28, they were taken by Nicon to officiate with him at the Novodivichy, and at the empress' Sabbin convent of three hundred nuns brought from Lithuania; and thence to dine at a villa belonging to Nicon, seven versts out from the city, p. 229. Aug. 1, the patriarch Macarius, together with Nicon, goes in procession to bless the Moskva, and concelebrates in the cathedral, p. 231. They see the icon of our Lady of the Iberians copied for Nicon from the Portáïssa icon of the Iviron convent on Mount Athos, and given by him to his new Iversky convent in the Valdai lake, p. 233. The patriarch Macarius is invited by Nicon to visit that convent, and to consecrate its new church, and after that to go on and visit Novgorod, p. 234. Aug. 4, he sets out, in company with the archbishop of Servia: 'All the clergy and the poor of this country come regularly to ask alms of us, to our great vexation, who came hither to ask of them; and they come to ask of us!' p. 236. Aug. 14, they reach the Iversky convent: they find in it seventy monks from Lithuania; and seeing the refectory tapestried with ecclesiastical vestments taken from Polish and Armenian churches, and sent by the tsar to Nicon, they covet some of them; but the patriarch dare not ask, lest he should lower himself in their eyes. 'May it please God, however,' the writer adds, 'to let them be angry with us, provided only he enrich us by their means,' p. 237. Aug. 19, the patriarch consecrates the new church, and leaves, having already received an invitation from the metropolitan of Novgorod. Aug. 20, he is overtaken by a courier with letters from the emperor and from Nicon announcing the capture of Vilna on the 31st July, p. 240. Aug. 23, at the Yourieff monastery, near Novgorod, they are met by the metropolitan and the voivode, who conduct them to St. Sophia's for the liturgy: they are lodged in handsome apartments built by Nicon, p. 243. They visit the chief convents, &c. viz. those of St. Antony the Roman, the Assumption, Hodigitria, St. Nicholas (dining with the metropolitan at a country-house built by Nicon), St. Barlaam (called the Khoutinsk), the Resurrection, and the church of the icon of Our Lady named Πλατυτέρα or Znamenskaia, p. 245-250. Of the Khoutinsk monastery he writes that it has above a hundred monks, 'mostly men of superior worth and holiness: we saw on several girdles of iron chain, which they had worn on their bodies forty years;[1] their shirts and their other body garments they never

[1] Nicon wore such a chain - of enormous weight—still to be seen hanging up over his tomb at Voskresensk.

change till they are entirely worn out upon them; they never wash them at all; and the odour and unction of devotion and sanctity are manifest on their persons. Yet, wonder of wonders! for all this, their smell was to us as the smell of musk. O, their sleekness, blessedness, and felicity! God set our portion with them! We thank Almighty God that he vouchsafed us, in our time, a sight of these saints!' p. 249. They take part in the ceremonies of the new year 7164 (Sept. 1, 1655), p. 251-253. Sept. 3, they leave. Sept. 8, stop again at the Iversky; are received by Nicon, who had come out twenty versts to meet them, at a country-house of his; and Sept. 20 reënter Moscow, p. 255. Oct. 7, they assist in the church of the Archangel at the commemoration of the tsarevich Dmitri, who died an infant *eight years ago* [so this is not written in 1655], p. 255. They had already seen at Novgorod the ambassadors from the king of Sweden and the emperor of Germany, who now, Oct. 14, enter Moscow. They see five, six, seven, or eight children of Polish captives sold for a dollar: even the interested spectators were moved to tears, p. 256. From Oct. 14 to Dec. 6 the writer seems to have kept no journal, p. 257. Dec. 6, the patriarch Macarius celebrates with Nicon, who gives a banquet (instead of the emperor), and tells them that the unseasonable continuance of open weather has detained the tsar at Smolensk, p. 257. From Feb. preceding they had often been invited by Nicon to go with him to watch the founding of the great new bell, weighing 12,500 poods, which is now sounded to announce the approach of the tsar (p. 258-260), who makes his triumphal entry on the 10th Dec., the two patriarchs going in procession to the earthen rampart to meet him, p. 260-264. Dec. 16, the patriarch Macarius concelebrates in the cathedral in presence of the emperor and the empress, p. 266. Dec. 22 (instead of 21), for the festival of the metropolitan St. Peter, the patriarch Macarius concelebrates with Nicon, and dines with him afterwards (as does also the tsar) at the banquet which he gives on the opening of his new patriarchal palace. Now again he asks to be dismissed, but in vain: also, at Nicon's suggestion, he asks the tsar to bid Nicon wear a new silk latia made in the Greek fashion, p. 270-276. Dec. 25, he concelebrates again in presence of the emperor and empress, and is present at the emperor's banquet, p. 277.

Again the patriarch Macarius concelebrates on the 5th and 6th of Jan. 1656, when Nicon blesses the water only once, viz. on the eve before the festival, though the patriarch Macarius had dissuaded him from doing thus, p. 279-282, 315. Jan. 19, he arrives at the emperor's Sabbin convent, forty versts from Moscow, too late for the liturgy: he is received there by the emperor, who pays attention also to the archdeacon Paul, and asks him to bid the ἐκτενής and to read the Gospel in Russian. 'Sweating like a stone I could only reply, "Your majesty's pleasure is my law."' The patriarch officiates in the matins, and celebrates the liturgy. The archdeacon Paul, when about to incense the emperor before Christ, and again when about to give him the gospel to kiss before giving it to the patriarch, is set right by the emperor. The patriarch is taken by the emperor to pray over the sick monks in their infirmary, where he kisses them, &c., 'while we were only thinking how to escape from the place and from its dreadful putrid smells,' p. 282-293. Jan. 21, they return to Moscow, p. 291. The patriarch Macarius receives from Nicon a present of a

green mandya of European cloth, p. 295. Feb. 2, the patriarch Macarius concelebrates in an old church of the Presentation at the top of the palace-yard, and is a guest at the emperor's banquet, as he is also Feb. 3 (the name's-day of the tsarevna Anna, born on this day in 1654), p. 296. The writer is sent for by the emperor to translate a Persian letter. 'They all treated me now with great familiarity, particularly the patriarch Nicon, who was constantly asking me to remain with him,' p. 298. Feb. 10 (Sunday of the Carnival), the patriarch Macarius concelebrated before the emperor with Nicon, and dined with him in his new krestovaia hall. This day, after Nicon had read the homily and had preached, they saw a nun come forward and inform the emperor and the patriarch how she had been healed the night before by an apparition of the metropolitan St. Philip; whereupon the emperor shed tears, and Nicon again addressed the people concerning this miracle, p. 301. Feb. 11, they go to the Novospass, and see its great church, which was built by Nicon. There too they saw the tombs of six ancestors of the emperor, p. 301. Feb. 12, commemoration of the metropolitan Alexis and name's-day of the tsarevich Alexis, as well as commemoration of St. Meletius of Antioch, the patriarch Macarius concelebrates in the Choudoff in the presence of the emperor; and, being called upon by Nicon, explains a passage in the *Life of St. Meletius* about the sign of the cross, p. 302; and Appendix iii. p. 424. At the emperor's banquet, when his health was being drank, and the archdeacon Paul advanced to kiss his hand, he smiled at him, and said, Ὁ ἅγιος ἀρχιδιάκονος,—veliki cheloviek!' *i.e.* 'The holy archdeacon is a great man!' p. 304. Feb. 13, they visit the Simonoff; and Feb. 14 the Choudoff. Feb. 15 (Sunday of the Cheese-week), the patriarch Macarius goes with Nicon to the palace to pray over the emperor and his family (and all ask forgiveness before Lent); and then he celebrates, by command of the emperor and the patriarch, in the convent of the Ascension, p. 304. Feb. 22, he celebrates at the Novodichy (or in the empress' Sabbin convent?) for the Lithuanian nuns there, p. 305. Feb. 24 (first Sunday in Lent), concelebration, &c. as in 1655. March 1, he is a guest at the emperor's banquet for the name's-day of the tsarevna Eudocia, p. 307. March 5, he has his audience of leave, and receives a gift of fifty soroks of sables, worth 3000 dinars; he also presents four petitions, which he held ready in his hand, for the price of four chandeliers (πολυέλαια), amounting to 420 dinars, for some icons, for a quantity of walrus ivory and talc, and for some ermine (the metropolitans of Servia and Nice received only four soroks of sables and 400 dinars each). The archdeacon Paul too presented petitions for a horse, and for a sticharion: all which were granted. They obtain places for a number of poor Greeks. The minister (*i.e.* the president of the Posolsky prikaz) repeats to them the last words spoken by the emperor at parting with them: 'Truly this patriarch is a holy man; one sees it in his countenance:' and, 'God grant that I may see him before I die officiating in St. Sophia with the other three patriarchs, and with our patriarch Nicon assisting them!' All responded, 'God grant it!' p. 312. They now wrote a memorial for sixty podvods, though twenty would have sufficed for themselves, had there not been so many poor persons in their train, p. 312. They all received in addition the same presents for the last kissing of hands as at the first

(see p. 104). March 23, they took leave of Nicon, and left Moscow, the weather already threatening a thaw, which overtook them at Kalouga, and so scarcely reaching Bolchov on Holy Thursday, they stayed there for Easter.

On Easter Tuesday, Apr. 8, they are recalled by a letter of the emperor dated on Good Friday, to Moscow, to assist at a synod, and for other secret and necessary business of Church and State, divers weighty matters *having occurred soon after they had left Moscow*, p. 315. They ask Greek merchants whom they meet on the road why they are recalled, but only hear that on Good Friday the emperor had had [some conversation] in the church with the patriarch; but no one knew what it was about, p. 315. Apr. 17 they reënter Moscow, and the next day are at the emperor's banquet, p. 316. They are told that just before Easter there had come (and intimation of his coming would precede him) the metropolitan of Moldavia Stephen, as if to the patriarch Nicon (but he was secretly charged to tender to the tsar the allegiance of the bey and of the whole country of Moldavia): also that on Holy Saturday there had come an envoy from the Poles begging the emperor to pardon them, and offering him all that he should require of them, (*i.e.* the succession to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania), p. 318: also that on the morning of Easter Sunday the emperor had called forward in the cathedral the Greeks then at Moscow, and, asking them whether they wished him to deliver them, had desired them on their return to engage their bishops and monks to pray for the success of his arms; and then, shedding tears, and turning to his grandees, he had said, 'I have resolved that, please God, I will expend my troops, my treasures, and my own blood, to the last drop, in the endeavour to deliver them.' They answered: 'May the Lord grant it to you, according to your heart's desire!' p. 317. The representations of the patriarchs Macarius in favour of the bey Stephen of Moldavia and his envoy are satisfactory to the emperor, who before was angry and suspicious, and was not satisfied with a letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem, but declared that the mission was all treachery and deceit; so he accepted the allegiance offered, but gave them an immunity from all tribute &c. for ten years (that there might be no premature breach with Turkey), p. 318. May 4, the patriarch Macarius concelebrates in presence of the emperor, and assists at the consecration of an archbishop of Astrachan, Kyr Joseph, who then makes his profession of canonical obedience to the patriarch Nicon; afterwards they banquet with the emperor, p. 319. May 6, they go in procession to the stone oratory to take leave of the icon of our lady of Blacherne and of the cross of Constantine, to be taken in advance of the emperor by Joseph metropolitan of Kroutitz to the war, p. 321. On Sunday, May 11, after the liturgy in the cathedral, the patriarch Macarius assists at a synod held by Nicon in the patriarchal palace (*all* the Russian bishops having been summoned to attend it) to discuss once more and definitively condemn and prohibit the custom of rebaptising the Poles and other Latins of the same communion (for the English, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and the Socinians were still to be baptised). The patriarch Macarius wrote out from a book from Mount Athos a section treating of this matter (viz. the act of the synod of C. P. of 1484 and the form prescribed by it), and subscribed it; and after a long and an angry discussion with the Muscovite bishops

he compelled them, by the testimony of their own books of Church law, reluctantly to submit to the truth. Then he delivered his tome, signed with his name, to the patriarch of Moscow, from whom it passed into the hands of the emperor. Afterwards it was translated and printed, and an imperial decree was issued in conformity with it, to prohibit the custom of rebaptising. Thus the business of the synod was concluded, p. 322. [Rather of that session of it which was attended by the patriarch of Antioch; for this synod did other business; especially it examined and approved the book entitled the *Skrijal*, and ordered it to be printed, see Appendix ii. p. 416.] Never since our return to Moscow had we been able to learn why the emperor had brought us back; . . . now at length we discovered the motive, which was for three purposes: 1. to discuss the question of the baptism of the Poles [an obstacle *in limine* to the proposal that the tsar should be elected to succeed to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania]; 2. to *give testimony concerning the metropolitan of Moldavia;* and 3. to assist in condemning a new heresy, p. 322. On Ascension-day, May 15, after concelebrating in the convent of the Ascension before the emperor, they see from Nicon's apartments the preparations for his departure, and a little later go in procession to the stone oratory, where, after being blessed and prayed over for the last time, he mounted his horse and rode away for Smolensk and for the Swedish war: the next day they are taken by Nicon to his villa, seven versts out, to meet the emperor, his road lying that way, p. 324. Sunday, May 18, after concelebrating in the cathedral the patriarch of Antioch joins in anathematising a priest formerly protopope to the emperor, the same that Nicon had banished on his first being made patriarch: the cause was his having founded a new heresy, and having rebelled against the four patriarchs, saying that they were fallen from their dignity in consequence of the dominion of the Turks over them: he had escaped from the place of his exile, and was now living concealed in Moscow, p. 325. May 25, Pentecost (when the patriarch of Antioch again concelebrated), they observed that Nicon recited the solemn prayers at which all kneel with a low voice of humility and contrition, shedding tears, p. 325. The patriarch Macarius, May 26-27, consecrates for Nicon a new church in the podvorie of his Iversky convent, and writes out (translating it into Arabic from a book brought from mount Athos) the form of consecration, p. 326. At the banquet he is made by Nicon to sit in Nicon's own place, p. 327. May 28, they take leave of Nicon, and start from Moscow on the 29th, p. 328. At Poutivil, June 12-16, 'we were joyously welcomed by *our friend* the voivode,' Nic. Alex. Ziuzin, p. 328.

'In Muscovy during these two years a padlock had been set on our hearts; the Kozaks, on the contrary, were to us boon companions, and fellows like ourselves,' p. 329. June 28 they reached Kieff, and on the 29th assisted at the liturgy in the church of St. Sophia, and dined with the metropolitan: in his apartments they saw full-length portraits of four patriarchs, viz. Joachim of Antioch, painted (by the date) 72 years ago (in 1584), Meletius of Alexandria, Jeremiah of C. P. (with a handsome face and beard), and Theophanes of Jerusalem. Sunday, July 18, at the Pechersky they assisted at mass in the presence of the voivode; and on the 14th, taking leave, recrossed the Dnieper in a boat to go to Khmielnitsky to Chigirin, p. 329-331. The secretary Vigovsky and the young

son of the hetman, with the clergy, come out to meet them and conduct them to their church. Sunday, July 27, the patriarch celebrates with an Orthodox bishop lately come as envoy from the Poles, and they dine with the hetman, p. 332. Aug. 2, at Sobota they see the widow of the hetman's son Timothy, daughter of Vasili late bey of Moldavia, p. 332. Aug. 12, near Ouman the patriarch blessed the Kozaks in their encampment forming against an expected attack of the Tatars: on the 18th they crossed the Dniester from Rashkov; and on the 21st were in the convent of St. Saba at Jassy, p. 333.

Sept. 8 (in A.M. 7165) they are treated with great liberality by the bey Stephen (in return perhaps for the service recently rendered him at Moscow): 'And now, we once more entered the bath, after twenty-seven months, during the whole of which time we had neither entered a bath, nor washed ourselves with water, p. 334. Oct. 21 (having taken leave of the bey of Moldavia on the 16th) they are met by the metropolitan of Wallachia and other bishops and archons, and conducted into Tergovist, where on Sunday the 26th they are entertained by the bey Constantine.

Jan. 6, 1657, the patriarch blesses the water overnight, and the river also (which is at some distance) in the morning, after the liturgy. In the Cheese-week (Feb. 2-8) he has a secret conversation with the bey [probably respecting the consequences to be expected from the recent negotiation of the bey of Moldavia at Moscow], p. 337. March 12 died Bélesa Domina, the wife of Constantine bey: on Palm Sunday, March 22, the patriarch blessed the palms, and celebrated the liturgy before the bey, p. 337. After the murder of Parthenius III. patriarch of C. P. by the vizir on the 25th March 1657, the bey, fearing for our safety, would not let us go; but he allowed us to go about and visit the convents: this they did from June 18 to Sept. 20, p. 341-352.

At Tergovist, and at the Kozia convent, they were in company with Paisius Ligarides, the philosopher, the learned man from Rome, who between July 1652 and 1656 had gone from Jerusalem to Aleppo, and had preached in the church there, 'as he told us *afterwards*:' he wrote a title-page to a copy made for them from St. Nicetas' Catena on the Psalms; and they obtained from him (but only by first making him presents) permission to take a copy of a book of modern '*Prophecies*' which they saw in his possession. *Afterwards* (*i. e.* after Oct. 1658, when they left Galatz) he wrote to them to Syria to have another copy written out for him from theirs; as he, having followed the deposed beys Stephen and Constantine into Transylvania, had been robbed there of all he had, and amongst other things, also of this book, p. 343. Nov. 8, the patriarch married Constantine bey to a Circassian slave named Nadala, p. 352.

Jan. 5, 1658, the news came from C.P. that the bey was deposed: this had been purposed by the vizir from the year before, when the patriarch of Antioch and his son had witnessed the sending off of the tribute in nine covered wagons. Orders too were sent into Transylvania to the grandees and to the Saxons of Siebenburgen to depose their crâl Ragoza, and to elect another: and some show of resistance being made, the Turks and Tatars came in and (having deposed also Stephen bey of Moldavia) desolated both the principalities and Transylvania, p. 352. Early in February they retire from Tergovist to Kimpolung; and thence (Feb.

21) to Corbi Pietra, and (Feb. 23) to Gharâdâs: Bucharest and Tergovist are burned. Feb. 23, the pasha of Silistria brings the new bey Michael to Tergovist; but as it is quite ruined, he goes to Bucharest: and there also only the churches and cellars remain, p. 356. March 8 they return to Kimpolung: 'Thank God that we were not inveigled to go with Constantine's Domina into Transylvania: for sorely did they repent [*e.g.* Paisius Ligarides] who did not leave their property in Wallachia.'... Again I rode with a number of others into Tergovist, where we saw the bodies of the slain still lying strewed about the streets: no place to sleep in could we find except the cellar of the convent and other cellars: the patriarch now wrote to congratulate the new bey, who answered most graciously, but bade him stay where he was till he should be rid of the Turks, p. 360. The new bey, we were told, had resided 25 years in the Sultan's seraglio, yet remaining firm in his creed: on Palm Sunday he imitated at Bucharest for the first time what is done on that day by the emperors of Muscovy, ib. Apr. 29 we arrived at Bucharest at the convent of St. Saba; and May 5 we were received by the bey, who, that he might more easily converse on ecclesiastical matters with the patriarch, removed us to his own convent, lodging him in the very centre of the convent church. May 20 (the Ascension) and 23 he celebrated the liturgy before the bey, the last time in presence also of an Orthodox envoy from the king of Poland on his way to Adrianople. May 30 (Pentecost) the patriarch crowned the bey according to the form in the great Euchologion, p. 361. The bey has now been ordered by the vizir to get ready to cooperate with the Turks and the Tatars against the Majars. June 29 he received the Holy Mysteries before marching, p. 363. The people now again fled to the mountains or to the islands in the lakes; and we determined to send all our heavy goods and some of our company by sea from Galatz to Sinope. July 9, the bey left; and July 13 I left for Galatz and reached it in seven days, shipped off our goods and companions, and returned safe, July 31, without meeting the Tatars, nor seeing any living soul, not even a dog, or any other animal, from Galatz to Bucharest: we stumbled upon some dead bodies in our path, and the whole world was a blank, p. 365. Then I went on horseback to Tergovist, and saw the bey at the camp at Ployeshti; and that day I saw the coming up of the Tatar khan, accompanied by Chapka, the new bey of Moldavia, and by a force of the Kozaks, who came out of spite against the Majars, p. 365. The bey gave me letters to all the places where money was due to us. Again, Sept. 1, I returned to Piteshti, and removed the patriarch (who all this time had been staying there) to Bucharest, then went again to Tergovist, and returned to Bucharest, having been riding about nearly two months. Sept. 9 we left for Galatz; and on the 17th alighted there at the convent of St. Demetrius, whence I went to Jassy and returned. Meantime the bey Michael, to regain the confidence of the Turks, had betrayed one of the passes into Transylvania, which was overrun by the Tatars; we saw the fires on the mountains, and knew what they meant: and at this time the vizir Kupriuli set up a new crâl over Transylvania, where he meant to winter; but he was suddenly recalled by the dangerous rebellion of Abbas Hassan Pasha, whereupon the Tatars also, the two beys and the Kozaks, left Transylvania. After a stay of 22 days, we left Galatz Oct.

13 for Sinope, and arrived there Nov. 18, p. 371. Nov. 25 the patriarch Macarius blessed the Εὐχέλαιον for a pilgrim about to start for Jerusalem, by whom we sent letters to Syria, p. 371.

At Sinope, Jan. 6, 1659, the patriarch Macarius officiated together with the metropolitan, and going in procession after the matins to the sea-shore blessed the water of the sea, &c. p. 372. Jan. 29 they went in a caique in nine days from Sinope to Œnoos. March 8, from Tocat, the ancient Cucusus, they visited the tomb of St. John Chrysostom, and burned many tapers there [and a few years later, for the sake of the tsar's alms, they assisted in deposing and exiling Nicon, at whose suggestion the tsar earlier in his reign had written a letter of reparation to the metropolitan St. Philip, as if still living, in imitation of that written from C.P. to St. John Chrysostom after his death, to invite him to return from Cucusus]. The patriarch Macarius, being a corpulent man, was all the more unfit for rough travelling, p. 376. Apr. 2 (Holy Saturday), they descended into the valley of Zeitoun, p. 376.

Apr. 7, I arrived alone (in advance of the patriarch) at Keliz, and wrote letters to Aleppo and Damascus, &c.; and desired my sons Ananias and Constantine to come to me from Aleppo, as we thought then to go first to Damascus: but we were obliged to go to Aleppo, and arrived there on the 21st Apr.; the metropolitan Metrophanes, that ravening wolf and drunkard, who was then sick, died afterwards on the 13th Sept., and all rejoiced, p. 377, 380. Our messenger now returned from Damascus with letters requesting the patriarch to hasten his coming, and complaining of the metropolitan of Emessa Athanasius, a second Judas, who, being invited only to live with them as deputy, had gone and celebrated in the patriarchal see, occupying the patriarch's throne, wearing the sakkos, ordaining, and standing at the cathedra, all without the permission of the owner of the see, thus ungratefully proving treacherous to his lord and master who had ordained him priest, and consecrated him metropolitan. [But afterwards, in Dec. 1666, the patriarch Macarius concelebrated at Moscow with Pitirim and Paul, who had done since the spring of 1659 all these same things for which, when done against himself, he deposed and anathematised this metropolitan of Emessa;] and as the metropolitan of Aleppo was enslaved by drunkenness, so was this man by avarice, p. 378. The patriarch, holding a meeting, deposed all the economes or wardens of the church at Aleppo, and substituted others: everything belonging to the church was in pledge to its creditors, and the debt remaining due amounted to 7000 piastres. At Emessa the wicked metropolitan, that second Arius, came out to meet us, having got away cunningly from Sidenaia: we smiled upon him, so as to alarm no suspicions, and took him with us to Damascus, which we entered on the 1st July. They now expended in various ways above 80,000 piastres, p. 380. Sunday Aug. 28 the patriarch held a synod of *seven* bishops against the metropolitan of Emessa, and in conformity with the canons, by authority of God *and of the sultan*, for his many crimes proved against him *to his face*, deposed and degraded or suspended him from all priestly functions until he should repent and make restitution; and in case of his being contumacious excommunicated him also, and anathematised him. After this he fled to Aleppo, and died there excommunicate 20th Nov. 1660, p. 383. From

Sept. 1 (opening A.M. 7168), when the patriarch went on a visit to Sidonaia, I stayed in his place at Damascus: Nov. 15 I went to Aleppo, and remained there till March 10 in 1660; and then passed back to Damascus to my father, in company with the pilgrims for Jerusalem, p. 381.

In 1660, on Holy Thursday, Apr. 19, the patriarch blessed new chrism, p. 381. Verses by a priest of Damascus, Ibn Oddeh, recapitulating the history of the patriarch Macarius and his son, and naming the two sons of the latter Ananias and Constantine, the elder of the two being now a 'deacon.' [This, however, need not be taken to mean that he was then a *full* deacon.] p. 382. Nov. 20, the deposed metropolitan of Emessa died excommunicate at Aleppo, p. 383.

Apr. 15, in 1661, the patriarch consecrated as metropolitan for Hemah Kyr Neophytus the Sciote, formerly archdeacon to his fellow-countryman the late patriarch of Antioch Euthymius; and May 7 he entered Aleppo, p. 385. The archdeacon Paul, July 4, left Damascus (where, in conjunction with Kyr Nicholas metropolitan of Acre, he had been vicar for his father for the space of a year); he left four days after the pasha Ahmed, son of Kupriuli, had left to go to his father, then dying, at Adrianople, and to succeed him as grand vizir, and he rejoined his father the patriarch Macarius at Aleppo 15th July 1661, p. 387.

Besides many other indications in different places of dates later by a greater or less interval than those of the original journal, there are specially to be noticed the following:

1. At p. 343 there is mention of a letter written to them to Syria by Paisius Ligarides, probably not many months after they had left Galatz for Sinope (they left Oct. 13 in 1658), and mention of certain intentions of their own, for the execution of which they would need leisure and tranquillity in Syria. So this passage seems to have been written after Easter 1661 (till which time they had had certainly neither leisure nor tranquillity); but before 1665, when they were again wanderers, seeking alms, first in Georgia and afterwards, till July 1668, in Muscovy.

2. At p. 133, the archdeacon Paul writes, '*When we were afterwards in Georgia*:' but this was in 1665; and they went from Georgia to Moscow. So these words cannot have been written till they were again in Syria after their second return from Moscow, that is, not earlier than 1670.

3. At p. 123, after his account of the Siberian furs, &c., he writes: 'Know, brother, that the relation which I have given is beyond all doubt: for *when I returned to Moscow a second time* from the country of the Georgians *in company with the patriarch of Misr and my father*' (that is, when they came to Moscow in the autumn of 1666 to depose the patriarch Nicon, and stayed till July 1668), 'I examined and confirmed all these accounts to their foundation' (so indorsing after 1670 all that we now find written in his book from his earlier notes taken during their first travels).

4. At p. 168, he adds to Nicon's other qualities those of 'rapacity' and 'violence,' saying that '*whenever* any archon dies' [without an heir], 'he goes to the emperor and obtains from him a part of his peasants and farms: thus he has been acting *of late*; having prevailed on the emperor to issue a chrysóbullon that *whenever* any archon dies without an heir, the patriarch shall enter on the succession. In like manner *he has forbidden* any duties to be paid to the emperor on his merchandise (but see p. 88,

where this exemption from duties is mentioned as the common privilege of all the priests and deacons) : he has taken the half of the revenue of Troitsa, accruing from its third part of the duty on sales of horses : the revenue of Troitsa used to equal one third' [elsewhere he writes 'was as one to two'] of the emperor's income; but this patriarch has *by force* taken one half of it [that should be six millions of gold pieces if the emperor's income was thirty-six millions]. 'So he has also taken the best part of the treasures accumulated in the *imperial* monasteries, as we *afterwards* ascertained, and placed them in his patriarchal church, *where they were by no means wanted*, leaving them only a small portion.' [It is enough to compare this passage with the letters issued to the churches and monasteries requiring returns of all that Nicon, *as it was supposed*, might have taken from them, and with the accusations of the boyars, in the official acts of Nicon's condemnation and in act or tome x. of the synod of 1666-1667, to see that it must have been written after their second journey to Moscow, and their second return from Moscow to Syria. See vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 99, 116, 117; and vol. iii. p. 392; also p. 26, 165, 192, 505, and 507. But in 1654, 1655, and 1656 there was no outward expression as yet of this malicious jealousy and calumny on the part of the boyars; nor would any one have dared even to whisper such imputations into the ears of any foreigners.]

5. At p. 193, ostensibly in connection with the date Apr. 15, in 1655, he says of the custom of staining the eggs red at Easter: 'The *philosopher* Paisius Ligarides, metropolitan of Gaza, *the learned man from Rome*' [but it was only in June 1658 that they met him first in Wallachia and were told by him that he had lived long in Rome, &c. see p. 315], 'when we asked him concerning this, replied' so and so: that is, when they were with him at Moscow *at Easter* in 1667.

6. At p. 272: Nicon, 22d Dec. 1665, made his adoption and introduction of the Greek latia seem to come from the patriarch Macarius of Antioch and from the tsar, rather than from himself, 'because,' it is written, 'he much feared the people, lest they should say that he did away with their ancient customs, &c. And so indeed it happened to him *afterwards*.'

7. At p. 315, 316: Without noticing that what he wrote and inserted would be contradicted a little farther on by his own original journal, he gives this account of their recall from Bolchov to Moscow on the 8th Apr. 1656: That there had been *on Good Friday, in the church*, a '*dispute*' between the tsar and the patriarch Nicon: so they were told by some Greeks whom they met on the road and questioned about the cause of their recall: but why they were recalled, or what was the cause of that dispute, nobody knew: 'nor did we,' he writes, 'till *afterwards*. *Only in general it was known* to have been occasioned by the *haughtiness* of the patriarch and his *rude behaviour; for* he was become *excessively proud*.' At the Epiphany, when he was intending to bless the water only once (see above p. 279, and Appendix ii. p. 415; and vol. iii. p. 160, 207, 481, 495), the patriarch of Antioch 'went to him (it is said) and admonished him that such a practice was irregular; for Nicon was constantly entreating our master, and saying: Whatever you find amiss, tell us of it, that we may correct it; and he usually received his advice with great deference. But on this occasion he did not follow it. The emperor in the mean time

supposed [but see p. 279; and Appendix ii. p. 413-415] that it was by the advice of our lord the patriarch of Antioch that Nicon performed the ceremony as he did. But now (on *Good Friday, in the cathedral*), having come to the knowledge of the contrary, he *disputed* the matter with him, and scolded him, calling him *Mujik bludin* (whoring clown)! The patriarch replied: I am *your spiritual father: why then do you revile me?* To which the emperor answered: It is not you who are my father, but it is the holy patriarch of Antioch who is indeed my father; and I will send to bring him back. Immediately he called the minister and the stolnik, and dispatched the latter in quest of us.' [After he had begun to use 'unseemly words' to the patriarch (see p. 287 and vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 583), the tsar did indeed reject Nicon, and call those patriarchs whom he could buy by preference his fathers; and he then sent to bring again the patriarch Macarius to Moscow, and he came. But this return was in 1666; and then and in 1667 the patriarch Macarius and the synod condemned and annulled the synodal *and imperial* constitution made and obtained by Nicon in Dec. 1655, for blessing the water at the Epiphany only once. See Appendix ii. p. 415; and vol. iii. p. 207.] 'The report was soon spread, . . . but *no one* knew the *real cause:* nor did we, till *afterwards*.' But look on to p. 322, where there is another and earlier '*afterwards*,' and another and truer '*real cause*' registered beforehand in the writer's own journal kept at the time, and bearing witness against this later false and childish insertion.

8. At p. 147: After enlarging upon the degeneracy of the Greeks, and the vices of their bishops and clergy, as if they were the very scum of the earth, the writer observes that *still* they have *some* laudable qualities; and he instances this for one, that though they witness daily the flagitiousness of their clergy, they nevertheless honour them for the sake of their sacred office, *and do not subject the priests and monks to their temporal authority.* Here he plainly points with a sly humour, ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου, at *others* who *do* 'subject the priests and monks to their temporal authority;' and that even though they may deserve to be honoured not only for their sacred office, but also for their personal virtues. So this must have been written after their last departure from Moscow in July 1668, and after their last re-settlement in their own country. During their first stay in Muscovy the temporal authority was as yet honouring the spiritual.

ii. *Narrative, &c. concerning the patriarch Nicon.*

He looked with impatience for the arrival of the patriarch of Antioch, of whose intention he had been advertised from Arsenius Souchanoff; and orders were given at once to the voivode at Poutivl, to send him on as soon as he should come thither, with all speed, p. 3; p. 66. In A.M. 7162 (Oct. 1, 1653) the Kozaks were received through him, p. 45: and see pp. 83, 87, 158-159, 476: he banishes a Servian metropolitan (who entered a little before us) for going about Moscow dressed as a common monk, it being against their rules for foreign ecclesiastics to go about at all except by express permission of the emperor, p. 65. Niketa Alex. Ziuzin, a man gentle, merciful, and kind, whom they found as voivode at Poutivl, and who had been sent thither after the former corrupt and cruel voivode had

been capitally punished, with his accomplices and followers, was previously of the suite of the patriarch Nicon, p. 69. All the voivodes, and all the rest of the grandees, all the clergy, and all the laity are perpetually praising the good qualities of their patriarch, showing gratitude for his bounty, and the most confident reliance on his paternal conduct; just as among all the Franks there is a great love for the Pope, and a great confidence in his authority. They seem to love him nearly as much as they do Christ himself. *They all fear him*, p. 71. After the breaking out of the plague in July 1654, he conducted the empress away from Moscow, which was deserted also by the grandees, p. 72, 92; comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c. 259. He and the emperor's lieutenant send an interpreter to meet the patr. of Antioch at Kalonga, and to conduct him to Kolomna, there to remain till the plague shall cease, p. 73. The bishop of Kolomna had recently been banished (for refusing to subscribe the decrees of a synod) by the patriarch and the emperor, p. 75, 78, who are both very partial to the rites of the Greek church, and have an abundant love for argument and instruction, p. 77. They wrote and sent questions to Parthenius [really to Paisius] patriarch of C.P., and held a synod to confirm and subscribe the answers obtained.[2] And the bishop of Kolomna refusing to subscribe, the emperor and the patriarch immediately banished him for life: and this perpetual banishment *he well deserves*. Such regulations and such strict enforcement of them *are worthy of applause*. Afterwards *they* consecrated another bishop in his stead, pp. 75, 76, 111, 175 (Appendix ii. p. 407, iii. p. 420, 426; vol. iii. p. 181, 189, 193, 420. 'By what *canons* I do not remember;' pp. 433, 435, 447). The protopope of Kolomna for the present exercises jurisdiction in that diocese by command of the emperor and the patriarch, p. 79. In the ἐκτενὴς and the prayers the patriarch is named first, before the emperor, but in the πολυχρόνιον this order is reversed, and the emperor is named first, p. 79, 67; vol. iii. p. 273, 274. Nicon allows widower priests to celebrate freely as before, but he still requires them to live in a monastery, p. 81. (See vol. iii. supplement xxiv. ch. ix. p. 501-503.) All were delighted at the emperor's decision (in the council, 1 Oct. 1653) to receive the Kozaks, *especially the patriarch*, who had much urged him to undertake the war with Poland, p. 83; he was said to have offered about 100 chests filled with money as his own personal contribution; the monasteries made immense offerings, the Troitsa alone contributing above 100,000 dinars: and the bishops equipped above 20,000 men, with the troops furnished by the patriarch at their head, p. 84. Neither the bishops nor the monks drink any spirituous liquors at all, and they are strictly enjoined by the patriarch, whenever they find any one drunk, to imprison and scourge him; but the traders and the servants of the bishops, &c. are allowed two cups a-day, p. 92.

Feb. 3, 1655, Nicon (who had ended his care of the empress by conducting her to Viazma) returned to his palace, having been absent since the end of July preceding, p. 92. Feb. 10 he goes out with the clergy to meet

[2] But this was a second synod held in 1655, a year after Paul the bishop of Kolomna had been banished; so this passage must have been written, and with a confused memory, at a later time: and the same is manifested also from the allusion made below to the consecration of another bishop, 'to be related in due time at its proper date,' viz. 3d June 1655.

the emperor, who enters the Kremlin walking bareheaded, with the patriarch by his side, in conversation with him, p. 93. Feb. 12 he is visited by the patriarch of Antioch immediately after the latter has been received by the emperor, p. 99: he compares himself to Zaccheus. At the emperor's banquet Nicon is seated next to the emperor on his left hand, and the patr. of Antioch to the left of Nicon: the grandees being at a long table to the left of the emperor's table, and the primate of Servia, with the other bishops and archimandrites, at a table to the right; the rest (*e.g.* the archdeacon Paul), with the hegoumens, priests, and monks, were at tables in the middle of the hall, p. 100. The tsar ate little, being rather engaged in conversation with the patr. Nicon, p. 101. After the emperor's health had been drunk, they sang a *πολυχρόνιον* for Nicon, and drank his health; and then that of the patr. of Antioch, ib. Feb. 14 he is presented with a crosier by the patr. of Antioch, p. 103. Feb. 18 (Sunday of the Carnival, or of the Second Advent) he celebrates (together with the patr. of Antioch, &c.) before the emperor; reads the homily from St. Hippolytus about Antichrist, and preaches to the standing and silent assembly till our spirits were broken within us, p. 107 (and the like he does at p. 143, 149, 152, 157, 186, 230, 262, 307). What order is observed, and what persons concelebrate with the patriarch, whenever he celebrates the liturgy in public, p. 145. Feb. 20 (instead of March 1), for the name's-day of the tsarevna Eudocia, he celebrates in the winter church of the palace, p. 108. Feb. 22 he invites the patr. of Antioch to concelebrate for the commemoration of the deceased metropolitans and patriarchs, p. 109. When metr. of Novgorod he [having himself suggested it] brought hither, by command of the emperor, from the Solovetzky the relics of St. Philip, sometime metr. of Moscow. Originally he was a secular priest: having become a monk, and an hegoumen, he was made by the emperor first archimandrite of the Novospass, and then after three years metr. of Novgorod. Just before he arrived at Moscow with the relics of St. Philip, the patr. Joseph died, and the clergy unanimously desired to make Nicon patriarch. Before consenting, he made certain stipulations, viz. that *in future* the emperor should nominate to no ecclesiastical or sacerdotal offices: also he obtained an imperial decree that his own sentence [in ecclesiastical matters] should be final, p. 110. (See p. 407; and vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 13, 21, 104, 583; vol. iii. p. 52, 323, 324, 382-384, 533.) 'He at once banished three protopopes, one of them protopope to the emperor, who, without permission from the former patriarch, had tyrannised over the clergy: he at once entered on the exercise of uncontrolled authority; everybody was filled with dread of him; and he is up to this time *a great butcher* over the bishops, the archimandrites, and all the clergy, and *even over the grandees in power and in the offices of government*: no intercession has the slightest influence with him, p. 110 (but compare p. 219). It was *he* who banished the bishop of Kolomna, and *afterwards* appointed another in his place: we saw his prisons full of priests and monks whom his janizaries (perpetually going about the city) had found drunk, and in the most wretched condition, with heavy chains and logs on their necks and legs. The boyars used to go in at once to the patriarch without asking leave of the doorkeepers, and when they were announced he used instantly to come out to meet them, and he afterwards accompanied them to the outer door: but

Nicon keeps them waiting till he sends them permission to enter; then they walk in with extreme fear and awe, and having transacted their business before him standing, take their departure, while he remains sitting in his place. The love, however, of the emperor *and the empress* for him is beyond expression. However, what we have now related of him is out of place: hereafter we shall give a full account of *every incident in his life and circumstances*,' p. 111. [So he here promises; but though there is another passage farther on, p. 165-171, on the same subject, which like this shows traces of a date much later than that at which we are now in his journal, still neither of these passages, nor both of them together, amount to anything like a fulfilment of his promise.] Before putting on his mitre he used to comb his hair and beard with an instrument made of hog's bristles, p. 113 (and comp. p. 80, and vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 19; vol. iii. p. 484). Nicon celebrates the liturgy most days, and ordains a priest and deacon (so many of the clergy having died in the plague); and he sends others with letters dismissory to be ordained by the patr. of Antioch, and by other bishops staying in Moscow, p. 114. At his banquet, 22 Feb., Nicon placed the patr. Macarius and the primate of Servia at separate tables near to himself: during the same banquet he received some of the Dog-faced tribe, who are cannibals, and entertains his guests with an account of them, p. 119, 227: he calls on his Syrian guests to sing in Greek and in Arabic, p. 118; he proposes in jest to send for the metr. Mira (whose misconduct and ingratitude had caused so much trouble to the patr. of Antioch) and give him to them to eat, p. 119 (comp. p. 407). After these he received a voivode come from Siberia with his officers and attendants, pagans, natives of the same country, p. 123. He tells the patriarch of Antioch of an embassy recently sent to Moscow by the queen of Khotaya, p. 126. 'He has recently driven out' or '*forced* the emperor to drive out' the English and other Franks who showed no respect at religious processions, to dwell only in the suburbs (see vol. iii. p. 165), and has forbidden them to wear their beards or to dress like the Muscovites. They destroyed also the churches of these heretics, and of the Armenians, and the mosques of the Tatars: nor did they suffer them to build others outside. 'It is said that one rich Armenian merchant offered the patriarch 50,000 dinars to be allowed to retain his long white beard; but he refused, for he needed not the money: how should he, in this great city, governed only by two persons, himself and the emperor?' p. 131; vol. iii. p. 165. 'Whereas the Muscovites were averse to wars, the emperor and the present patriarch have treated their wisdom as folly; and the emperor (at the instigation of the patriarch, p. 83) has gone out in person to fight for Christ, p. 138. Feb. 25 (the Sunday in Cheese-week) the clerks of the patriarch Macarius, who then concelebrated, sang the *trisagion* in Greek, and Nicon's anagnosts, whom he was endeavouring to teach to take their parts in Greek, joined with them; Nicon, after having read the homily and preached, blessed for the war six commanders presented to him by the emperor, in consequence of letters now received from Mohileff, p. 140. He tells the patr. of Antioch that there are in Muscovy 3000 convents, besides those in the country of the Kozaks; and that of the convents three, viz. the Troitsa, the Kyrikoff, and the Solovetsky, are imperial castles, and very rich, p. 143. March 4, the first Sunday in Lent (Sunday of the Icons or of Orthodoxy),

he had five bishops concelebrating with him besides the patr. Macarius and the primate of Servia, p. 145. What form is observed and what persons concelebrate and attend with the patriarch whenever he celebrates the liturgy in public, ib. On this day they chanted as usual, '*Everlasting remembrance!*' and '*Anathema!*' Nicon having read the homily, preached upon it, and denounced certain new-fashioned icons, and called on the patr. of Antioch to give his testimony against them, and to join in anathematising those who should persist in painting or in keeping such: naming the grandees from whose houses such and such icons were taken, he threw them on the ground and ordered them to be burned: but the tsar in an under voice interceded that they might rather be buried; and so it was done, p. 151. Before this, in 1654, he had collected all icons of new and foreign fashion, from the houses of such as had them, and, mutilating them, had sent them round with an *imperial proclamation* forbidding such to be painted or kept. This was *in the emperor's absence:* and hence, after the eclipse of Aug. 12, there was a tumult at Moscow, and some would have attempted even to kill him, if he had been there, p. 149, 151, 407, 467; Appendix i. p. 407; v. p. 467; vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 150; vol. iii. p. 371, 533. Then he preached on their way of making the sign of the cross with the same vehemence, and called on the patr. of Antioch (who had of himself told him that their manner was not the right one) to bear testimony concerning this also, ib. We had stood about seven hours on the iron pavement, enduring the most intense cold: God grant him moderation! p. 152. March 9 he makes (with the patr. of Antioch) a commemoration for the emperor's mother in the convent of the Ascension, p. 154. March 11 they bless the emperor for the war: he will not let the patr. of Antioch go, but commends him to Nicon as his deputy: they bless the emperor again and pray over him for victory: Nicon exhorts him with the freedom of a teacher, and he stands as a humble listener: remarkable contrast in manner and attitude: God knows *our hearts ached for the emperor.* Then they went in procession to the stone oratory outside the Kremlin, and blessed him, and prayed over him again, and he left, p. 158. Before the tsar left he appointed a vicegerent and many ministers: and the patriarch he placed as inspector over all; so that nothing, small or great, should be determined without his advice day by day: so the ministers, when his bell rang, went from the council-chamber every morning to him; and if they came after his door was shut, they had to wait outside till he ordered them to be admitted. Form with which he received them, did business with them, and dismissed them: they often brought their little boys with them to be blessed by him: he is *more feared by the grandees than the tsar*, and *by many degrees more*, for they *do not fear the tsar very much:* from his genius, understanding, and knowledge he is qualified for all business both of church and state. After dismissing his visitors, he would set off before them to the church for the liturgy; for he never intermits attending the service three times in the day and night; and most days he celebrates the liturgy himself. On his way to and from the church he receives petitions: he has in his palace seven prikazes (offices and courts), the daily business of which is all reported to him, and his directions taken upon it (see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 549, 550-553): candidates for ordination he examines himself; and in matters of this kind his authority is

equal to that of the emperor, *i.e.* without appeal: he has many archons in his suite who hold offices either under himself or, like the voivode of Poutivl, under the emperor: he has his own artists, smiths, and workmen of all kinds: he has increased the patriarchal property from 10,000 houses of peasants to 25,000. (See in vol. iv. his proposals for his own retirement, and the observations made on them by the synod held in the spring of 1666.) Every one fears and respects him. Whereas *formerly* no one was promoted to be archimandrite or deposed but by command of the tsar, he has annulled this rule, and promotes or deprives whomsoever he pleases, without consulting any one. Woe to him who commits any lapse or error before him, or is known to have got drunk, &c.: for he is immediately *by his order* banished: he has filled the convents of Siberia, formerly empty, with heads of monasteries and heads of clergy (*i.e.* protopopes and a bishop) and with dissolute and wretched monks: when any of the priesthood has been guilty of a crime he takes his calpack from off his head, which is equivalent to degrading him, p. 169 (vol. iii. p. 181, 420). Except the emperor, no one dares to mediate with him: by his severity he makes all fear him; and his word prevails: lately he has even banished to a convent at Sievsk, to become a corn-grinder there, the kellar of the Troitsa who was sometimes called 'the third dignitary' (*i.e.* next after the tsar and the patriarch): this was because he was found taking bribes to excuse retainers of the monastery from serving in the tsar's campaign, and sending others less fit in their stead: instead of him he has appointed Arsenius Souchanoff, in reward for his services in going twice on missions to the Levant, the first time in 1649 to observe the ritual, and the second in 1654 to collect MSS. and printed books, p. 170. March 17, the emperor's 27th birthday, he invites the patr. of Antioch to go with him to celebrate the liturgy at the Alexieff convent of nuns, founded by the emperor, p. 171. Sunday, March 25, he celebrated in the church of the Annunciation, p. 172: March 27, he took the patr. Macarius with him to the Novodivichy convent of our Lady, surnamed Hodigitria; and told him that it is very rich, all the nuns being noble ladies, p. 172. Being asked (so it is said) at the review in 1653, June 28, by the ex-patriarch of C.P. Pataläron the number of the troops, he answered, 'Seven hundred thousand,' p. 173. In the fifth week of Lent (March 25-31) he held a synod to make various corrections suggested by the patr. of Antioch, especially to condemn as irregular the practice of rebaptising the Poles and others of that communion: he also printed a corrected edition of the Slujebnik, with very clear explanations; and he sent to the patr. of Antioch, to reconcile for him, six Lithuanian priests, uniats, whom the patr. of Antioch accordingly reconciled on the 31st March, anointing them with chrism, but neither rebaptising nor reordaining them, p. 174, 176; Appendix ii. p. 412, and iii. p. 421. In the synod, Nicon, being a lover of Greece, conformed obediently to the suggestions of the patr. of Antioch, saying to the bishops and the rest: 'I am a Russian, the son of a Russian: but *my faith and religion are Greek*,' p. 175 (see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 246: 'the Christian faith of the Greek law;' and p. 659: 'Orthodox Christians of the holy Greek law;' and vol. iii. p. 390: 'hating us without cause, they even sought to kill me, because we enforce and hold in all things, inseparably, the traditions of *the Greek law*;' p. 397, 'the holy *Eastern* Church.') Some also of the

bishops conformed obediently, saying: 'The gift of our faith and all its rites and sacraments came to us from the East:' but others said within themselves: 'We will not alter our books, nor our rites and ceremonies;' but they dared not say thus openly; for the anger of the patriarch is not to be withstood: witness what he did with the bishop Paul of Kolomna. Then he confirmed the decree, that the practice of rebaptising the Poles is unlawful, p. 175. On Palm Sunday he requested the patriarch of Antioch to ride on the horse in the procession rather than do it himself, p. 179 (see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 161, 162; vol. iii. p. 398, 399, 426). In blessing the Εὐχέλαιον on Holy Thursday he asked the patr. of Antioch if all was correct, p. 182. Through his love for the ritual of the Greeks he was continually begging the patriarch Macarius that whenever he noticed any fault he would mention it, and, when officiating himself, do whatever he knew to be right, p. 184. So he now taught him completely to uncover and to wash the holy table: there was besides always the *Typicon* set on Nicon's right hand, *into which he was continually looking*, as well as into the particular rubrics, one after another, p. 185. After the Lavanda he read the homily at such length that our legs were ready to drop under us, p. 186. On Good Friday, after the washing of the relics, being asked if there was any list or book giving an account of them, he replied, 'Yes; but it is in the emperor's treasury,' p. 189. Weight and magnificence of his robes on Easter day, Apr. 15, p. 193. He robed the patr. of Antioch in a sakkos brought from C.P., once belonging to the metr. Photius, and wore himself another which had once belonged to the patr. Sergius of C.P.; both these sakkoses have worked on them in pearls the creed, p. 195 (see Appendix iii. p. 419, 429). After the homily of St. John Chrysostom and the dismissal, being instructed by the patr. of Antioch, he distributed the antidoron, which before had not been customary, p. 196. Afterwards he gave a banquet in place of the emperor, p. 196. He feeds poor blind men and cripples at his banquet, p. 182; vol. iii. p. 165. During the week of the Passion, and also during this week of Easter, he visited the prisons and did much kindness to the prisoners, p. 197; (vol. iii. p. 165): he visited the patr. of Antioch, and distributed to us the paschal ἄρτος, p. 198. How he examines candidates for ordination, and writes upon their papers, 'At such a date I send the bearer to my brother Kyr Macarius, patr. of Antioch, to be ordained,' p. 205. May 24 (the Ascension) he invites the patr. Macarius to concelebrate with him in the convent of the Ascension, p. 206. June 3, Whitsunday, he consecrates a new bishop for Kolomna in the room of the banished bishop *who was still living*,[3] p. 207, 426 (and see above the references given on this subject at p. 510; and vol. iii. p. 426). The custom in the consecration of bishops is this: if the patriarch pleases, he *chooses whom he likes*; or if he pleases, *he* selects twelve persons, from whom one is chosen by lot, p. 207. At the date of Sunday June 10, it is mentioned how he had ordered three deacons, who had remarried, to be confined at Troitsa, and afterwards set them free (they having petitioned to be allowed to become monks) at the intercession of the patr. of Antioch, p. 219 (see vol. iii. Suppl. xxiv. ch. vii. p. 497). June 16 he invites the patr. of An-

[3] And the patr. Macarius, who was constantly asking Nicon to point out all that seemed wrong, and who volunteered afterwards his advice against blessing the water only once at the Epiphany, says nothing against this consecration.

tioch to concelebrate in the church of the Archangel in commemoration of the tsar Ivan Bas. and his two sons, p. 219. Again he invites him to concelebrate, June 23, on the festival of our Lady of Vladimir; and June 25 for the commemoration of those slain the year before at Smolensk; and June 30 for that of the prince Basil Ivanovich, p. 222; and July 7 for that of the late patriarch Joseph, and to dine with him afterwards in the patriarchate, p. 223. July 10 he celebrated in the cathedral for the translation of the holy tunic of Christ from Persia thirty years ago in A.M. 7133, in A.D. 1625, in the thirteenth year of the emperor Michael (vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 22, 101; vol. iii. p. 53, 385, 419, 421); and July 12 in the church of the Archangel in commemoration of the late emperor Michael, p. 224. After the banquet he shows to the patr. Macarius from a window of the palace many wagons filled with muskets, just come from the king of Sweden, which he is sending to the emperor, p. 225. July 19, after another concelebration in commemoration of the emperor Michael, as they came down from the banquet-hall they were met by the forty chiefs of the Dog-faced tribe, whom Nikon talked with and questioned: and seeing the archdeacon Paul to be curious about them, 'he came forward (so he says), and taking me by the hand, called the savages as if to eat me: so he jested also with others besides myself: one, a deacon of the metr. of Servia, he actually delivered into their hands: and they tore his clothes, and frightened him out of his wits, p. 227. July 27-28, he invited the patr. Macarius to accompany him to the Novodivichy, for the festival of the translation of the icon of our Lady of Smolensk, and to the empress' Sabbin convent of 200 Lithuanian nuns: and after that to dine with him at his villa seven versts out, p. 229. Aug. 1, together with the patr. Macarius, he blessed the Moskva, p. 230. He is a great lover of buildings, monuments, and collections; he rebuilt the great church of the Novospass; at Novgorod he erected some very handsome buildings: at Moscow he has built a new patriarchal palace; and he has been active in founding a new convent not far from Novgorod on an island in a lake, p. 231-243, 302: he has endowed this his Iversky monastery with estates purchased by himself, or belonging previously to the patriarchal church [other estates being given to it in exchange for them], with salt pans, and fisheries, and lesser dependent monasteries, p. 238; vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 258; vol. iii. p. 334, 335, 504-515. He has given to the same monastery an icon of our Lady called Portaïtsa or Iverskaia, a copy from that of the Iviron convent on Mount Athos: he had bespoken a copy when he was archimandrite of the Novospass; but the empress took that, and this second copy has been brought to him only recently: prodigious richness of its ornaments, p. 233. In this new convent he has put about seventy Lithuanian monks, giving them velvet caps and silk latias: he proposes to the patr. of Antioch (as also to the primate of Servia) to visit this convent and to consecrate its new church; and thence he may go on also to Novgorod, p. 234. The emperor having sent him church vestments taken from the Poles and Armenians, he has given them to serve as tapestry in the refectory of the Iversky convent, p. 237: he sends after the patr. of Antioch a letter from the emperor with one from himself to announce the capture of Vilna on the 31st Aug. p. 240. Sept. 18, he goes out twenty versts to a villa belonging to him, to meet and receive there the patriarch Macarius on his way back from Novgorod,

p. 255: Dec. 6, he invites him to concelebrate, and to dine at the banquet given by him in place of the emperor, p. 257. From Feb. last to this time he had been constantly superintending (together with the emperor's lieutenants) the founding of the great new bell; and when a quantity of brass had escaped from one of the five furnaces he immediately supplied or obtained fresh copper to replace what was wanting,' p. 258. Dec. 9, he goes out with his higher clergy to meet the emperor at his palace, three versts off; and the next day, with the patr. of Antioch and all the clergy, he goes in procession to the earthen rampart to meet and receive him, as he makes his public and triumphant entry on returning from the war: he exhorts and blesses him: he thanks, too, and praises and blesses the commanders accompanying him, p. 260. Dec. 16, he invites the patr. of Antioch to concelebrate in presence of the emperor and the empress: it was he who first enjoined the empress to come down to the cathedral, and made her a place and seat for herself, p. 266. How he has built a new patriarchal palace, employing German architects; with halls for his seven prikazes below, and at the top of all a belvedere-divan with a passage leading to the empress' part of the imperial palace, for private communication; and in the centre of this divan a church of the four sainted metropolitans Peter, Alexis, Jonah, and Philip, whose icons are on the outside of the holy doors; and on the inside are portraits of the five patriarchs of Moscow, his predecessors, and of himself as the sixth, p. 268 (see vol. iii. p. 21, 162). On the first floor, in connection with the krestovaia hall, there is a church of the Trinity, p. 268. Dec. 22 (instead of 21, that being on Friday), for the festival of the metr. St. Peter, he invites the patr. Macarius to concelebrate with him and open his new patriarchate, receiving presents from the tsar and others, and giving a banquet, at which the tsar is his guest: he makes also, according to an existing custom, on the same day presents to the tsar, p. 268-275 (comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 569). He on this day in the church suggested to the patr. of Antioch to ask the emperor to bid him wear a new latia of white silk made in the Greek fashion; and this being done, he put it on, and it became him splendidly: for he much feared the people, lest they should say that he did away with their ancient customs. And so in fact it happened to him *afterwards*, p. 272: and how at first they all murmured, saying among themselves: 'See how he has changed the *dress* of our bishops, *which they received by inspiration of the Holy Ghost!*' but subsequently *all the bishops and monks* desired to follow his example, p. 272. Dec. 25, the emperor had sent over night to invite the patr. Macarius, as usual, to the vigil, liturgy, and banquet; but Nicon, knowing how fatigued we were, did not send to call us to the vigil, and it was to us a blessed hour of repose: God reward him for his kindness!' he called them, however, to concelebrate with him at the liturgy; weight and magnificence of the robes now worn by him; after the liturgy he read the homily, p. 277. The emperor being immoderately enraged against the boyar Basil Bas. Boutourlin, and sending first to order him to be beheaded, and then on hearing that he was already dead, sending to cause his body to be burned publicly, Nicon made much en-

[4] An account of this and of the way in which Nicon was rewarded for his zeal will be found in a later volume.

treaty, and obtained that his remains should be brought to Moscow, p. 279, 296. The Polish hetman Paul Pototsky, having been taken prisoner, and submitting himself, is made to pass forty days in the Choudoff as a catechumen: then the *patriarch takes him under his protection*, and he is *rebaptised*, Elia Miloslafsky, the tsar's father-in-law, being his godfather; [so that Nicon seems to have acquiesced, passively at least, in his being rebaptised; though that had been declared irregular by him in his synod of the same year mentioned above under p. 175. Perhaps that synod not having been attended by *all* the bishops, and some of them objecting still against its decree on this point, the emperor had not yet given its decree the force of law; and this is rendered more probable by the fact that the same matter was rediscussed and finally determined in a *fuller* synod in the summer of 1656], p. 278, 279.

Jan. 6, A.D. 1656, Nicon, following a testimony of Euodius, sometime patriarch of C.P., in a book from Mount Athos, *by command of the emperor*, in spite of advice to the contrary tendered by the patriarch of Antioch, blesses the water only once on the eve, p. 279 (see the references given below on this subject at page 535). He has the title of 'Patriarch of all Great, Little, and White Russia' now given him in the πολυχρόνιον and in public documents by the tsar, in imitation of the title of 'Autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia' taken by himself, p. 281. [See also p. 78, where the emperor and the patriarch conjointly are said to write questions in 1654 to Paisius patriarch of C.P. On comparing the *synodical letter* sent in reply to the tsar and the patriarch, in which Nicon is styled 'patriarch of all Great *and Little* Russia' (Appendix ii. page 408), with his separate *personal letter* to Nicon, styling him only 'patriarch of Moscow and all Russia,' and Nicon's synodical act of Dec. 1655 (ib. p. 411, 413, 415), in which the style is the same 'of Moscow and all Russia,' it appears that the tsar in 1654 described Nicon in public acts as 'patriarch of Moscow and all Great and Little Russia,' while Nicon personally wrote himself only 'patriarch of Moscow and all Russia.' At p. 463 *the tsar* gives in like manner to Nicon the title of 'patriarch of Great, Little, and White Russia.' But in vol. iii. p. 333, ch. ix. the boyars, at the suggestion of Ligarides, accuse *Nicon* of invading or usurping *through this title* the see of Kieff; and at p. 158 the same accusation is repeated by Ligarides himself; whereas in truth Nicon offended the tsar in 1657 by *refusing to invade* a province then still belonging to the chair of C.P.; and he anathematised Pitirim (in 1660) for consecrating Methodius at the bidding of the tsar, by the title of bishop of Orsha, to be sent to Kieff. See vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 158, 160.] On the night of Jan. 6 Nicon set out to visit his Iversky convent and Novgorod, and he returned on the 1st of Feb. p. 282, 294. He sends to the patriarch Macarius a present of a green mandya of European cloth, p. 295. Feb. 2 he invites the patriarch Macarius to concelebrate with him in a church in the palace, and they banquet with the emperor; and again on the 3d, for the name's day of the tsarevna Anna, p. 296. Nicon, especially, treats the archdeacon Paul with great familiarity, and is constantly asking him to remain with him at Moscow, p. 298. Again, Feb. 10 (Carnival Sunday), he invites the patriarch of Antioch to concelebrate with him and to dine with him afterwards, when he places by his side at table a half-witted saint, a virtuous man named Cyprian, who goes about naked, and

is much revered by the people: 'Nicon fed him with his own hands, and gave him to drink in silver cups, from which he drained the last drops after him with his own mouth, as he does at the end of the liturgy: so that we were lost in astonishment,' p. 301. The same day, after he had already read the homily and preached, at the end of the liturgy, a nun having made known to him and the emperor in the church how she had been healed the night before by an apparition of the metropolitan St. Philip, he preached again on this miracle, p. 301, 109; vol. iii. p. 381, 420. Feb. 12 (Commemoration of St. Alexis and of St. Meletius of Antioch and name's day of the tsarevich Alexis), Nicon asks the patriarch of Antioch, then concelebrating with him in the Choudoff before the emperor, to explain a passage in the Life of St. Meletius about the right manner of making the sign of the cross, p. 302; Appendix iii. p. 422; they banquet with the emperor. Feb. 15, in Cheese-week he goes round to the convents asking pardon, p. 303. During the first three days of Lent Nicon neither came down to the cathedral nor opened his apartments to show his face to a single person, p. 301. Feb. 24 (the first Sunday in Lent) he invited the patriarch of Antioch to concelebrate with him; there was the same ceremony as in 1655; and after the liturgy he read the homily, and dilated in a long sermon on things contrary to the Cross of Christ, and on the sin of many among them in breaking their fasts at home, p. 307. The metropolitan of Servia, seeing the severe authority exercised over him by Nicon, as if he were one of his own bishops, became disgusted, and begged for his dismissal; which, *in spite of Nicon*, the emperor granted him. [But really it is plain that he had never intended to *remain* in Russia if he could help it, though, to avoid being turned back, he had entered in the tsar's name: nor does Nicon seem to have treated him otherwise than as a temporary guest, when he joined him in the invitation given to the patriarch of Antioch to visit the Iversky convent and Novgorod], p. 310, 234; and see vol. iii. p. 429. March 23 he is visited by the patriarch of Antioch to take leave, p. 312. The emperor has some conversation with Nicon in the church on Good Friday; the occasion of which nobody knew: but that same day he sent a sotnik with a letter to overtake the patriarch of Antioch, and to recall him to Moscow to attend a synod, and for other necessary business of church and state, especially to be consulted respecting the trustworthiness of Stephen metropolitan of Moldavia who was coming as if to the patriarch Nicon, but with a secret commission to tender the allegiance of the bey and of all the principality to the tsar, p. 315, 318, 322. May 4, Nicon, together with the patriarch of Antioch, &c., and in presence of the emperor, consecrates Kyr Joseph to be archbishop of Astrachan; and Kyr Joseph then (in presence of the patriarch of Antioch and of the tsar) makes the usual profession of faith and promise of observance of the canons, and of canonical obedience to his primate the patriarch Nicon, so that he will not, while he lives, obey or desire any other patriarch, and though the people, or princes, or even the emperor, seek to compel him, he will even die rather than break this engagement, p. 319; comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 136-138; and vol. iii. p. 344, 345, and other references below at p. 531, 536, 540. May 6, Nicon (with the patriarch of Antioch), after a παράκλησις, goes in procession to the stone oratory to take leave of the icon of Blachernæ and the cross of Constantine now sent off

in the charge of Joseph metropolitan of Kroutiz, in advance of the emperor, p. 321. May 11 (Sunday before the Ascension) Nicon holds a synod (to which *all* the Russian bishops had been summoned) to discuss again the question of the baptism of the Poles: this synod was held in the patriarchate [the tsar not being present, still less presiding]; and in it, with the help of the patriarchate of Antioch, Nicon, after a long and angry discussion, compelled the bishops, by the testimony of their own books of church law, reluctantly to submit to the truth. Then he communicated to the emperor the decree of the synod against the practice of rebaptising the Poles, &c., together with the transcript of one section of a book from Mount Athos containing the act of the synod of C.P. of 1484, and the form prescribed by it for the reception of Latins by chrism only written out and signed by the patriarch of Antioch: this was translated and printed, and an imperial decree in conformity with it was issued. Thus this affair was definitively settled and the business of [this session of] the synod was concluded. [In this same synod, Nicon caused the book called the *Skrijal* to be examined and approved, being a translation of a Greek treatise on the liturgy entitled Πύραξ, with various appendices, especially the acts of the synod of C.P. of 1593 for the definitive establishment of the patriarchate of Moscow, and those of the synods of Moscow and of C.P. held in 1654. The *Skrijal* thus enlarged and approved was printed and published in Oct. of this year 1656], p. 322: see also Appendix ii. p. 415, 416; iii. p. 423-426, 433; vol. iii. p. 265: Suppl. xxiii. p. 479, and xxiv. ch. vi. p. 493, 494. May 15 (the Ascension), Nicon, with the patriarch Macarius, celebrates before the emperor in the convent of the Ascension; and shows the patriarch of Antioch and his suite the preparations for the emperor's departure from a window of the patriarchate: somewhat later, after a παράκλησις, they pray over the emperor the prayers for war, and go in procession to the stone oratory, where they again pray over him and bless him; and he mounting his horse rides away, p. 321-324. The next day Nicon takes the patriarch of Antioch to a villa of his seven versts out, by which the emperor is to pass, to meet him, and offers to him and to his suite an entertainment, and blesses him once more and takes final leave of him, p. 324. May 18, Nicon and the patriarch of Antioch, then concelebrating with him, anathematise by name a protopope (the same whom Nicon had banished when he first became patriarch) as the leader of a new heresy: for he, having escaped from the place of his banishment, had returned and was living concealed at Moscow, p. 325; Appendix iii. p. 427. May 25 (Whitsunday), Nicon invites the patriarch of Antioch to concelebrate with him, and recites the solemn prayers (at which all kneel on green boughs) in a low voice of humility and contrition, *shedding tears*. He had been continually asking the patriarch of Antioch to write down for him the order for the consecration of a church according to the Greek ritual: and at length it was found in a book from Mount Athos, and the patriarch Macarius, having translated it into Arabic, consecrated, May 26-27, according to it for Nicon a new church in the town lodge of his Iversky convent; and Nicon sent his archdeacon and several secretaries to take notes of the whole ceremony, p. 326. Afterwards in the refectory, he showed great honour to the patriarch of Antioch, making him sit in his own place; and giving gifts to him and to the other bishops

and ecclesiastics: and to the great officers of state, above all, he overflowed in liberality, p. 328. May 28 he was visited by the patriarch Macarius to take his final leave, ib. At some later time they were told that Nicon had become *rapacious* and *violent*, taking away *by force* from the imperial monasteries the greater part of their treasures, p. 168; also that he had become *exceedingly proud, haughty* and *rude*; that while his predecessors did not '*interfere*' at all in matters of state, he, being a man of acute intellect and sensible of his own ability for taking a lead, did *interfere* in the government of the empire, p. 166, 169; p. 315: that he had *disputes* with the emperor, even in the church, the precise cause of which was not known, only it was known generally that they were caused by his haughtiness, rude behaviour and pride, ib.; that he was answered angrily by the tsar, who called him even in the church '*Mujik bladin*' (*whoring clown*), p. 316; that he expostulated with the tsar, saying: I am your spiritual father; why then do you *revile* me? and that to this the emperor replied that he no more acknowledged him for his father; but would send and bring back to Moscow the *holy* patriarch of Antioch to be his spiritual father after another sort, ib.; that the patriarch of Antioch was actually brought back, and came in company with the patriarch of Misr (*i.e.* of Alexandria, whose residence was at Misr or Cairo) from Georgia, p. 133, 123; and acted at Moscow as the tsar's spiritual father; 'subjecting' for him 'the priesthood and monastic order to the temporal authority,' a sacrilege which even the Greeks, who are the scum of the earth, do not perpetrate upon their own clergy, though *they* for their *vices* may seem to deserve it, p. 147.

iii. *Narrative, &c. concerning the tsar Alexis.*

In 1652 he expects impatiently the coming of the patriarch of Antioch, p. 3; is prayed for at C.P., ib. An envoy sent from him to Matthi bey of Wallachia is turned back by the bey 30th March 1654, p. 34. He received through the patriarch Nicon the Kozaks and Little Russia under his protection 1st Oct. 1653, p. 45, 83; he has sent two voivodes and 60,000 troops to Kieff, and has fortified a castle there, p. 45, 59. He sent an embassy to Poland with three demands: 1. toleration for the Orthodox; 2. the title of Emperor of Great *and Little* Russia; and 3. restoration of Smolensk, p. 46. These demands were refused, through the influence of Radzivil, hetman of Lithuania; and the Poles in Holy Week of 1654 making an inroad sacked some seventy or eighty towns of the Kozaks, p. 45, 83. The emperor marched from Moscow May 21, and besieged Smolensk, ib. He is prayed for in the Kozak country as suzerain (also the hetman Khmielnitsky is prayed for), p. 41, 48. June 29, a Greek priest now at Kieff, who has come round from Paris by C.P., as envoy from Queen Christina of Sweden to Khmielnitsky, has letters also to the emperor of Muscovy, p. 56. July 25, Nik. Al. Ziuzin, voivode of Poutivl, meets and salutes the patriarch of Antioch in the tsar's name, p. 62; and writes to the tsar to Smolensk (and to the patriarch), p. 65. He says: 'We have now been expecting you for nearly two years,' p. 66. The voivodes in the time of Michael were tyrannical and oppressive; but *when the present sovereign came to the throne* he put to death *all* those iniquitous voivodes, and set other new officers in their places, who are in constant dread of him. Here

at Pontivl, after putting to death the former voivode and his followers, he has placed a man gentle, merciful, and kind, who was of the suite of the patr. Nicon, p. 69, 167. Towards the Tatar frontier he has lately built thirty forts, besides some thousands of towers, along the trench, p. 70, 129. Before setting forth to the war, he ordered that the clergy in every town should on every Sunday morning meet before or after the liturgy, and sing for him a παράκλησις, and make a λιτὴ or procession around the castle, p. 72. The emperor and his minister give order to lodge the patriarch of Antioch during the plague in the palace of the bishop of Kolomna recently banished 'by the emperor and the patriarch,' by 'the patriarch and the emperor,' or 'by the patriarch,' p. 75. All the treasures of the see of Kolomna are in the hands of the emperor, ib. His voivodes have no jurisdiction over the people of the bishops and convents, p. 76. All the estates of all the churches and convents are in the hands of the emperor, who sends to every convent and to every bishop [since the petition presented after the enactment of the code of 1649 for the resumption of all estates acquired since the edict of John Basilievich] persons deputed by him as inspectors over all their funds and income: they register all in books kept with the greatest accuracy, p. 77. The *personalty* of every bishop at his decease reverts to the emperor, ib. The emperor and the new patriarch Nicon are very partial to the rites of the Greek Church, and have an abundant love for instruction. The emperor sets an example of temperance and humility, of piety and perseverance in prayer, and of the most generous liberality to the bishops and other ecclesiastics and monks. We ourselves, the writer adds, *have* never yet seen him; but we *were* informed on all sides of his perfections. These illustrious persons [in 1654], in the time of Parthenius [really of Paisius] patriarch of C.P., sent to him some questions, and he wrote them an answer which was received with great delight by the emperor, who, complying provisionally with its recommendations, assembled afterwards [in 1655] a synod which confirmed and subscribed it, and ordered it to be printed, with the exception only of the bishop of Kolomna, who would not receive, much less subscribe it [really what he refused to receive and subscribe was the decree of an earlier synod held in 1654, before the questions were sent to C.P.; and for this refusal it was that he was banished]. 'We will not,' he said, 'now adopt a new religion.' On hearing this the emperor and the patriarch immediately banished him for life, which punishment *he well deserves*: such regulations, and such strict enforcement of them, are *worthy of applause*. Afterwards *they* consecrated another bishop in his room, as we *shall* relate in due time. For the present the protopope exercises jurisdiction in the diocese *by command of the emperor and the patriarch*, p. 79. The emperor takes Smolensk, p. 82, having defeated Radzivil the great enemy of Khmielnitsky, whom Vasili bey of Moldavia (having married one daughter to Radzivil and another to Timothy son of Khmielnitsky) had endeavoured in vain to reconcile with the Kozaks, p. 83. How he held a great council [1st Oct. 1653], and declared his resolution to undertake the war with the Poles, p. 83. Contributions then offered to him by the patriarch and the clergy, and by others, ib. He held before that, on the 28th June 1653, outside the city, in presence of the ex-patriarch Athanasius Patalaron, a great review of 700,000 men. Besides Smolensk, his officers

reduce ninety-four towns and castles, killing a vast number of Jews, Armenians and Poles, and throwing their children, packed in barrels, into the Dnieper without mercy: seven or eight boys and girls were sold for a dinar (a ruble) or less. One of the places taken was Mohileff, p. 85. Its governor having submitted himself, and *having been baptised*, was confirmed as voivode in conjunction with one of the emperor's own officers, ib. The emperor goes to Viazma (on the former frontier), there to wait till the plague at Moscow should cease (p. 85), and thither the empress was conducted to him by the patriarch Nicon, p. 92. We were told that the annual stipend allowed to the protopope of Kolomna by the emperor is fifteen rubles and a piece of fine cloth (every priest or deacon has a permanent stipend): their articles of food are brought to their houses by their land bailiffs; and, besides their stipend from the emperor, *their commodities are exempt from all duties*. The protopope of Kolomna has a village bequeathed to him; besides, he has a large house for his dwelling; but neither the one nor the other is his private property. Being *held of the emperor*, they pass to the use of the protopope for the time being. On the death of the protopope one of the inferior priests *repairs to the emperor* with a certificate of his worthiness from the town magistracy; and he takes some of the ἁγιασμὸς of the festival of the church with the protodeacon. The emperor then invests them with robes of honour belonging to their office, p. 88.

Jan. 21, 1655, a messenger comes to Kolomna inviting the patriarch of Antioch in the emperor's name to Moscow, p. 90. Feb. 10, the emperor enters Moscow, p. 93. He enters the Kremlin walking bareheaded, with the patriarch by his side, in conversation with him, ib. He weeps at seeing the desolation caused by the plague, and at seeing the ruins of the great bell-tower, in which was the clock and the great bell, in the Kremlin (burned about Christmas last), p. 94. The Poles, hiring 40,000 men from the Tatars to assist them, now again invade the Kozak country; but they are routed by Khmielnitsky, who sends news of this to the emperor, p. 95. Feb. 12 (the commemoration of St. Alexis metropolitan of Moscow, and of St. Meletius of Antioch), the emperor receives the patriarch Macarius, p. 96; who wishes he may from 'autocrat' become 'monocrat,' *i. e.* sole emperor, p. 98. Afterwards he sends the patriarch Macarius at once (contrary to former custom) to the patriarch Nicon, p. 99. Form observed at his banquet, p. 100, at which he himself eats but little, being rather engaged in conversing with Nicon, and in paying attention to the patriarch Macarius. No flesh meat is served; he fills cups for all for healths four times round; and the banquet lasts till near midnight, p. 100-102: and see vol. iii. Suppl. xxvi. p. 535. He is regarded by his subjects nearly in the same light as the Messiah, p. 104. He raises the daily allowance for the patriarch Macarius' table from 25 kopecks to 100 (the patriarch of Jerusalem had had only 15), ib. Feb. 18 (the Sunday of the Carnival or of the Second Advent), he invites the patriarch Macarius to celebrate before him with Nicon in the cathedral. Also on Feb. 20 (instead of March 1, for the name's day of the tsarevna Eudocia), in the winter church of the palace, where he acted as sacristan or κανδηλάπτης; and afterwards he gives a banquet, p. 107, 287. Nicon when metropolitan of Novgorod was sent by him to bring the relics of the metropolitan St. Philip from the

Solovetsky, p. 109. How he made Nicon first (in 1646) archimandrite of the Novospass, and after three years (in 1649) metropolitan of Novgorod; and then, on the death of the former patriarch Joseph (in July 1652), made him patriarch of Moscow, consenting to his stipulations ['innovations' subjecting him to deposition, according to the boyars: see vol. iii. p. 323-325], that *in future* the emperor alone should confer no ecclesiastical or sacerdotal offices whatever, and issuing besides a decree that the patriarch's sentence in ecclesiastical matters should be final, without any concurrent or appellate jurisdiction [as of the monastery prikaz erected by the code of 1649] to interfere with it, p. 110, 167; (comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 222, 'Who was he?' 'I promoted him,' &c.). His love and that of his empress for the patriarch is beyond expression, p. 111, 131, 157. His Kozaks have within these six years discovered and subjected to him the third and most distant Siberia, called the New World, p. 123. He has recently had an embassy sent to him from the queen of Kitaiska, who guesses he may be that 'White Emperor' of their written prophecies who is to subdue all the world, p. 126. How he has made a trench 5000 versts long, with thirty forts and many towers, from near Pontivl to the mouth of the Volga. Instead of the original tribute to the Tatars, fixed by the metropolitan St. Peter at 40,000 dinars, he pays now only 12,000; and but for the anathema of St. Peter and the Polish war, he would during these last two years have cut it off altogether, p. 129, 70. He has been *forced* by Nicon to drive out the English and other Franks, and the Armenians, from all the walled cities into the suburbs, p. 130. The empire is governed by only two persons, himself and the patriarch, p. 131. When the English had murdered their king he expelled them from his dominions, ib. He twice sent embassies to Timouraz king of Georgia; he remonstrated with the Persians (having very friendly relations with them) for making war on Timouraz, after killing his son David; and he invited the widowed queen Helena with her young son Nicholas to Moscow, where she, having narrowly escaped from the Persians, at length arrived, p. 134. (The shah disavowed his officers who had made war on the Georgians, p. 135.) The emperor and the empress are the leaders of the nation in religious observances; how then should the courtiers be otherwise than devout? He stands through the mass bareheaded like one of the people, bowing continually in metánoias, and striking his forehead on the ground before the icon of the saint, in weeping and lamentation, in presence of all the congregation, p. 136. He was scandalised to hear that Vasili bey of Moldavia wears his calpack in the church, except at certain moments, and that he does not take it off even in the presence of the bishops, p. 137. The grandees, we were told, in his father's time despised him, and nicknamed him 'the young monk.' He, however, now has overpowered his contemners, and has reduced them to the lowest condition, and killed *most* of them; we were told that he killed one of them with his own hand in the midst of the council, . . . being a valiant young man and of great severity, p. 138; Appendix i. p. 395-407; vi. p. 481-485. And whereas the Muscovites were formerly averse to wars, the emperor and the present patriarch have treated their wisdom as folly; and the emperor has gone out in person to fight for Christ. And as such was his intention, so his hope was granted him; for after taking Smolensk he subdued all the towns of Poland [*i. e.*

of Lithuania] and entirely subverted the dominion of the Poles. Anecdotes about rough practical jokes practised by him on his grandees, making them ford the river after him on horseback at a deep place, and tying them with their hands behind their backs, and throwing them into the river: and many stories similar to these are told of him, p. 137-139; (and comp. p. 278, 279, 296; and vol. iii. p. 535, 536). Feb. 25, having received news of Radzivil's attempt to retake Mohileff, he gave the letters to the patriarch in the church to read, and after the liturgy presented to him six commanders to be blessed for the war, p. 140. The first three days of Lent he and the empress fast till after the liturgy on Wednesday, when he eats slices of sweet cake; then he again fasts till the Saturday, when, after having received the holy mysteries and the antidoron, he again breaks his fast. His streltses seal up all the wine and spirit taverns till after Wednesday in Easter week. Woe to any one if he be found drunk, or with a vessel of liquor in his hand! p. 141. In the same manner he fasts also in the week of the Passion, p. 142 and in like manner in 1656, at p. 304, 535). March 4 (the first Sunday in Lent), he invited the patriarch of Antioch to concelebrate with Nicon in the cathedral. While they were chanting, as usual, 'Everlasting remembrance!' he stood bareheaded before the patriarch Nicon's chair, with his hands in his bosom on account of the cold (the two patriarchs being then within the sanctuary), p. 145. Then they named, after the saints and the orthodox emperors, &c., those who had fallen last year at Smolensk, and sang the anathemas against the heretics. Then the archdeacon, having recited the emperor's full title, wished him 'many years!' and the same was taken up and sung within the sanctuary, and again without by the quoirs. Then the patriarchs went out and wished him 'many years!' and so on, 'many years!' to each member of the imperial family; and then to the patriarch of Moscow. And the emperor came to him before the holy doors and prayed for him, and wished him many years, and bowed to him, as he did to the emperor. When the emperor kissed his hand the patriarch kissed the emperor's forehead, as usual. The emperor then saluted the patriarch of Antioch with the rest of the bishops, and they bowed to him, and he to them; all the clergy at the same time bowed to the emperor. Then having requested this first of the patriarch of Moscow, p. 148; comp. p. 290), he went and approaching the archdeacon bade him give out a polychronion for the patriarch of Antioch; and it was done, &c. p. 148. After the liturgy, when the patr. Nicon, in preaching upon the icons, had exhibited and condemned some painted in a foreign Frank fashion, and throwing them on the ground had ordered them to be burned, the emperor, who was standing near bareheaded, listening in humble silence to the discourse, entreated the patriarch in an under voice, saying, 'No, father, do not burn them; rather bury them in the earth.' And so it was done, p. 151. March 9-10, he invites the patriarch of Antioch to officiate together with Nicon in the convent of the Ascension, and to make a commemoration for his mother, p. 154. Sunday, March 10, in the church, he presents to the patriarch of Antioch a new sakkos, which is put on and worn at once. He declines to let the patriarch of Antioch go, but, taking him by the hand, presents him to Nicon, saying: 'This is my deputy,' p. 156. Later on the same day, after a παράκλησις in the cathedral, and the prayers for war, he

stood silent with his hands crossed in humility, bareheaded, with his head bowed down, listening to the exhortation of Nicon, who wore his mitre, and spoke with the gestures and tone of one teaching with authority—a striking contrast: God knows *our hearts ached for the emperor!* Then, having gone in procession to the stone oratory, and having been again prayed over and blessed by the two patriarchs, he mounted his sledge and drove off, having the icon of Blacherna set up before him. Contributions from the patriarch of Moscow and the other bishops and convents, p. 159. He sent an order to the troops of Novgorod and Pskoff to march towards the sea-coast, and coöperate with those of the new king of Sweden, who had sent to inform the emperor that he desired to recover fifteen towns taken from his kingdom by the Poles (afterwards having regained these, he did great damage besides to the Poles, overrunning all their country), p. 160; comp. Appendix v. p. 468, 469. This year he found no Polish army to resist him in the field; but they sent repeatedly to the Turks (offering to become their tributaries), and to the Tatars to help them, p. 162. Of the Cesar also they had hopes; but there the emperor had anticipated them, ib. How it is that the emperor has not been able hitherto to root out the Tatars of the Crimea, though he has been preparing for a suitable opportunity, which is perhaps now near at hand, p. 163. He has lately issued a new coinage, dividing every dollar into four parts called chetverts, and stamping them with his own equestrian image; also he has stamped whole piastres, to go each as two instead of one; and *afterwards* (in 1656) he issued also copper money, to go at the value of silver; all this has increased his power and the love of his subjects towards him, nothing inferior to their love of their creator, p. 164; Appendix vi. p. 481-485. A man blaspheming God may meet with forgiveness among them, *but he who reviles the emperor is sure to lose his head:* woe to the man who commits any offence, whether he be rich or poor! no intercession, no bribery avails him; they drag him off to judgment, *executed*, God knows, *with the strictest justice*, p. 165. Before he left, the emperor appointed a viceregent and many ministers; the patriarch he placed as inspector over all, so that nothing small or great should be determined without his advice, ib. By what we observed of the grandees, they *do not much fear the emperor*, nor entertain much dread of him; they *rather fear the patriarch, and by many degrees more*, p. 166. Whereas formerly no one was promoted to be an archimandrite but by command of the tsar, nor deposed but by him, the emperor Alexis has consented that Nicon on becoming patriarch should annul this rule, and promote or deprive whom he pleases, without consulting any one, p. 169. After the return of Arsenius Souchanoff from his first mission to observe the manner of performing the ritual in the Levant, the patriarch and the emperor convoked a synod (in the spring of 1654), and sent him again to Mount Athos, &c., to collect MSS. and printed books, p. 170. March 17, 1656, the emperor completes his 27th year, p. 171. He sends to the patriarch Nicon six Lithuanian priests (uniats) who had presented themselves to one of his commanders in a suppliant manner declaring that they were orthodox, p. 175. On Palm Sunday, Apr. 8, if he had been present he would have led the patriarch's horse in the procession, and would have had a claim on him for certain presents for his trouble, and for his humility, p. 181, 182. At their banquets the emperors

of Muscovy are used to feed poor blind men and cripples, and to wash their feet, p. 182. The only written list and account of the relics is in the emperor's treasury, p. 189. During the present holy season he is at Smolensk, p. 191. During the week of the Passion and this week of Easter he would, if he had been present, have gone round to the prisons at Moscow, and would have done acts of charity to the prisoners, p. 197. He has 600 streltses on guard about the palace, who are relieved daily; there are about seventy prikazes (*i.e.* public officers and counts); there are seven provinces to which he sends two voivodes each; and of inferior voivodes there are 1500, governing from 2000 to 1000 villages each. His annual revenue is thirty-six millions of gold pieces, while that of the sultan is twenty-four millions: it is all derived from 1. the exportation of corn; 2. the mint; 3. the distillation of spirits; and 4. the customs at Archangel, p. 202. He will not let his eldest sister Irene become a nun, p. 204. Presents to be made to him by every new bishop on his consecration, p. 207, 208. Every year each of the bishops has to come to him thrice with his presents, viz. at Christmas, at Easter, and at the festival of his cathedral. The name and appearance of proprietor belong to the bishop or head of a monastery, but the wealth and effects belong to the emperor, p. 209. The revenue of the emperor from his whole territory is to that of Troitsa as two to one; his collector in the custom-houses taking two, and the collector of Troitsa taking one per cent. Finally, however, all the treasures of the convent and its properties are in the seizure of the emperor; and he has imposed on them this year a contribution of above 100,000 dinars, p. 215. They never do even the most trifling thing without deliberate orders from the emperor and the patriarch. The alms of the convent are given to every person who visits them according to ancient custom, and by injunction of the emperor and the patriarch, and cannot be varied except by the emperor's command. It is not as we used to hear it reported, that according to what the emperor gives so much does the convent give; for whether it be from the emperor or from the convent, the whole of it is part of the treasure and property of the emperor. There are apartments here for the emperor and the empress, p. 216-218. The king and queen of Sweden send to the emperor 50,000 muskets, p. 225. All his victories are celebrated not by guns, or drums, or fifes, &c., but by church bells and παρακλήσεις, p. 225. He has brought 300 Kozak (Lithuanian) nuns to the convent of Saba, recently founded here by the emperor, p. 229. He has sent to Nicon church vestments taken from the Poles and the Armenians, p. 237. He takes Vilna on the 31st of August, and writes the news of this to the patriarch Nicon and to the patriarch Macarius, p. 240. Oct. 8, according to the letters now received at Moscow, the emperor has taken nine fortresses of the Poles, his archons five, and Boutourlin and Khmielnitsky four; and they have taken prisoner a great Polish hetman, Paul Pototsky, p. 255. Two embassies are sent to him, from the Cesar and from the king of Sweden, which enter Moscow Oct. 14, p. 256. He has been detained at Smolensk by the long continuance of open weather, p. 257. Dec. 9 and 10, the great new bell, which has been founding since Feb. last, is sounded to announce his arrival; and he makes his triumphal entry, being met by the patriarchs and all the clergy, &c. at the earthen rampart; he is praised and thanked and exhorted and blessed by

Nicon, who praises also and thanks and blesses his officers. He ascribes his victories, beyond their hopes, to the prayers of the patriarch; to whom he gives up the cross of Constantine, the icon of Blachernæ, and the other icons taken with him to the war, p. 262 (vol. iii. Suppl. xi. p. 384). Dec. 15, he gives audience to the ambassadors from the Cesar and from the Swedes; he leagues himself closely with the Cesar, who pleases him immensely by giving him the title of 'the Cesar of Orthodoxy,' and resolves at his suggestion to make war on the Swedes, p. 265; Appendix v. p. 469. While still at Smolensk he had received an envoy from Venice seeking coöperation against the Turks, which he hopes to be able to give them before long, p. 266. Dec. 16, he receives the homage of all the clergy in the cathedral on his return, p. 267; (comp. vol. iii. p. 231, 232, 237). Dec. 21, he will not let the patriarch of Antioch go, but bids him remain till the Epiphany, p. 270. Dec. 22, in the church, at the request of the patriarch of Antioch, he bids Nicon wear a new latia of white silk made in the Greek fashion, p. 272; vol. iii. p. 484, 493. On this day, at the opening of the new patriarchal palace, he brings in and offers with his own hands his presents, and those of each of the other members of his family, to the patriarch Nicon, p. 273; and after the banquet he stays with him after the other guests are all gone, and goes down with him to the vigil service in the cathedral, p. 276. Robes worn by him on Christmas-day, p. 277. Dec. 26, on learning how Basil Bas. Boutourlin and Khmielnitsky had done nothing either at Kamenetz or at Lvoff, and had raised the siege of the citadel of Lublin, and after defeating the Tatar khan had made a convention with him and let him escape, he is furiously angry against Boutourlin; and hearing that he was already dead, he sends orders to burn his body; but the patriarch making much entreaty, he allows it to be brought to Moscow, p. 279; (comp. p. 138, and vol. iii. p. 171, 534, 536). After taking Vilna he sent to Nicon twenty bisons, ib. He issues a command that the blessing of the water is to be performed at the Epiphany only once, viz. on the eve, ib.

Jan. 5, 1656, he goes in procession to the Moskva for the blessing of the water, p. 280. News comes that an attempt to retake Vilna has been defeated; and he is flattered by hearing that some of the prisoners excused themselves for having fled without fighting by saying that they had seen the emperor on horseback in the sky with his name written on him, and St. Michael with his drawn sword assailing their army, p. 281. Having now taken the title of 'Autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia,' he orders a like title of 'Patriarch of all Great, Little, and White Russia' to be given in public acts and in the πολυχρόνιον to the patriarch of Moscow, p. 281. (Appendix ii. p. 408, 411, 413, and v. p. 463; vol. iii. p. 333, 158). At his Sabbin monastery, 20th Jan. he asks the patriarch of Antioch why he did not write to inform him against that wretched metropolitan Mira, whose misconduct and ingratitude had caused him so much trouble, adding that, though he had then got away,[5] his arm was still long enough

[5] After the great offence of smoking tobacco had been condoned to this metropolitan Mira, so far as his own person was concerned (for his attendants were all punished), 'they discovered his other infamous vices and acts,' and sent after him to overtake and apprehend him. But to Ligarides they not only condoned his smoking tobacco, but even after discovering his other 'infamous vices and acts,' they took from him for themselves and for the Russian Church the initiatory blessing, instead

to reach him, p. 282: he serves his monks at their table: feeds poor blind men and cripples; distributes cups for healths; kisses his sick monks, regardless of the dreadful putrid smells, p. 283-293. He asks the archdeacon Paul to say the ектенія and to read the gospel in Russ; the reader in the vigil service saying inadvertently, 'Bless, father!' as usual, instead of addressing himself to the patriarch of Antioch and saying, 'Bless, my lord!' the emperor, starting up from his seat, chides him angrily, calling him '*Mgi'l Ukollia!*' p. 287. From the beginning of the service to the end he was busy teaching them the order of the ritual, going about and saying to them, 'Chant so;' repeating such a kanon, such a podoben, such an irmos, or such a troparion, in such a tone: if they went wrong he scolded them, and made them go back; in a word, he was as it were the master of ceremonies: he seemed to have undertaken the office of candle-lighter, p. 287, 288 (comp. p. 157, 'The young monk;' and vol. iii. p. 237, 'one would think he had been all his life a bishop;' p. 231, 'we have no fear of being hurt under our Hossoudar Alexis, but we fear *for the future*'). When the archdeacon Paul would have incensed him before Christ, he sets him right: and again when he would have given him the gospel to kiss before giving it to the patriarch Macarius, p. 289. A deacon of the metr. Mira, who had been suspended by Nicon, having prostrated himself before the emperor, asking his permission to officiate, the emperor refused, saying: 'I *fear* the patriarch Nicon, who would perhaps *give me his crozier*, and say, *Take it, and tend the monks and priests yourself:* I do not contradict or oppose you in the command of your generals and troops: why then do you set yourself against me in the concerns of priests and monks?' 'When we heard this of the emperor,' the writer adds, 'we were seized with *wonder*, at his manifesting such a degree of religious feeling, reverence, and veneration towards his bishops,' p. 290. [When they came again in 1666, there was no longer the same occasion for *wonder*, or at least, not for *wonder of the same kind*. See p. 287, 289, and comp. p. 148, 169, 169, and Appendix i. p. 407]. He grants to the Polish hetman Paul Pototsky, after he has sworn allegiance, and has been rebaptised (having Elia Miloslafsky for his godfather), the government of his former territory; keeping, however, hostages of his family and relatives, p. 294; comp. p. 85, 279. He goes out twenty versts, Feb. 1, to meet the patriarch Nicon on his return from the Iversky convent and from Novgorod, p. 294. He imposes on the clergy a contribution of a tenth for the Swedish war, p. 295. Feb. 2 (the Presentation) and Feb. 3, for the name's day of the tsarevna Anna, he invites the patriarch Macarius to concelebrate before him in two of the churches in the palace, and to banquet with him afterwards, p. 295, 296. Feb. 4, he receives a cross containing wood of the true cross brought from Lublin. On hearing of this relic he had relented from his violent anger against Boutourlin, and allowed his body to be brought to Moscow, and to be buried in the Choudoff, p. 297, 279. He orders the fort Taman, taken by the Don Kozaks, to be razed, p. 297. He receives petitions (as do also the empress and the patriarch) on his way to and from the church, and on other occasions when going out or coming in, p. 298: he causes the writer

---

of taking it from their own patriarch Nicon, p. 283. Comp. p. 164, and vol. iii. p. 99, 392, 364, 388, and p. 101. 'All was ecclesiastically hushed up,' &c.; and p. 427.

to be sent for to translate a Persian letter, ib. Feb. 10 (the Sunday of the Carnival), a nun having made known to him in the church how she had been healed the night before by an apparition of the metropolitan St. Philip, he sheds tears, while Nicon preaches on this miracle, p. 301. Six of his ancestors have their tombs in the Novospass convent, where there are cells for himself and for the empress, p. 302. Feb. 12 (comm. of St. Alexis) he is present at the liturgy in the Choudoff: at the banquet, when his health was being drunk and the writer advanced to receive his cup, he smiled at him and said, 'Ο ἅγιος ἀρχιδιάκονος—*veliki chelovick!*' Feb. 15, in the Cheese-week, he went round to all the convents, asking pardon of the monks and nuns, p. 304. His strict observance of Lent, p. 304. Feb. 24 (the first Sunday in Lent) he receives and publishes the news of the death of Radzivil in Sweden (he having fled thither in 1655 and done homage to the king of Sweden for Lithuania, after the tsar had conquered it), p. 307. March 5 he gives audience of leave to the patriarch of Antioch, to whom he gives 50 soroks of sables worth 3000 dinars, besides granting various petitions for particular objects, and giving the same presents to all his suite for this their last kissing of hands as for the first, p. 308, 310, 104. He also gives the like audience to the metropolitan of Servia (although he had entered in the emperor's name, as if to become his subject), ostensibly as if only for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and he gives to him and to the metropolitan of Nice each four soroks of sables and 400 dinars, p. 310. The minister of the Posolsky prikaz tells them that at parting with the patriarch of Antioch the emperor had said to his grandees: 'Truly he is a holy man; one sees it in his countenance:' and that he added, 'I pray that before I die I may see him, with the other three patriarchs, celebrating the liturgy in St. Sophia, with our patriarch Nicon assisting them.' All answered 'God grant it,' p. 311. He asks the patriarch of Antioch for some of his Συγχωρητικὰ for himself, the other members of his family, and for his great officers of state, ib. and p. 54, 56. Just before Easter, there came to the patriarch Nicon Stephen metropolitan of Moldavia, but with a secret commission to offer to the tsar the allegiance of the bey Stephen of Moldavia and of all his principality [note that information of this mission would reach Moscow somewhat earlier from Poutivl], p. 318. Apr. 4 (Good Friday), the emperor sends a stolnik, preceded by a courier, with a letter to overtake the patriarch of Antioch, and to bring him back from Bolchov, to attend a synod [for which the summonses to all the bishops must have been issued *before he left* Moscow], *to be consulted respecting the mission of the metropolitan of Moldavia*, and to assist in condemning a new heresy, p. 314. On Holy Saturday there comes an envoy from the Poles, begging the emperor to *pardon* them, and humbly offering him *all he should require* [viz. the succession to the crowns of Poland and Lithuania]: and he grants them a truce or armistice 'for an indefinite period' (*i.e.* only for the time being), p. 318. At Easter he issues an ordinance in pursuance of information given him in the Sabbin monastery in January by the patriarch of Antioch, to correct the improper manner of killing meat, p. 317. On Easter Sunday, Apr. 6, he calls to him in the cathedral the Greeks then at Moscow, asks them if they wish him to deliver them; and bids them, on their return, engage their bishops and monks to pray for the success of his arms;

adding to his grandees these words: 'I have resolved in my own mind that, please God, I will expend my troops, my treasures, and my own blood to the last drop, in the endeavour to deliver them,' p. 317. Apr. 16, he receives again the patriarch of Antioch, p. 318. May 4, he is present in the cathedral when the patriarch Nicon, together with the patriarch of Antioch and the other bishops, consecrates Kyr Joseph to be archbishop of Astrachan; and he hears Kyr Joseph utter his vow of canonical obedience to Nicon, p. 319, 378; (and see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 13, 151, 313, 136-140; vol. iii. p. 396-399, 327, 344, 318). Afterwards the emperor gives a banquet, and receives the usual presents from the new bishop, ib. comp. p. 64. The emperor prepares to go to Smolensk, to see in person how an agreement may be come to between himself and the Poles, p. 320: (see above, p. 318, and Appendix v. p. 471, &c.). He sends off troops for the Swedish campaign (in which the Cesar is to coöperate with him by sea), and places the Swedish ambassador under strict guard, p. 320. Before leaving he visits the convents. May 6, he sends on before him by Joseph metropolitan of Kroutitz the cross of Constantine, and the icon of Blacherne, p. 321. He is not said to be *present*, still less to *preside*, in a synod of all the Russian bishops held on the Sunday before Ascension by the patriarch Nicon in the patriarchal palace; but its decree against the practice of rebaptising Poles and others of the same communion, together with a tome embodying the acts of the council of C.P. of 1484, and its form for the reception of Latins, written out and signed by the patriarch of Antioch, was communicated to him by Nicon, and published together with an imperial decree giving it the force of law, p. 322. May 5 (the Ascension), he mounts his horse and rides away for the Swedish war, after being prayed over and blessed by the two patriarchs (the Swedish ambassador too having been invited to witness the pageant of his departure), p. 322; Appendix v. p. 471, &c. The next day he is met on his road and entertained by the patriarch Nicon at a villa belonging to the latter, seven versts out, p. 324. Having gone to Smolensk, after some time he settled a *peace* with the Poles, *on their submission to him*, the terms asked *by them* being, that the crâl should continue on the throne till his death, but that then his dominions should pass to the emperor. *But Khmielnitsky and the Kozaks would not agree to this*, p. 338; Appendix v. p. 466, 473, 474. As for the Swedes, he took from them many castles, and their capital Riga, all but the stone citadel, which, being open to the sea, obtained supplies from thence; and at length, after he had lost a vast number of his troops, the siege was abandoned, p. 339; Appendix v. p. 471. The King of Sweden, who had overrun all Poland, but felt now that he could not retain it, at the instigation of Khmielnitsky makes a treaty of partition with his coreligionist Ragoza, prince of Transylvania, and Ragoza calls on the beys of Moldavia and Wallachia (whom he had assisted in placing on their thrones) to coöperate; and they, however, unwillingly, comply.

But Khmielnitsky, soon quarrelling with Ragoza, brings in upon him the Tatars, by whom he is entirely defeated at the end of July 1657, p. 341.

And the Turks, having taken umbrage, depose the beys of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the prince of Transylvania; and all these countries are occupied and desolated by them and by their dependents the Tatars; and two new beys, Michael in Wallachia, and Chapka in Moldavia, and a

new prince or crâl in Transylvania are appointed, and put into possession, by order of the grand vizir Kupriuli. Thus the submission of Moldavia to the tsar negotiated by Stephen bey, in 1656, and the hopes built on it, had no results, p. 339-368; Appendix v. p. 475.

The tsar at some time or other—not, certainly, in the cathedral on Good Friday in 1656, nor on account of Nicon's having blessed the water only once at the Epiphany preceding, but perhaps when he refused to consecrate a metropolitan for Kieff in 1657—began to show anger and impatience when thwarted or reproved by the patriarch, and to 'dispute' with him, and to answer him with 'unseemly words,' saying to him perhaps even '*Mujik bludia!*' as the patriarch Macarius and his son had already in Jan. 1656 heard him say, even in the church, to a reader, p. 287, 316; (Appendix v. p. 478; comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 583): he replied to Nicon's remonstrances by no longer acknowledging him for his spiritual father, and by sending to bring again to Russia (in 1666) the patriarch Macarius of Antioch (p. 317), who came with his son, as before, and with the patriarch of Alexandria, from Georgia (p. 133, 123); and they, acting as the tsar's spiritual fathers instead of Nicon, condemned and deposed Nicon for his rapacity and violence, his interfering and taking a lead in matters of state, p. 147; his innovations in church matters, p. 110, 169, 317; his haughtiness and rude behaviour and his exceeding pride, p. 316; and by their help the tsar and the boyars of Moscow subjected their priests and monks to the temporal authority, p. 147.

iv. *Character of the Greeks and of their clergy; especially of Greek ecclesiastics coming into Muscovy.*

Pontivl is the gate, p. 62. Traders are not admitted there, as such; nor are there any dues payable on merchandise: all who are admitted at all live and travel at the expense of the emperor; traders, then, either bring letters as if sent on business from some patriarch, or they get attached to the suite of some bishop, p. 64: and the ecclesiastics who come for alms are also themselves in part traders, whose chief profits are from other sources than the alms they receive: they make their bargains with those whom they attach to their suites, p. 104, 105. The voivode makes out a list of the persons admissible, and appoints them their carriages and allowances, p. 65. Bad luck of a Servian metropolitan, p. 65 (see above under ii.; see too p. 97, 101, 108, 336). Before the patriarch Jeremiah of C.P. came to Moscow (in 1588) the Muscovites regarded all the Greeks as polluted by their contact with the Turks, and would scarcely allow them to enter their churches, p. 97. How those who come for alms make their chief profits; and what amount of alms they may obtain, according to their rank; also of their ἄρχοντες and ἀνεψιοί, p. 105. Degeneracy of the Greeks, who are disliked and despised by all nations: vices and profligacy of their bishops and clergy, p. 63, 64, 86, 92, 105, 146: yet *even they* have some good and laudable points; for instance *this*, that *though they see the flagitiousness of their clergy*, and the crimes they commit, they honour them for the sake of their sacred office, and *do not* [like some others] *subject the priests and monks to their temporal authority*, p. 147. Yet some persons of sense and sagacity affect to value them

above us Syrians. God be merciful to us and to them, and deliver us both from hell-fire! ib. The metropolitan Clement of Modanir is hated for his haughtiness by the people: 'God erase his name from the book of life!' p. 2. Crimes of the ex-patriarch of C.P. Cyril Koza, p. 10-15. Vasili boy of Moldavia, and *all his Greek nation*, are hated by the natives, partly on account of the misconduct and profligacy of his nephew, p. 22. Severity of the Muscovites in the frequent case of rambling Greek monks who come among them and perpetrate all sorts of impurities and crimes; and for the special crime of smoking tobacco they even put them to death. Now what shall we say of this, brother, except that they undoubtedly deserve it! And for this cause we were in great fear on our own account, p. 61. How the patriarch of Jerusalem, Paisius, and the ex-patriarch of C.P., Athanasius Patalaron, bargained with those whom they attached to their suites, and styled them 'archons' and 'relatives,' p. 105. Odious improprieties of the metropolitan Mira, whose misconduct and ingratitude had been one chief cause of the patriarch Macarius being obliged to travel, as also of his servants and companions: his archimandrites and his so-called relatives and deacons, having been detected smoking tobacco, were all banished; only the metropolitan himself was let off on the intercession of Patalaron: but later, having discovered his other infamous vices and actions, they sent after him, and he was overtaken in the Kozak country; but he bribed the officers, and got off, p. 109, 284. Metrophanes, metropolitan of Aleppo, is a ravening wolf and a drunkard, p. 377. Crimes and avarice of Athanasius metropolitan of Emessa, for which he is deposed and degraded by the patriarch of Antioch; he dies excommunicate, p. 328.

v. *Of ecclesiastical discipline and customs.*

Without permission of the local bishops, a stranger bishop, though a patriarch, does not celebrate the liturgy; so it is at Modanir in 1652 and at Œnoos in 1659, p. 2, 373. [But in vol. iii. the same patriarch Macarius treats the patriarch Nicon in 1666 as already condemned, and holds a synod by command only of the tsar, and in conjunction with the tsar's instruments, such as Paisius Ligarides, and Pitirim, and Paul (made by him metropolitans of Novgorod and of Kroutitz respectively), see p. 64, 296-299, 399.] Permission ought to be asked not only of civil rulers but of the local patriarch, even under the tyranny of the infidels, before visiting the capital, p. 3. Form in which one patriarch, coming into the province of another, asks permission, and is met and received by the local patriarch, even under the infidel Turks, p. 3. Having obtained a written permission, and not otherwise, the patriarch of Antioch celebrates in the local churches of C.P., p. 4. Going to the Danubian principalities (and to Kieff) he takes from the patriarch of C.P. letters to the beys and to the metropolitans, p. 9. On a written invitation from the patriarch of C.P. and his bishops, the patriarch of Antioch attends a synod there to condemn or reaffirm the condemnation of an ex-patriarch, Cyril Koza, p. 10. [But in contrast to the canonical and customary forms with which one patriarch should come into the province of another, and celebrate there, or assist at ceremonies and at synods, even under the tyranny of

infidels, compare what is related or implied of the two patriarchs, Paisius of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch (to say nothing of Paisius Ligarides), in vol. iii. p. 78, 81, 119-123, 125, 127, 137, 142, 167-170, 199, 201, 391, 416-418, &c.]. Charges on which the ex-patriarch Cyril is anathematised and excommunicated: 1. That he had *excited a schism* against the metropolitan of Corinth, and compassed his death, so as to usurp his see; 2. Again, he had violently usurped the see of Philippopolis, without permission of the patriarch, *by the power of the civil government only* (see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 551, 581, 668, 670; and vol. iii. p. 56, 296-299, 102, 388, 392, 396, 397, 399, 500, 617); 3. A third see, that of Chalcedon, he obtained in like manner, *by the power of the civil authorities;* 4. And a *fourth*, that of Tirnovo, *in like manner;* whereas to take a fourth see *under any circumstances* is no more permitted than for a layman to take a fourth wife; 5. He came *and made himself* [by the influence of the French ambassador and the power of the Turks] patriarch of C.P., being the person who caused the murder [through the grand vizir] of Cyril Lucar the Alexandrian in the time of Sultan Amurath, p. 12. It has been the custom for the bishops of C.P., when retiring or deposed *without crime*, to become the metropolitan of some other see the first time, and again the second time of another see, but no more; though latterly it has happened that he takes a third [rather a fourth] see. When he is deposed again after this, he retains the portion for his maintenance in retirement,[6] with the title and honour of a bishop, without the power to take another see, by their new regulations, it being similar in their opinion to matrimony. From this condition it may happen that he is restored again to the patriarchate; but should he take a *fourth* see he is anathematised and excommunicated, p. 12. In the synod thus anathematising and excommunicating Cyril Koza there are present *twelve* metropolitans, besides the sitting patriarch Paisius and the patriarch Macarius of Antioch: they are all vested in their omophoria and epitrachelia; and all subscribe the written act (the *syngrapha*) afterwards, p. 13. [Comp. p. 383, where the metropolitan of Emessa is condemned by the patriarch of Antioch and his synod by authority of God and *of the sultan*, though only *seven* bishops could be present: also see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 38, 201, 304, 549, 603, 620; and vol. iii. p. 181, 193, 420, 433, 435, 445, 447; and in this volume Appendix ii. 410.] After the murder of Parthenius II., called the Elder, in 1650, Joannicius was patriarch of C.P. for some time; and Cyril Koza, or Σπανὸς, supplanted him; but no one received him at the patriarchate; and after three days, having nothing to give to the vizir and the rest, as he had promised, he was deposed by them, and they set up instead Athanasius Patalaron, who had been formerly metropolitan of Thessalonica, and afterwards patriarch, after the deposition of Cyril Lucar; but after a short time he was deposed, and obtained from Vasili boy of Moldavia a church and a monastery in Jassy with their dependencies. There he re-

[6] How Nicon's offers and proposals for his own personal retirement, as one guilty of no crime and not to be treated as a felon, were discussed and rejected at Moscow will appear in vol. iv. The reason, no doubt, was the same as that which moved the boyars to insist on his complete degradation, viz. the fear lest he might after a time regain his influence with the tsar. See too, in vol. iii. p. 395, 428, allusions to the same proposals.

mained till lately, when he came to C.P. *without permission of the bey*, and again became patriarch in the place of Cyril Koza. But not having the money necessary to buy the goodwill of the governors, he stood his ground only fifteen days, and they deposed him; so he fled back to Moldavia, and finding the bey there incensed against him, and his church and convent given to others, he went on, early in 1653, to Moscow, staying there till Dec. following, when he left and died in Easter week, 1654, at Lubni near Chigirin. After he had left C.P., the bishops and all the clergy, by their own will and choice, raised to the patriarchate Kyr Paisius, metropolitan of Larissa, having first made him *sell his see* of Larissa for 12,000 piastres to the person who took it from him. This was our friend, a reverend, attentive, and polite man, beloved by great and small, of a placid disposition and ingenuous mind. As for Cyril Koza, he was staying at the house of a great man [the French ambassador probably], who protected him. So also was the deposed Joannicius staying in the house of another in Galata. I, the poor historian, went to visit him where he was living in concealment, with a white turban on his head, p. 11. [Paisius, for whom they prayed at Kieff in June 1654, and who, at the end of this year, in reply to xxv. Questions addressed to him, sent letters and Answers to Moscow, which were received in 1655, seems to have been succeeded in 1655 by Parthenius III., who was taken from the church with his clergy and hanged, March 25, 1657, by order of the grand vizir, on a suspicion suggested by the Poles (see p. 341). After him followed Dionysius, who sat till the winter of 1665: then Parthenius IV. surnamed *Koumkoum*, or in Greek Μογίλαλος, *i.e.* 'the stammerer,' till 1668: then Methodius: and these last two, Parthenius IV. and Methodius, succeeded one another alternately during many years. Paisius patriarch of Jerusalem died, and was succeeded in 1660 by Nectarius; and he, resigning in 1668, was succeeded by Dositheus, a Sciote, who had before been his archdeacon and the companion of his travels; and Dositheus again was succeeded by Chrysanthus.] Malefactors in all these Christian countries are invariably taken to a priest, confessed, and communicated, as they are on their way to execution, p. 27; see vol. iii. p. 94-98, 491, 492. The blessing of the water at the Epiphany is performed twice, first on the eve, and then on the morning, of the festival itself, in 1653 at C.P., p. 13; in 1654 in Wallachia, p. 31; in 1655 at Kolomna, p. 89; in 1656 once only, viz. on the eve, by Nicon, p. 279; in 1657 at Tergovist, p. 335; in 1658 at Tergovist, p. 352; in 1659 at Sinope, where they blessed the sea as elsewhere the river, p. 371. (See p. 315, 316, 279, and Appendix ii. p. 415; and vol. iii. p. 160, 207, 484, 495). A cross set on a tall red spear is carried in the Kozak country and in Muscovy before a patriarch only, and when he halts it is planted at his door, p. 40, 70; see vol. iii. p. 169, 185, 186, 429, 434, 440, 442. In the Pechersky Lavra at Kieff, 29th June 1654, the monks commemorated in the ἐκτενῆς, &c. the patriarch of C.P. Paisius and their own archimandrite, their monastery being a stauropegion: we saw there chrysobulla about 500 years old: elsewhere in Kieff and Little Russia they pray for their own metropolitan Kyr Silvester, p. 54. (See *Replies*, &c. p. 158; and vol. iii. p. 56, 399, 426, 158). The metropole of Kieff and Little Russia had jurisdiction also over all Muscovy till about sixty years ago, when the patriarch Jeremiah of C.P. came and created

an independent patriarch for Muscovy, p. 55. Form of entering a house or room for a visit in Muscovy, p. 66. The Muscovites have a way of their own for making the sign of the cross; they hold their fingers in the same way in which bishops hold them in giving the blessing: they laughed at us for not knowing how to imitate them, p. 67: (see p. 151, 174, 410, 416, 422, 456; vol. iii. p. 484, 485, 490). One mirror at least, if not two, is in every chancel: the clergy comb and brush their long hair, p. 80. Nicon, before putting on his mitre, combs his hair and beard with an instrument made of pigs' bristles, p. 113: (see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 19; vol. iii. p. 484). Letters of Orders (ἰστατικὰ) are given to clerks on their ordination, p. 86. On the capture of Mohileff in 1651 the Polish governor swears allegiance to the tsar and is *rebaptised*, p. 85. This practice is condemned as irregular by the synod held in the fifth week of Lent 1655, p. 175. Yet, after that, the Polish hetman Paul Pototsky, after swearing allegiance and passing forty days as a catechumen in 1656, is 'taken under the protection of the patriarch,' and is rebaptised, p. 279, 291. The custom of rebaptising Poles is again condemned synodically 11th May 1656, p. 322, and lastly in 1667. (See Appendix ii. p. 425, 416; iii. p. 423-426, 433; vol. iii. p. 265; Suppl. xxiii. p. 479, and xxiv. ch. vi. p. 493, 494). The patriarch Macarius from his sledge blesses the people to the right and to the left, p. 91, (comp. vol. iii. p. 440; 'and giving his blessing to the people,' p. 442). There are three orders of 'deacons,' viz. 1. Anagnosts or readers, who are boys; 2. Subdeacons; and 3. Deacons: there are in the cathedral at Moscow ten of each of these orders, and one of each class is decurio or chief over the rest, p. 105. The metropolitan of Novgorod alone of the Russian bishops wears a sakkos, even when concelebrating with the patriarch, p. 139. Ordinations on letters dismissory; ordination fees, p. 205, 167. In the Choudoff, 12th Feb. 1656, in presence of the tsar, Nicon asks the patriarch Macarius to explain a passage in the Life of St. Meletius of Antioch respecting the right manner of making the sign of the cross, p. 302. And before that, in 1654, he had consulted the patriarch of C.P. Paisius (p. 410) and the patriarch Macarius of Antioch on the first Sunday in Lent 1655, p. 151. Edict to correct the improper manner of killing meat: for all the Christians from the Danube to the extremities of Muscovy were used to kill it in the Latin way, p. 317. Engagement of a bishop at his consecration, in presence of the tsar, to render canonical obedience to his primate; and though the people, or princes and boyars, or even the emperor himself, should seek to force him, to suffer death rather than break this engagement, p. 319, 378, (and see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 13, 151, 343, 136-140; vol. iii. p. 396-399, 327, 344, 348; comp. p. 64). A pilgrim starting for Jerusalem from Sinope makes his will, and is anointed with the Εὐχέλαιον, p. 371; see too p. 183; and vol. iii. p. 168, 430. Crimes of the metropolitan of Eniessa, a second Judas, who having been invited to act at Damascus only as deputy [as Pitirim in July 1658 was empowered by Nicon to act at Moscow] celebrated in the patriarchal see (*e.g.* at Sidenaia), occupying the patriarchal throne, wearing the sakkos, ordaining, standing at the cathedra behind the altar, all without permission from the owner of the see; also celebrating unlawful marriages for money, and committing other enormities, . . thus ungratefully proving treacherous to his lord and master, who had ordained him priest and consecrated

him bishop, p. 378; vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 158, 159, 165, 176, 501; and vol. iii. p. 46, 56, 391, 398, 399, 426. Aug. 8, 1659, in a synod attended by *seven* bishops, the patriarch Macarius, in conformity with the sacred canons, by the authority of God *and of the sultan*, having proved the above charges against the metropolitan of Emessa *to his face*, cuts him off from all functions of priesthood, till he repents and makes restitution, and in case of his being contumacious, also excommunicates and anathematises him; after which he flies to Aleppo, and dies in 1660 excommunicate, p. 383. Compare the references given above concerning the deposition of Paul of Kolomna, and vol. iii. p. 421.

vi. *Of the civil power in relation to the spiritual.*

Stephen metropolitan of Wallachia is deposed by Matthi bey, and Ignatius bishop of Rimnik is made metropolitan in his stead: after the death of Matthi, Constantine bey restores Stephen, and sends Ignatius back to his original see of Rimnik, p. 29, 341. [So too the first patriarch of Moscow Job, when he was bishop of Kolomna, was intruded into the place of Dionysius metropolitan of Moscow, who was thrust out by Boris Godounoff, brother-in-law and minister of the tsar Theodore Ivanovich: and in like manner Job himself in his turn, while still living, was set aside by the overbearing influence of the civil rulers, and Hermogenes consecrated to be patriarch in his stead. See vol. iii. p. 52, 55, 64.] If any bishop in the Levant supplants another, or possesses himself of a see by the authority of the civil rulers, *i.e.* of the Turks alone, or chiefly, he is regarded as liable by the canons to be deposed and anathematised, p. 12, 383; vol. iii. p. 430. They regard the emperor nearly as they do the Messiah: their love for him is nothing inferior to that which they bear to their Creator, p. 104, 164. [They call him to his face somewhat later a god upon earth, and he does not forbid them, vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 401; vol. iii. p. 227, 246, 248, 250]. A man blaspheming his Creator in the most impious and execrable language may meet with forgiveness among the Muscovites, *but he who reviles the emperor is sure to lose his head*, p. 164, 104; comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 401; vol. iii. p. 227, 246, 248, 250. Formerly the emperor alone promoted and deposed archimandrites, &c., and nominated to ecclesiastical and sacerdotal offices, p. 110, 169: he also exercised himself, and by the code of 1649 the monastirski prikaz was to exercise a concurrent and appellate jurisdiction over all the estates of the bishops and convents and their people, p. 110; and vol. iii. p. 321. The archdeacon Paul writes that all the real property of the Church belonged to the emperor, and the usufruct only was held by the bishops, the protopope, and other ecclesiastics for the time being, *of him*, p. 88, 207; as if the Russian law in this respect was the same as the Turkish, which it was not: but there is no such inaccuracy when he says that all the estates and property of the bishops and churches is in the hands of the emperor (p. 75, 88, 209, 215, 216, 217); that he sends his deputies and inspectors who take account of it all; of all their property and income; nor can anything be spent or given, or set up or pulled down, without his permission (p. 76, 77; see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 668, 671; vol. iii. p. 55, 64, 233, 234, 240, 388,

397, 398) : all is registered in books with the greatest accuracy : large presents must be made to him by the bishops three times yearly, besides those made at their consecration, p. 209; (and see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 154-172, 240) : and in case of war or other necessity, he imposes on them all contributions of men, money, and provisions, &c. in kind. [This permanent survey and registration on behalf of the crown of all the real property of the Church seems to have begun from a petition presented after the enactment of the code of 1649, praying for the resumption of all lands acquired since the edict of John IV. Basilievich, forbidding farther acquisitions, p. 76, 77 ; and vol. i. *Replies*, &c. 21, 'as long as the tsar, so far as he could, kept his promise, we also *had patience;*' and comp. p. 301, 569, 631, 671, and Mouravieff's *Hist. of the Russian Church*, where he relates the enactment of the code of 1649]. But Nicon made it a condition of his accepting the patriarchate that the emperor for the future should nominate alone to no ecclesiastical or sacerdotal offices whatever ; and that there should be no concurrent or appellate jurisdiction to interfere with his own, p. 169, 109 ; [And see vol. iii. p. 52, 231-235, 240, 256, 273, 274, 296-299, 397, 398). And with regard to property, whatever is said to be done by the tsar in 1651, 1655, and 1656 (as at p. 295), is to be understood to have been done (and in many places this is expressly affirmed) with the consent of the patriarch ; and the tsar continued to make grants of lands also when it pleased him so to do, in spite of the extreme jealousy with which such grants were regarded by the boyars. These accused Nicon in their Questions sent to C.P. in 1663 of *innovating in Church matters*, in respect, that is, of the above heads (besides alluding to the novel and extraordinary title and power conferred on him by the tsar, and his employment in secular matters of state), and thereby deserving deposition : also they accused him of a no less crime in disallowing enactments of the code of 1649; and of absolute treason in seeking from the sovereign any promise whatsoever (though it were a promise to obey the laws of God and of the Church, and to allow him to govern the Church according to them), and a written decree to the same effect ; this being to introduce a dualism of authorities, vol. iii. p. 323-325 : and the tsar, whose *conscience* from 1652 to 1657 had been on the side of the patriarch, changed so, that from 10th July 1658 he took part with the boyars, see vol. iii. p. 384, 388, 390, 391-395].

vii. *Of the spirituality in relation to the civil power.*

At Constantinople, &c. : He who obtains a church only or mainly by the civil power is subjected by the canons to deposition and anathema. The emperor can by no means convoke synods by compulsory command, but only by friendly understanding and request (vol. iii. p. 137). In the ἐκτενής and in the prayers in the church the patriarch is named first and the emperor afterwards ; in the πολυχρόνιον (which is a civil ceremony) this order is reversed, p. 79.

In Wallachia : All matters regarding the bishops and the convents are transacted at the palace of the metropolitan : he goes daily in his coach to the bey and attends the council, where they lay the cross and the gospel before him : and when the council breaks up he goes down to the church

to the mass: after that he goes up again to the bey and blesses the banquet: everything is in his hand, especially if he be generous and liberal: he goes out to meet a patriarch or a stranger visitor attended by guards and by grooms, all young men of rank handsomely clothed; and they ride before and behind him. So too it is with the metropolitan of the Kozak country (*i.e.* of Kieff and Little Russia), p. 32. The metropolitan Ignatius crowns and blesses the new bey Constantine (after the death of Matthi bey), and he administers the oath of allegiance; but he is not said to swear any oath himself, p. 36.

At Kieff: Attendance on the metropolitan; his style of living and retinue, p. 52. Methodius, consecrated in 1660 by Pitirim metropolitan of Krontitz, in obedience to an order of the tsar Alexis to be sent to Kieff with the title of bishop of Orsha, is anathematised later (in 1668) by the patriarch of C.P. and deposed by the metropolitan of Kieff.

On Muscovy: The emperor Alexis, like his predecessors, always uncovers and remains bareheaded before the bishops, and even before priests, p. 96. Translation of the relics of the metropolitan St. Philip, whose merit had been this, that he courageously rebuked the violence and injustice of the civil ruler: all desire to have an icon of him: the icon-painters can hardly satisfy the demand: miracles wrought by him: [the tsar Alexis, who had himself in 1651 written a letter to him as if he were still living, as it were in atonement for the wrong done to him—and this, at the suggestion of Nicon, and in imitation of a similar letter addressed to St. John Chrysostom after his death—in 1666 reproaches Nicon for having written in his letter to the patriarch of C.P., with reference to St. Philip, words *dishonouring* the memory of — John the Terrible!] p. 110-112, 301; vol. iii. p. 420. Pay and maintenance of the clergy: over the peasants and other people belonging to the bishops and convents the voivodes of the emperor have no jurisdiction, p. 75, 76, 77, 88, 136, 165. In the patriarch's palace there are seven prikazes, *i.e.* offices and courts, which give an account of everything to him, p. 165; App. i. p. 406, 407; vol. i. *Replies*, p. 550; vol. iii. p. 165. There is a prison attached to every prikaz: the patriarch has many archons, officers, and retainers, many of whom hold offices under the tsar, as Ziuzin the voivode of Poutivl, p. 165. In his own sphere (*e.g.* in choosing or rejecting candidates for ordination) the authority of the patriarch is equal to that of the emperor (that is, it is without appeal, or interference of any conflicting authority), p. 167; Appendix i. p. 407; vol. iii. p. 323, 533. As regards the form and manner of electing a bishop (*i.e.* since Nicon became patriarch in 1652), if the patriarch pleases *he chooses whom he likes*; or, if it pleases him, he selects twelve persons, and writing their names on small leaves of paper, sticks them on a taper, which he places on the altar; and after the liturgy has been celebrated on three successive days, they send in a boy to bring out one of the twelve papers, and he whose name is on it is elected, p. 207. [Of this use of lots, which was not *introduced* by Nicon, see vol. iii. p. 261-263; and of the election of bishops after 1658, see vol. iii. p. 101, 102, 86, 396, 397, 424, 425.] So too, having annulled the former custom (by which the emperor used to appoint), the patr. Nicon promotes to be archimandrites, &c., and deprives whom he pleases, without consulting any one, p. 169, 109; vol. iii. p. 232. The tsar,

having consented in 1652 to Nicon's stipulations, refuses now to meddle with matters of spiritual discipline, saying: '*I fear the patriarch Nicon, who would perhaps give me his crosier, and say, Take it, and tend the priests and monks yourself. I do not contradict or oppose you in the command of your generals and troops; why, then, do you set yourself against me in the concerns of priests and monks?*' &c. p. 289, 290. [But for his later conduct, see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 671; and vol. iii. p. 386, 353, 395, 397.] May 4, 1656, Kyr Joseph, consecrated in presence of the tsar and of the patriarch of Antioch to be archbishop of Astrachan, makes his public engagement of canonical obedience to the patriarch Nicon, promising that, so long as he lives, he will neither desire nor obey any other patriarch, and that whatever violence of the people, or of princes and boyars, or even of the emperor himself, may be used to compel him, he will sooner die than be false to this engagement, p. 319, 378; and see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 13, 151, 343, 136-140; vol. iii. 176, 396-399, 327, 344, 348. Every priest and deacon in Muscovy has a permanent stipend (p. 88): in the city of Moscow every priest has from the emperor two rubles annually, the deacon has one ruble: there is one ruble for the candle-lighter, and six kopecks for preparing and baking the prosphoræ: those churches which have no peasants of their own paying rent are provided for by the emperor (p. 136): they [the priests and deacons] are, moreover, all possessed of farms worked by their serfs. We were told that the annual stipend allowed to the protopope of Kolomna by the emperor is fifteen rubles and a piece of fine cloth. Besides, *they are privileged with an exemption of duty on all their commodities:* the protopope of Kolomna has a village of 100 houses, bequeathed to him in time past, besides a large house for his residence, p. 88. [Compare with this the imputation against Nicon, learned later from the boyars, at p. 168. In Nicon's letter to the patriarch of C.P., in vol. iii. p. 398, he writes that the tsar's heavy imposts laid on the people 'bring him no advantage:' here in the margin of the original letter the tsar has written, 'He himself *paid no imposts:* and did *that* bring any advantage?']

viii. *Of the nobles, princes, boyars, &c.*

Under Michael the voivodes and nobles were tyrannical and corrupt, p. 68; but as soon as the emperor Alexis came to the throne, he slew *all* those wicked and corrupt boyars and voivodes (p. 68), or '*most of them*, and reduced the rest very low,' p. 138. [But compare Appendix i. p. 395-407; vi. p. 481-485; and vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 668, 669; vol. iii. p. 234, 238, 'we deny not that there are *many* who walk not in the steps of Christ and the Apostles, and *some* of the boyars are irreligious, and insult what belongs to the episcopate,' p. 238; Suppl. xxxvi. p. 529-537]. They had been used to despise the present emperor in his youth, and nicknamed him 'the young monk,' p. 137. At present, as the emperor and empress set an example of piety to all, how can the courtiers be otherwise than devout? p. 136. And as the love *they* have for the patriarch Nicon is something indescribable (p. 109), *all* the nobles *without exception*, *all* the clergy, and *all* the people of all classes love him almost as much as Christ Himself, p. 71. They all fear him. Instead of going in to him at once

unannounced, as was before their custom, or his coming out at once to them, they wait till he admits them, and then walk into his presence with great awe, p. 111. When the emperor was enraged against the boyar Basil Boutourlin, the patriarch Nicon made much entreaty for him, and brought the emperor to relent from his intemperate fury, p. 279. When making presents on occasion of the consecration of a new church in the podvorie of his Iversky convent, Nicon overflowed in liberality towards the grandees, p. 326. (Compare their later accusations of him inserted by anticipation at p 168). The boyars even now do not much fear the emperor; they rather fear the patriarch Nicon, and by many degrees more, p. 165, 111; and Appendix vii. p. 490; and see vol. iii. p. 86. [Afterwards, when the tsar had begun to dispute with Nicon and to recede from his engagements to him, and to call him (so at least the boyars reported of him) '*Mujik bladia!*' the boyars accused Nicon of pride; of seeking to equal himself with the emperor, or even to overtop him; of taking new and secular titles proper only to sovereignty; of innovating in church matters, which they also called '*political* matters,' by changing former customs; of introducing a dualism of authorities, by exacting a promise, and a written promise, from the emperor to obey the law of God and the canons, and to allow others to obey them; of rebellion, by disallowing and causing the emperor to render inoperative some of the enactments of their Code of 1649; of *interfering* in secular matters of state; of rapacity and violence in obtaining grants of land for his monasteries founded of vainglory and ambition, &c.; and they told him to his face that if the tsar would only give the word, they were quite ready to kill him: and in their Questions sent in 1663 to C.P. they invited, and made the tsar himself to invite, answers blaming *the tsar*, as if he had wronged the nobility by giving unusual titles, and honour, and authority to the patriarch, and as if he had done wrong by promising what he had promised, and by suspending the operation of some enactments of the code, by delegating his authority to Nicon, and by consulting him in matters of state, and in making grants of land and privileges to the monasteries of his foundation. See vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 668-669; vol. iii. p. 41, 67, 193, 173].

ix. *Of the bishops and clergy.*

The bishop Paul of Kolomna (who had also a personal jealousy against Nicon) refuses to adhere to the decree of the synod held at Moscow in the spring of 1654, and says, 'we will not now adopt a new religion;' and for this he is banished with all his family and suite, p. 75, 78. At the synod held in the fifth week of Lent in 1655 some of the bishops conformed obediently, and said, 'Our faith, and sacraments, and ritual certainly came from the East;' but others murmured within themselves, saying, 'We will not change:' but they dared not speak thus openly, for the anger of the patriarch is not to be resisted, p. 175. Nicon is till now (*i.e.* from 1652 to 1655) a 'great butcher' over the clergy; he has filled the prisons and places of exile with dissolute and wretched monks, banishing protopopes, and even the kellar of the Troitsa, who was called 'the third dignitary,' p. 169; Appendix vii. p. 490: (comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c.

p. 61-63, 669, 670; vol. iii. p. 38, 161, 197, 198, 273, 371). Dec. 22, in 1665, when, through his management, the patriarch of Antioch asked the tsar to desire him to wear a latia made in the Greek fashion, the bishops and the heads of convents, and the priests and the laity present, murmured, saying among themselves, 'See how he has changed the *dress* of our bishops, *which they received by inspiration of the Holy Ghost!* and does not the earth tremble at his act, who having hitherto dressed as a Muscovite has now made himself a Greek?' And the people murmured against him violently for a long time afterwards. . . Subsequently *all the bishops and the entire body of the monks* desired themselves also to adopt the same Greek fashion, p. 272. The archbishop of Servia, becoming disgusted with *the severe rule* exercised over him by Nicon, *as if he were one of his own bishops*, begged to be allowed to leave Muscovy, p. 308. In the synod of 1656 (to which *all the bishops* were convoked), and which was held by Nicon in the patriarchal palace *without the presence of the tsar*, the patriarch Nicon and the patriarch Macarius of Antioch, after a long *and angry* discussion with the Muscovite bishops about their irregular custom of rebaptising Poles and other Latins of the same communion, compelled them by the testimony of their own books of church law *reluctantly* to submit to the truth, p. 321; Appendix ii. p. 415. [Of the behaviour of the Russian bishops towards their primate later, see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 669, 670].

x. *Of the people.*

The Moldavians are perhaps the most vicious people on the face of the earth, and their priests set them an example of profligacy, p. 20. The Wallachians, on the contrary, are virtuous and exemplary, ib. Among the Kozaks we were at our ease, and we regarded them as boon companions, like our own people, p. 329. The Greeks are a vile degenerate people, hated and despised by all nations: nowhere can they bear even to speak of them: and their bishops and clergy—God be merciful to them! 'Yet some persons of sense and sagacity affect to value them *above us Syrians:* God deliver both us and them from hell-fire!' p. 146. In the Kozak country and in Muscovy there are no seats in the churches, and the having to stand through the interminable services caused the Syrians immense suffering, so that they are perpetually cursing their very souls with rage and vexation, p. 40. The singing of the Kozaks and Lithuanians (learned from the Poles, and indirectly from the Italians) is very sweet, but that of the Muscovites is harsh and disagreeable, p. 40, 59, 80, 275. In Muscovy the manners and customs of the country are most burdensome and fatiguing, and we had to put ourselves under the greatest constraint. 'God deliver us, and restore us, laden with riches, to our beloved freedom!' p. 63. Foreigners are under strict surveillance: they watch us through the crevices of the doors, and report everything small and great to the emperor and the patriarch, p. 86. Woe to him who gets drunk or commits any other impropriety, small or great; immediately they send him off to the land of darkness, to the shores of the Northern Ocean. We must abstain from eating opium; and as for such as smoke

tobacco, they even put them to death. Now, what shall we say, brother, to this, except that they undoubtedly deserve it?' For this cause we were in great fear for ourselves, &c. p. 92; (see vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 586). The Muscovites are most disagreeably uncommunicative, p. 90. The peasants in Muscovy are slaves, and are liable to be sold, p. 103. The regularity of all the Muscovites, both rich and poor, in their attendance at church is great: their love for bowings and prostrations, which they repeat over and over again, and for holy images, is indescribable: perhaps they *surpass even the saints themselves in the number of their prayers*. These devout people are not merely the common people, but also the ministers of state as well, and the grandees, with their ladies. Their emperor and empress are the leaders of the nation in religious observances: how, then, should the courtiers be otherwise than devout? p. 136. 'Without doubt, the Creator has granted to this nation to be His peculiar people, because *all their actions* are according to the spirit and not to the flesh: and they are *all* of this disposition.' This passage is introduced by the observation that they had been standing in the church about seven hours on the iron pavement, enduring the most intense cold. 'But we were consoled,' he says, 'for all this, by witnessing the admirable devotion of this people,' p. 152. 'A certain converted Jew, born at Thessalonica, who was interpreter to the emperor for Greek and Turkish, told us that the Jews surpass all nations for cheating and roguery; but that the Muscovites surpass the Jews in deviltry and cunning by far,' p. 198. 'They burn the sodomite without mercy,' p. 164. [But compare vol. iii. p. 99, 392, 551, 558, 427, and p. 101, 'all was economically hushed up, as there was need to turn to other matters:' and so they continued to use Ligarides, knowing what imputations he lay under, and to ask and receive his *blessing*, and to place the Russian Church under his initiative, without farther inquiry or investigation]. In this respect the Muscovites are worse even than the Greeks (who are the very scum of the earth), that while the Greeks have faith enough to honour the priesthood in spite of the unedifying lives of their bishops and clergy, and do not subject their priests and monks to their temporal authority, the Muscovites, on the contrary, have subjected the priests and monks to their temporal authority by deposing, degrading, and imprisoning a patriarch who was illustrious for his enlightenment and for his virtues, p. 144.

xi. *Of the tsar and the patriarch acting in accord as one power.*

In vol. iii. at p. 220, it is related that there was read out in the synod of 1667 a passage from an epistle of St. Gregory the Great to Leo the Isaurian to the effect that 'the bishops have been set by God to rule the churches, abstaining from *political* matters; and that kings in like manner are to abstain from *ecclesiastical* matters, and keep to those which have been committed to them, that is, to political; but that *the common counsel and consent of Christian kings and pious bishops is one power*, when matters are managed *with peace and charity*;' at which all cried out aloud, 'O most wise explanation, which gives to each—to the priest and to the king alike—his own!'

The emperor and the patriarch are impatiently expecting the coming of the patriarch of Antioch, p. 3. The patriarch (in the absence of the emperor) banishes a Servian metropolitan to Siberia, p. 65. The emperor puts to death cruel and corrupt governors, and appoints others who are gentle, merciful, and kind, some of them from among the retainers of the patriarch, p. 69, 167. The primate of Servia sends word of his arrival at Pontivl to the patriarch and the emperor's lieutenant; and on the arrival there of the patriarch of Antioch, the voivode immediately writes word of it to the emperor and to the patriarch, p. 69, 73, 65. They are lodged at Kolomna in the *episcopal* palace, by order of the *emperor* and his vizirs, the bishop having recently been banished by the patriarch and the emperor, p. 75, 'by the emperor and the patriarch,' p. 78; afterwards *they* consecrated another in his place, ib. Elsewhere, 'it was the patriarch who banished the bishop of Kolomna and consecrated another in his stead,' p. 111; (compare vol. iii. p. 420). The emperor and the patriarch are very partial to the rites of the Greek Church, and have an abundant love for argument and instruction, p. 77, 170. *They* sent questions to the late patriarch of C.P. Paisius (in 1654), and his letter in reply was received with great delight *by the emperor, who* complied provisionally with its recommendations, and then (in 1665) *assembled a synod*, which received and subscribed it. It was for refusing to subscribe the decree of this synod [really of an earlier synod held in 1654] that the emperor and the patriarch banished the bishop Paul of Kolomna, p. 77, 78, 170; [Appendix ii. p. 408: and note the difference between the style of 'patriarch of Moscow and of Great *and Little* Russia' given *by the patriarch Paisius* in his synodal letter, sent to the tsar and to Nicon, and the style taken by Nicon himself and given to him by the patriarch Paisius in the separate letter addressed only to him personally at p. 411, 413, in the same Appendix]. For the present the protopope of Kolomna exercises jurisdiction over the clergy, by command of the emperor and the patriarch, p. 79. The patriarch had much urged the emperor to undertake the war against the Poles for the protection of their brethren the Kozaks, and for the sake of Christ; and he, above all, was delighted when the decision to do this was announced in the council of Oct. 1st in 1653, p. 83. Offerings and contributions of the patriarch and the bishops and convents for the war, p. 84. The emperor invests the new protopope with a robe of honour belonging to his office, ib. Injunctions are given by the patriarch whenever any clerk is found drunk, &c. to *imprison* and *scourge* him, p. 98. Whatever they remarked in us, whether of good or evil, they immediately reported to the emperor and the patriarch, ib. Feb. 10, 1655, the emperor enters the Kremlin, walking bareheaded side by side with the patriarch, in conversation with him, p. 93. Nicon was sent by the emperor to bring the relics of the metropolitan St. Philip to Moscow, having himself suggested to the emperor to do this: and both of them then agreed so to honour St. Philip for having withstood and rebuked secular tyranny, p. 110, 111. The patriarch Nicon and the tsar both promise themselves to obey the law of God and the canons, and to procure and allow that others shall obey them, existing customs and enactments to the contrary being abrogated or rendered inoperative, p. 110, 169; Appendix i. p. 407.

On being made patriarch Nicon immediately *banishes* three protopopes, ib. In the ἐκτενὴς and in the prayers of the Church the patriarch is named first, but in the πολυχρόνιον the emperor, p. 79. The metropolitan Mira, with all his suite, were banished [by the emperor and the patriarch] for their misconduct; only the metropolitan himself was liberated by the intercession of the ex-patriarch Patalaron, p. 119. The patriarch has recently driven out from within the walls all the Franks (Germans, Swedes, and English), as also the Armenians, both from Moscow and other walled cities, destroying their churches and the mosques of the Tatars, and not allowing them to build others, nor allowing them to wear beards or to dress like the Muscovites, p. 130. This great city is *governed only by two persons, the patriarch and the emperor*, p. 131; Appendix i. p. 407. Whereas the Muscovites were before averse to wars, . . . the emperor and the present patriarch have treated their wisdom as folly; and the emperor (urged much to it by the patriarch, p. 83) has gone out in person to war, to fight for Christ, p. 138. The emperor in the church, March 4, 1655, having first asked permission of Nicon, bids the archdeacon give out a πολυχρόνιον for the patriarch of Antioch, p. 148. He intercedes in an under voice with the patriarch that some new-fashioned icons condemned by him should be buried rather than burned; and so it was done, p. 151. Nicon, in 1654, in the absence of the emperor, published an *imperial* proclamation against icons of foreign fashion, ib.; Appendix vii. p. 486. The emperor, taking the patriarch of Antioch by the hand, presented him to the patriarch of Moscow, saying, 'This is my deputy; I commit you to his care; whatever you wish for ask of him,' p. 156. The patriarch exhorts the emperor freely as a teacher, and the emperor listens humbly: striking contrast in their attitudes and demeanours, p. 157. Contribution of the patriarch towards the war in 1655, and that of the Troitsa and other monasteries, p. 158, 159. Before he left the emperor appointed a vicegerent and many ministers; the patriarch he placed as inspector over all, so that nothing could be done without his advice, p. 165. Woe to him who commits any lapse or error before this patriarch, for he is immediately, *by his order, banished*, p. 169. Recently he has deprived and banished the kellar of the Troitsa, called 'the third dignitary,' for taking bribes to the damage of the emperor's service, p. 169. He has filled the convents of Siberia with dissolute and wretched monks, ib. After the return of Arsenius Souchanoff from his first mission to the Levant (in 1653), *the patriarch and the emperor* (in 1654) convoked a synod, p. 170: (compare vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 40, 102, 99-104, 138; vol. iii. p. 137, 'by no means by compulsory command,' &c.), and sent him again to Mount Athos to collect old Greek books. On his return, the patriarch rewarded him for his two missions by making him kellar of the Troitsa, p. 170. It is the custom for the emperor to lead the patriarch's horse in the procession on Palm Sunday, and he has a claim on the patriarch in return for certain presents, p. 182. The emperor and the patriarch feed poor blind men and cripples at their banquets, p. 182. They go round to the convents asking pardon, in the Cheese-week, before Lent, p. 303. In the week of the Passion and in Easter-week they visit the prisons, and do acts of charity to the prisoners, p. 197. The liquor-shops are shut all through Lent, and till

after Easter-week, p. 197. The patriarch of Antioch asks of the patriarch Nicon and of the emperor and his deputies permission to visit the monastery of Troitsa, p. 211. All the treasures of the convent and its properties are in the seizure of the emperor; and they have been taxed this year at more than 100,000 dinars as a contribution and gift to the emperor for the Polish war, p. 215. They did much more honour to the patriarch of Antioch, in obedience to the command of the emperor and of the patriarch of Moscow, the latter of whom had enjoined them to do more honour to him than they had done to the patriarch Paisius of Jerusalem. The alms of the convent are given to them by injunction of the emperor and the patriarch, p. 216. All is noted on their side in registers kept from ancient times, according to a strict rule, which they cannot exceed or fall short of except by the emperor's command, p. 217. In the absence of the emperor, the patriarch takes care of his family, p. 72, 92; issues *imperial* ordinances [in the name of the empress and the tsarevich], p. 151; sends, and hastens the sending, of arms, and supplies, and reinforcements to the camp, p. 158, 170, 224; and gives banquets on certain anniversaries in the tsar's name, p. 171, 196; Appendix v. p. 471. He blesses the Don Kozaks to go by sea to Stockholm, Appendix vii. p. 486. The emperor [by agreement with the patriarch] imposes on the clergy contributions for the Polish war in 1665, p. 158, 159; and in 1656 a contribution of a tenth towards the Swedish war, p. 295. Prisoners of war sent by the tsar to Moscow are presented there to the patriarch and to the emperor's deputy, p. 225. The emperor brings three hundred Lithuanian nuns to Moscow, and settles them there in the empress' Sabbin convent, and Nicon settles seventy Lithuanian monks in his Iversky convent, p. 229, 231. The emperor has given two hundred streltses for the protection of Nicon's Iversky monastery, p. 238. In consecrating its new church the patriarch of Antioch plants under the altar a wooden cross inscribed with the name and date and the names of the patriarch and the emperor, &c. p. 239. They are overtaken by a courier from the patriarch and the emperor, bringing a letter from each, announcing the capture of Vilna, p. 240. The patriarch goes out to meet the emperor returning to Moscow, p. 260; and he goes out twenty versts to meet the patriarch of Antioch returning from Novgorod, p. 255; and in like manner the emperor goes out twenty versts to meet the patriarch Nicon returning to Moscow, p. 291. The founding of the great new bell is constantly superintended by the patriarch Nicon, accompanied by the emperor's lieutenants, p. 259. On it are the effigies of the emperor and the empress on one side, with Christ blessing them; and on the back of the bell, the image of Nicon in his sakkos and mitre, holding his crosier in his hand, p. 259. The emperor, at his triumphant entry into Moscow, Dec. 10, 1655, acknowledges that the victories obtained beyond his hopes were due to the prayers and blessing of the patriarch, p. 262. The emperor being asked gives to Nicon part of the site of his new patriarchal palace, and materials for building, p. 268. Nicon makes from its upper divan a passage leading to the empress' part of the imperial palace, for the purpose of private communication, p. 268. At the opening of this new palace on the festival of the metropolitan St. Peter, the emperor makes presents to the

patriarch, and brings them in and presents them with his own hands; and the patriarch makes presents (according to an established custom for that day) to the emperor, 'flowing like the Black into the White Sea and the White into the Black,' p. 273, 275. Previously, in the liturgy, on the request of the patriarch of Antioch, suggested by Nicon himself, the emperor desires Nicon to adopt and wear a latia made in the Greek fashion, which causes some secret murmuring; but before long all the bishops and monks follow this example, p. 272. The emperor remains after the banquet alone with Nicon, after all the other guests have left, till the bells rang, and then they went down together to the cathedral for the vigil service, p. 276. The emperor, at the entreaty of Nicon, relents from his intemperate anger against the boyar Basil Boutourlin, p. 279, 296. Nicon makes no opposition, as it seems, to the rebaptism of the Polish hetman Paul Pototsky, though this was contrary to the decision of a synod held some months before (the decree of that synod being, as it seems, objected to by some of the bishops who had not been present, and being as yet unconfirmed by the emperor), p. 279, 294. Before the Epiphany in 1656, Nicon, having found in a book from Mount Athos a testimony of a former patriarch of C.P., Euodius, in favour of blessing the water only once, conforms to this *by command of the emperor*, p. 279; compare p. 316. The emperor, after receiving the Kozaks and taking the title of autocrat of all Great and Little Russia, had ordered in 1653, 1655, the like title of patriarch of 'Great *and Little* Russia' to be given in public acts and in the πολυχρόνιον to the patriarch of Moscow; and now in 1655, having taken himself the title of autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia, he orders the like title of patriarch of Great, *Little, and White* Russia to be given to the patriarch of Moscow, p. 281. The emperor refuses to give permission to a deacon suspended by Nicon to officiate, saying, '*I fear the patriarch Nicon, who perhaps would give me his crosier*, and say, *Take it, and tend the monks and priests yourself. I do not contradict you in the command of your generals and troops: why, then, do you set yourself against me in the concerns of priests and monks?*' p. 290. Petitions are received by the emperor and the empress and by the patriarch, as they go to or from the church, &c. p. 298. A nun makes known in the cathedral to the emperor and the patriarch how she had been healed the night before by an apparition of the metropolitan St. Philip, p. 301. The patriarch of Antioch, by command of the emperor and the patriarch, goes to celebrate the liturgy in the several convents, *e.g.* in the convent of the Ascension, p. 304, 305. On the Sunday in the Cheese-week, before Lent 1656, all the grandees went to the emperor and the patriarch to ask pardon of them, ib. The emperor, by a letter, recalls the patriarch of Antioch from Bolchov to attend a synod, and for other necessary business of Church and State: he sends this letter on Good Friday 1656, after having had some conversation in the church (and previously also, no doubt) with Nicon, to whom the metropolitan of Moldavia had come at that time, p. 315, 318. At Easter 1656, the emperor put forth an edict to correct the improper way of killing meat which had been taken from the Latins, p. 317. He accepts the allegiance offered by the bey of Moldavia, to whom Nicon writes afterwards with reference to this in 1657, p. 318. In his presence

bishops at their consecration promise to render canonical obedience to their primate so long as he lives, whatever influence or violence of the people, of princes, or even of the emperor himself, may be exerted to force them to do otherwise, p. 319. Nicon having held a synod now of *all* the Russian bishops, and having obtained from it a definitive decision against the custom of rebaptising the Poles, the emperor receives from him this decision and publishes it, giving it the force of law, p. 322.

xii. *Personal character of Nicon.*

All are continually praising his good qualities, with gratitude for his bounty, and the most confident reliance on his paternal conduct; as among all the Franks there is a great love of the Pope, and a great confidence in his authority: they seem to love him nearly as much as Christ Himself: they all fear him, p. 71; App. i. p. 408, 411. He is 'seemingly *good-natured* and *gentle*,' p. 277, and vol. iii. p. 39; 'of ascetic habits,' p. 301; 'vastly celebrated for his love of learning, and for his love of the Greeks,' p. 77, 109; 'and even as if he were another Gregory the Divine for his divinity and his sermons,' p. 107, 149, 157, and vol. iii. ib.; 'of prompt invention and quick judgment,' ib. (p. 114, 165, 325). His piety and his ardent zeal for the orthodox faith, for the observance of the canons and of the ritual of the Church, are proclaimed at Constantinople by all who come from Muscovy, Appendix ii. p. 408; also his superior understanding, blameless sobriety of mind, and other energetic virtues, ib.: he is ever diligently proving and searching out in ecclesiastical matters what is profitable to the soul and conducive to salvation, ib. 411. His zeal for the law of God and for the canons he showed in 1652, by refusing to become patriarch except on condition that the tsar and his nobles should promise (in despite of some former precedents and enactments) to obey the canons, and to allow him to govern the Church according to them [and again in 1658 by refusing, when they had broken this engagement, to exercise the patriarchate under their secular supremacy], p. 110, Appendix i. p. 407; vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 673; vol. iii. p. 52, 323, 325, 352, 353. 'It is clear'—so the patriarch of Jerusalem writes—'that he rebukes the people for disobedience: show, then, to him the *proper* obedience:' p. 382-384, 390: he is very zealous for the tsar's service, and for sending to him the needful supplies and reinforcements; and he punishes severely even the highest ecclesiastics who do anything improperly to the damage of the tsar's service, p. 169, 224, 295, 471, 486: he is severe in punishing criminous clerks, a great butcher (*i.e.* a strict disciplinarian) over the bishops and clergy, and even over the grandees in power and in the offices of government (p. 109, 110, 169), who fear him more, and many times more, than they fear the tsar, p. 111, 165, 166, 169; Appendix vii. p. 490. He is feared (as well as loved) by the tsar himself, p. 166; Appendix vii. p. 491; vol. iii. p. 81, 85-87. He is fond of a joke, p. 109, 227: he is of so pleasant (that is, humorous) a disposition that he discovers it even in those actions which require the greatest gravity, Appendix i. p. 407. 'God grant him moderation!' exclaims the Syrian archdeacon, after making mention of his habit of reading a long homily, and then preaching at great length and with great

vehemence or earnestness after services of themselves insufferably long, p. 151 : he is skilled in all affairs, civil as well as ecclesiastical, p. 165 ; vol. iii. p. 39, 324, 331, 333, 335 : he examines candidates for orders personally, p. 167. Except the emperor, no one dares to intercede with him, p. 169 : yet the patriarch of Antioch intercedes with him at p. 219, and with success ; and the ex-patriarch Patalaron at p. 119 ; and Nicon himself, when the tsar is furiously angry against the boyar Basil Boutourlin, makes much entreaty, and persuades him to relent from that his intemperate anger, p. 279. He was not at all fanatical in the matter of correcting the church books and certain erroneous, customs, Appendix vii. p. 489 ; but forgiving and tolerant in details towards those who had attacked him personally, when once they professed to submit themselves to the Church, ib. p. 489. His anger is not to be resisted, p. 175, 490. He feeds at his banquets poor blind men and cripples, and washes their feet 'with very great respect and reverence,' p. 182, 300. He is ever begging the patriarch Macarius to point out whatever may be amiss, that it may be corrected, p. 184, 315, 316 ; Appendix ii. p. 408. The Typicon is always set at his right hand, and he is continually looking into it, and following the rubrics one by one, p. 185 : he visits the prisons, paying the debts of the debtors, and setting them free, p. 197 : he is a great builder, p. 231, 243, 245, 268, &c. 302 ; vol. iii. p. 165, 334, 444, 505, 533 : he is kind and considerate, p. 277. He preaches on a miracle of St. Philip, p. 301. On the Sunday of Pentecost, 25th May 1656, he recites the solemn prayers at which all kneel in a low voice of humility and contrition, *shedding tears*, p. 225. The love of the emperor and the empress for him is beyond expression, p. 111.

Later, in 1666, they learned from the boyars that he became rapacious and violent, taking by force what belonged to others, excessively proud, haughty, and rude in his behaviour, *interfering* in secular matters ; and that in consequence the emperor disputed with him, calling him '*Mujik bladin!*' and when remonstrated with for using unseemly language and reviling his spiritual father, he replied that Nicon was not his spiritual father, but rather the holy patriarch of Antioch, whom he would send and bring back to Moscow [as he did in fact in 1666, to depose that '*mujik bladin*'], p. 315, 316, 322.

xiii. *Personal character of the tsar Alexis.*

He was despised in his youth by the grandees, who in the time of his father the tsar Michael were oppressive and corrupt, and who nicknamed him 'the young monk,' p. 137. When Nicon would not accept the patriarchate except on certain conditions, viz. that the tsar should allow him to govern the Church according to the canons, and should not for the future nominate to any ecclesiastical or sacerdotal offices, nor depose from them, nor exercise directly or indirectly any conflicting or appellate jurisdiction in causes belonging to the spiritualty, he accepted these conditions, and published a decree to this effect, p. 109, 148, 169, 290 ; App. i. p. 407. His love and trust and that of the empress for the patr. Nicon is beyond expression, p. 111. He is a lover of the Greek rites, and of instruction ; sets an example of piety to all, striving to walk more holily even than the

saints; and is very liberal to the churches and monasteries, p. 77, 136, 141; vol. iii. p. 234, 537; vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 13, 21, 22, 104, 200, 222, 223, 583: he and his empress are the leaders of the nation in religious observances; how, then, should the courtiers be otherwise than devout, &c.? p. 136. In his devotions, and on other occasions, he sheds tears freely, p. 136, 309, &c. In the winter church of his palace he acts like a sacristan or candle-lighter; and again, in his Sabbin monastery, like a master of ceremonies, p. 108, 287: his government is strictly just and severe in punishing all crimes; he has put to death (in one place) *all*, or (in another place) *most*, of the former iniquitous voivodes, and has appointed others who are in constant dread of him; for he loves to shed blood in the execution of justice; he has overcome those who formerly despised his youth and weakness, and slain them, or reduced them very low, p. 68, 138. With all this, the grandees do not even now fear him much personally; they fear rather the patriarch, and by many degrees more, p. 169. He is docile, and listens with humility, while the patriarch teaches him as having authority, p. 155, 157. At the opening of the new patriarchate, Dec. 22, 1665, he brings in and presents his own gifts and those of all the other members of his family to Nicon with his own hands, like a waiting slave, and stays with him alone after the banquet, after all the other guests are gone, p. 273. He asks permission of the patriarch before desiring the archdeacon in the church to give out a πολυχρόνιον to the patriarch of Antioch, p. 148: he refuses to allow a deacon suspended by Nicon to officiate, saying: 'I *fear* the patriarch Nicon, who would perhaps give me his crosier and say, Take it, and tend the priests and monks yourself,' see p. 290. Being much urged to it by the patriarch (in 1653), he makes war for Christ, p. 138: he ascribes his victories—beyond his hopes—(in 1654 and 1655) to the prayers of the patriarch, p. 262. He obtains, with the consent and by the authority of the patriarch, large contributions towards the war from the clergy in 1654, 1655, and 1656, p. 84, 158, 159, 295. However, all the estates and treasures of the bishops and monasteries which had been surveyed and registered on behalf of the crown after the enactment of the code of 1649 (in consequence of a petition then presented) remain still in the emperor's seizure; so that nothing can be parted with, nor spent, nor built, nor taken down by their owners without his consent, p. 77, 88, 209: and though Nicon repeatedly urged him to abrogate certain enactments of the code of 1649, this was not done. Nevertheless, so long as the tsar, *so far as he could*, continued faithful to his engagement, obeying the holy Church, Nicon also '*had patience*,' vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 21, 369. Anecdotes illustrating the emperor's character, *e.g.* his *irascibility*: he is said to have killed one of the grandees with his own hand in the midst of the Council, 'being a valiant young man and of great severity,' p. 138: again in vol. iii. p. 535, it is said that he killed an innocent petitioner with the pointed staff of John the Terrible from a mixed impulse of anger and *timidity*, ib. p. 536. In 1655, or early in 1656, after having caused the death of the boyar Basil Boutourlin, formerly a great favourite, by his intemperate anger, he is mollified by the earnest intercession of the patriarch, p. 279, 296: comp. p. 138, vol. iii. p. 171, 534, 535, 536. His practical jokes (*not always seemly or delicate*) with his grandees, whom 'he likes to see handsomely fud-

dled,' p. 68, 97, 136, vol. iii. p. 535. He not only will not punish, but he makes personal friends and favourites of grandees by whose crimes and profligacy he himself is scandalised, *e.g.* of Bogdar Khitroff, called '*the whispering favourite*:' see vol. iii. p. 536, 537. Of another equally bad man, Elia Miloslafsky, the tsar's father-in-law, it is said that 'the tsar rather *feared* than loved him, but the tsaritsa always kept up his interest,' ib. 531, 532. Already in 1656 the patriarch of Antioch and his son the archdeacon Paul heard him use very foul language in the church in the time of divine service, starting up from his seat, and scolding angrily a reader who had made a mistake, calling him '*Mujik bludin!*' p. 287; (comp. p. 315, 316; Appendix v. p. 478; vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 583). 'Afterwards,' *i.e.* in 1666, they heard that the time came when Nicon was accused of pride, rude behaviour, innovation, rapacity and violence, and cruelty, and that the tsar in consequence (or perhaps when thwarted or rebuked by him) disputed with him, whether in or out of the church, and used the same foul language to him also, calling him '*Mujik bludin!*' p. 315, 316; comp. p. 287; Appendix v. p. 478; vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 583. 'His heart was lifted up' (according to Nicon). When exhorted (both before and after 1658) to forbid fools to call him to his face 'a god upon earth,' he is silent, and does not forbid them, ib.; he is delighted to an infinite degree by the flatteries of the Cesar and his envoys, who give him the title of 'the Cesar of Orthodoxy,' p. 265. In 1656 he invites with ostentatious vanity the Swedish ambassadors, then detained under strict guard, to witness the pageant of his departure for the Swedish campaign, p. 323; (comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 284, 401, 555, 559, 583; vol. iii. p. 384). He becomes jealous and envious, like Cain, of the grace given to his brother, and makes the Church suffer in consequence, p. 166; Appendix vii. p. 490; vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 127, &c. 271; vol. iii. p. 320, 419. 'He makes bold with the Church treasury *on loan*, and repays *ad Græcas Kalendas*; . . . he disposes of all ecclesiastical preferments,' p. 295, 110, 169; vol. iii. p. 398, 425, 537. He allows in 1665 Questions to be sent to Constantinople in his own name, inviting answers to blame *himself* for having shown partiality in bestowing novel and unusual favours on Nicon *to the prejudice of the nobility* (vol. iii. p. 319); for having given his glory to another, and doing things unprecedented in the way of favour; for having allowed himself to be eclipsed by a subject (ib. p. 320); for having allowed the introduction of a dualism of authorities, and of *innovations* in the *ecclesiastical* traditions and customs (ib. p. 321-323); for having given to the patriarch an engagement, and even a written engagement, so admitting two principles of authority; for having given to Nicon secular authority or lordship in his eparchy (ib. p. 324); for having allowed him to impugn and render inoperative certain enactments [of the code of 1649] which were *laws* in the strictest sense (ib. p. 324, 325); for having improperly invited Nicon to return to his chair (ib. p. 337, 338); and for having neglected so long to cause another patriarch to be appointed (ib. p. 344). [And in the acts of the mixed synod held at Moscow in 1666 and 1667 (Act xi.) he allows himself to be blamed for having made grants of lands, &c. to Nicon's *uncanonically* founded monasteries; as well as for having sanctioned those foundations themselves. Also in the Questions above mentioned he is made to invite answers condemning

Nicon as liable to deposition and anathema and banishment for things which were either done jointly with Nicon by the tsar himself, or which were done by the tsar alone, Nicon being merely passive or even unwilling. Thus Nicon is condemned for having *asked* from the emperor to *exercise lordship* in his eparchy, though it is added in the answer, '*unless* it be the emperor who *of his own will makes him to be a ruler*' (vol. iii. p. 324). Nicon, as a vain boaster, is to be deposed for having styled and written himself of arrogance 'Great Hossoudar,' a title specially belonging to secular rulers, though the tsar *of himself* gave him this title in public acts and in private letters, and Nicon was merely passive in the matter, and would not allow it to be given to him in the church (ib. p. 331). Again, he is to be deposed for having styled himself 'patriarch of all *Little* and *White* Russia,' though this title was given him in public acts, and in the πολυχρόνιον by the tsar of his own will, and Nicon neither took it in the prayers of the church nor in private and personal writings; and though he even offended the tsar by constantly refusing to act as if it really belonged to him (ib. 333, 334): he is condemned for founding monasteries, which he founded not only with the sanction, but even at the instance, of the tsar (ib. p. 334): he is to be deposed for becoming a curator of public offices, so as to direct political affairs, though it was of the tsar's own will that this charge was put upon him (ib. p. 335, 336). And in the synod of 1666, 1667, the tsar was a party to the condemnation of Nicon, for having obtained with rapacity grants of land, &c., though they had been granted 'to God and to the saints as offerings of gratitude' by the tsar (vol. iii. p. 444); for having given to his foundations unseemly titles, as that of the 'New Jerusalem,' though this title was first suggested and given by the tsar (vol. iii. p. 444; comp. vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 66); and for having uncanonically degraded by his own authority alone Paul the bishop of Kolomna, and for having consecrated another bishop in his stead while he was still living, though in truth there had been in this matter a joint action of the patriarch and the tsar; and the vacancy of the see of Kolomna was caused not so much by Nicon's act of stripping the bishop Paul of his mandya as by the tsar's act in banishing him for life. And though in strictness it certainly was not canonical to depose a bishop without a synod, still it was a thing common enough and causing no scandal to fill chairs vacated even though the unjust violence of civil rulers, much more when they had acted in a good spirit, though without a due observance of canonical forms: 'And this perpetual banishment,' writes the Syrian archdeacon of the bishop Paul (in 1654 or 1655), 'he well deserves. Such regulations, and such strict enforcement of them, are worthy of applause,' p. 78.

xiv. *Of the tsar's ambition.*

At first it is an ambition inspired into him by the patriarch to deliver the Kozaks their brethren from the oppression of the Poles and Jews, and to fight for Christ, p. 45, 83, 138, 157, 225, 262, 295, 323; and he ascribes his victories—beyond his hopes—to the prayers of the patriarch, p. 262. Gradually, when he is lifted up by success, it becomes mixed with vanity and pride, p. 265, and envious jealousy (vol. i. *Replies*, &c. p. 127, 271),

and the desire of personal aggrandisement. At his first audience in 1665 the patriarch of Antioch wishes for him that he may be another Constantine; and that instead of αὐτοκράτωρ (autocrat) he may become μονοκράτωρ (monocrat or sole ruler), p. 18. The queen of Khotaia or Kitaiska having told some Kozaks who had found their way to her that they had a written prophecy about a 'white emperor,' who was to subdue all the kingdoms of the earth, and having asked, 'Is that perchance your emperor?' they replied, 'Yes, it is; and he has subdued a vast portion of the earth already,' p. 126. He, and his father before him, have often wished to root out the Tatars of the Crimea, but their fear of the Poles kept them from attempting it. But he is now (in 1656) preparing and looking forward to a suitable opportunity, which is perhaps near at hand, since they now invade the Kozaks (formerly their allies) out of displeasure against them for having become his subjects, p. 127, 128, 163. He is vastly provoked in Dec. 1655 at the king of Sweden, for accepting the submission and homage of Radzivil for Lithuania, which the Russians had then nearly conquered, and for seizing that opportunity to overrun Poland for himself: and he is infinitely delighted with the flatteries of the Cesar and his envoys, who give him the new title of 'the Cesar of Orthodoxy,' p. 264, 265, 320, 323, 338. Before that he had been much pleased at Smolensk to receive an envoy from Venice, seeking his cooperation against the Turks, which he hopes to be able to give them (if only they will be *patient* and *persevering*) before long, p. 266, 314, 317, 318. His disappointment and rage against Basil Boutourlin (though it was more owing to Khmielnitsky's policy than to his misconduct) for not having, as it then appeared, made the most of the successes obtained in conjunction with Khmielnitsky in 1655 at Kamenetz, Lemberg, and Lublin, and after they had defeated the Tatars, being quite intemperate, show that his ambition is now no longer so *religious* as it was at first, p. 278, 290. He is flattered by a story of Polish prisoners taken before Vilna (in 1655), who excused themselves for having fled without fighting, by saying that they saw the figure of the emperor Alexis, with his name inscribed on him, in the sky, and St Michael with his drawn sword assailing their army, p. 281. He takes the title (also in 1656) of 'Autocrat of all Great, *Little*, and White' Russia,' and causes a parallel title to be given in public acts and in the [illegible] to the patriarch of Moscow, so showing no religious regard to the rights of the patriarch of Constantinople, p. 281. After parting with the patriarch of Antioch, March 5, 1656, the emperor sighed, and said to his grandees: 'I pray that I may see him, before I die, celebrating the liturgy with the other three patriarchs in the church of St. Sophia, and with our patriarch Nicon assisting them.' All present answered, 'God grant it!' p. 311. On Holy Saturday, 1656, an envoy came from the Poles praying him *to pardon them*, and humbly offering him *all that he should require*; that is, the hope of the succession to the crowns of Lithuania and Poland; and he granted them an armistice for the time being, p. 318, 320; also

[1] As for the principality of Smolensk in *White* Russia, though it had fallen under the civil power of Poland, the patriarch of Moscow had never ceased to exercise his spiritual jurisdiction there; and this was made a matter of complaint by the Polish lords before the breaking out of the war.

264, 265, 317, 318, 320, 338. About this time there came also to the patriarch Nicon, but secretly as commissioner from Stephen bey of Moldavia to the tsar, the metropolitan of Moldavia, also named Stephen, charged to tender the allegiance of the bey and of all his principality to the tsar; and he, though with much fear and suspicion that it might be only an intrigue to embroil him prematurely with Turkey, yet after bringing back the patriarch Macarius to give information about the bey and the metropolitan his envoy, and about the state of things in the Danubian principalities, accepted the proffered allegiance, and so distinctly contemplated a breach with Turkey, though he desired that all should be kept secret for the present, and remitted all claims to the payment of tribute from his new subjects for ten years, p. 318, 322. Of his pride and vanity he invited the Swedish ambassador (now detained under strict guard) to witness the pageant of his departure for the Swedish campaign of 1656, p. 323. In 1657, after the death of the metropolitan of Kieff Silvester Kossoff, he repeatedly urges Nicon to act as if he were really 'patriarch of Little Russia' (that is, by virtue only of its political subjection to the tsars); but he persists in refusing. And now, perhaps, the tsar begins to answer his rebukes with '*unseemly words*,' and even to call him '*Mujik bladin*,' p. 287, 316: Appendix v. p. 478. But already before that, in Oct. 1656, the tide of his military success had begun to ebb: he had been obliged, after losing a vast number of his men, to raise the siege of the castle of Riga, p. 339: the negotiations for his succession to the crowns of Lithuania and Poland were drawn out only to keep him at war with the Swedes, till Poland should have made peace with them, without any other result than that of alienating the Kozaks, p. 338: and Khmielnitsky, thinking himself in danger of being abandoned to Poland, organised a league between Ragoza prince of Transylvania and the king of Sweden, p. 339: and the beys of Moldavia and Wallachia, being under obligations to Ragoza, and bound, however reluctantly, to coöperate with him, this appearance of a coalition and of independent action drew upon them the anger of the Turkish vizir Kuprioli (p. 340), who deposed them all (Jan. 5, 1658, p. 352, 354): and the Principalities and Transylvania were wasted by the Turks and the Tatars (p. 357, 368); so that the tender of allegiance made to the tsar Alexis in 1656 from Moldavia, and accepted by him, was never in fact so much as known to the world, but it came to nothing when the bey Stephen who had made it was deposed, Appendix v. p. 471 and 481. July 10, 1658, the patriarch Nicon withdrew from Moscow to Voskresensk, giving, as it were, his crosier to the tsar (whose conscience was no longer the same as in 1652 and 1656), and saying, 'Take it, and tend the priests and monks yourself, for I will not do it in your name.' This took place after the new bey of Wallachia Michael had left Bucharest to coöperate against the Transylvanians with the Turks and Tatars, and just before the Syrian archdeacon Paul went to Galatz to send part of their company and their goods by sea to Trebizond, p. 365.

LONDON: ROBSON AND SONS, PRINTERS, PANCRAS ROAD, N.W.

DATE DUE

BX 597 .N5 P3 1970 v.2
Palmer, William, 1811-1879.
The patriarch and the tsar

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY
3 0645 1000 7051 1